The Book of History

A History of all Nations

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT

WITH OVER 8000 ILLUSTRATIONS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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Volume III

THE FAR EAST

Malaysia . The East Indies
Java . Sumatra . Borneo . Moluccas, etc.
The Philippine Islands
Oceania . Hawaii . Samoa, etc.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

INDIA

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NATIVE HOUSE IN SUMATRA

MALAYSIA

THE ISLAND WORLD OF THE EASTERN SEAS

RACES OF PRIMITIVE CULTURE

MALAYSIA is the general designation of the largest group of islands in the world ; it stretches out in front of Asia to the south-east, forming the stepping-stone to the mainland of Australia on the one side, and to the Melanesian archipelagoes and the island-realm of Oceania on the other. It is known also as Indonesia, or the Indian Archipelago. The numerous members of the group include some of the most gigantic islands on the globe, with mountain ranges and navigable rivers, as well as diminutive islets, which hardly supply the sparsest population with the necessaries of life ; we find, as we go toward the east, the first traces of Australian dryness and desolation as well as regions of tropical luxuriance and splendid fertility. The term Malaysia is also extended to the Malay Peninsula, but its restricted use is adopted for convenience in these pages.

Extremes of Natural Conditions

For a long period there was no idea of any general name for all these islands and island groups, least of all among the natives themselves, who often have hardly recognised the larger islands as connected territories. Their narrow horizon, on the other hand, has completely prevented them from realising the sharp contrast which exists between their own island homes, with extensive and deeply indented coast lines, and the neighbouring continents, of which only a small part is in contact with the sea. At least they have never thought of emphasising such a distinction by collective names. The geographers of Europe, having the whole picture of the world before their eyes, were the first to mark out the two large groups of the Sunda Islands and the Philippines. The title Malaysia, of course, emphasises the purely ethnological point of view, meaning the region inhabited by that peculiar brown, straight-haired race, to which we give the name Malayan, recognised from very early times as a distinct type of mankind.

One member of the ethnological group, however, Madagascar, belongs geographically so clearly to Africa that it is treated in connection with that continent, instead of being included in the present section.

The Indian island world belongs as a whole to the tropics, and in its chief parts to the moist and warm tropical plains. Highlands, which are of incalculable importance for the culture of tropical countries, as the ancient history of America in particular shows, are found to any appreciable extent only in Sumatra, although there is no lack of mountain ranges and lofty volcanic cones on the other islands.

Physical Features of the Islands

If we recall the doctrine of Oskar Peschel that the oldest civilised countries lay nearer the tropics than those of modern times, and that, therefore, the chief zones of civilisation have withdrawn toward the Poles, it can at least be conjectured that a region so favourably situated as Malaysia was not always of

such trifling importance in the history of mankind as it is at present. We need not picture to ourselves a primitive highly developed culture, but one which, after reaching a certain level at an early period, remained stationary and was outstripped by the civilisation of other regions. The Dyak in Central Borneo has reached, it is certain, no high grade of civilisation, but a comparison with the reindeer-hunters of the European Ice Age would certainly be to his advantage. The entire ethnological development of the country, and the influence which it once asserted over wide regions of the world, prove that at a remote period a comparatively noteworthy civilisation was actually attained in the Malay Archipelago.

Primitive Malaysian Civilisation

Malaysia, notwithstanding its place as a connecting link between Asia and Australia, occupies from the view of ethnology an outlying position. It is true that culture could radiate outwards from it in almost every direction; on the other hand, this region has been affected almost exclusively by movements from the north and west, from Asia, that is, and later from Europe, but hardly at all from Australia and Polynesia. These conditions find their true expression in the old racial displacements of the Malay Archipelago. The drawbacks of this geographical situation are almost balanced by the extraordinarily favourable position for purposes of intercourse which the Malay islands enjoy—a position in its kind unrivalled throughout the world.

The two greatest civilised regions of the world—the Indo-European on the one side, the East-Asiatic on the other—could come into close communication only by the route round the south-east extremity of Asia, since the Mongolian deserts constituted an almost insuperable barrier; but there in the south-east the island-world of Indonesia offered its harbours and the riches of its soil to the seafarers wearied by the long voyage, and invited them to exchange wares and lay the foundation for prosperous trading towns. This commercial intercourse has never died away since the time when it was first started; only the nations who maintained it have changed. The present culture of the Archipelago has grown up under the influence of this constant intercourse; but the oldest conditions, which are so important for the history of mankind, have nowhere been left unimpaired. We need not commit the blunder of taking the rude forest tribes of Borneo or Mindanao for surviving types of the ancient civilisation of Malaysia. The bold seamen who steered their vessels to Easter Island and Madagascar were assuredly of another stock than these degenerate denizens of the steamy primeval forests.

Culture Induced by Commerce

It is difficult to give a short sketch of Malayan history because justifiable doubts may arise as to the correct method of statement. First, we have to deal with an insular and much divided region; and, secondly, a large, indeed the greater part of the historical events were produced and defined by external influences. The history of Malaysia is what we might expect from the insular nature of the region; it splits up into a narrative of numerous local developments, of which the most important at all events require to be treated and estimated separately. But, on the other hand, waves of migration and civilising influences once more flood all the island-world and bring unity into the whole region by ending the natural isolation of the groups. And yet this unity is only apparent; for even if new immigrants gain a footing on the coasts of the larger islands, and foreign civilisations strike root in the maritime towns, the tribes in the interior resist the swelling tide and preserve in hostile defiance their individuality, protected now by the mountainous nature of their homes, now by the fever-haunted forests of the valleys in which they seek asylum.

The Struggle for Individuality

Since there no longer exists any doubt that man inhabited the earth even at the beginning of the Drift Epoch, and since the opinion might be ventured that his first appearance falls into the Tertiary Age, it is no longer possible to deduce in a childlike fashion the primitive conditions of mankind from the present state of the world, and to look for its oldest home in one of the countries still existing. Least of all must we hazard hasty conclusions when we are dealing with a part of the earth so manifestly the scene of the most tremendous shocks and transformations, and so rent and shattered by volcanic agencies, as Malaysia. In quite recent times, also, the discovery of some bones at Trinil in Java by Dr. Eugene Dubois, which Othniel Charles Marsh

ascribes to a link between man and the anthropoid apes, caused a profound sensation in the scientific world and stimulated the search, in Malaysia itself, for the region where man first raised himself to his present position from a lower stage of existence. However this question may be answered, it is meanwhile calculated to discourage any discussion of origins; it especially helps us to reject those views which unhesitatingly look for the home of all Malayan nationalities on the continent of Asia, and from this standpoint build up a fanciful foundation for Malayan history. The linguistic conditions warn us against this misconception. On the mainland of Southern Asia we find monosyllabic languages; but in the island region they are polysyllabic. There is thus a fundamental distinction between the two groups.

The Two Races of Malaysia

Two main races are represented in the Malay Archipelago, which in the number of their branches and in their distribution are extraordinarily divergent. They show in their reciprocal relations the unmistakable result of ancient historical occurrences. These are the brown, straight-haired Malays—in the wider sense—and the dark-skinned Negritos, who owe their name to their resemblance to the negro. Since the whole manner in which the Negritos are at present scattered over the islands points to a retrogression, there will always be an inclination to regard them, when compared with the Malays, as the more ancient inhabitants of at least certain parts of the Archipelago.

These Negritos form a link in the chain of those equatorial dark-skinned peoples who occupy most part of Africa, Southern India, Melanesia, and Australia, and almost everywhere, as compared with lighter-skinned races, exhibit a retrogression which certainly did not begin in modern times, and suggests the conclusion that the homes of these dark racial elements were once more extensive than they are to-day. It is doubtful, indeed, whether we are justified in assuming these negroid races to be closely connected, or whether, on the contrary, several really independent branches of the dark-skinned type of mankind are represented among them. One point is, however, established; the Negritos of the Malay Archipelago, by their geographical distribution, and still more by their physical characteristics, are most closely allied to the Papuans, who inhabit New Guinea and the Melanesian groups of islands.

It follows that the Papuan race once extended further to the west, and was worsted in the struggle with the Malay element. According to one view,

Evolution of Races in Malaysia

even the dark-skinned inhabitants of Madagascar would be closely akin to the Melanesians The Negritos are in no respect pure Papuans; not only are they often so mixed with Malay tribes that their individuality has disappeared except for a few remnants, but many indications point to the fact that there have been frequent crossings with tribes of short stature, whose relation to the Papuans may perhaps be compared with that of the African pigmies to the genuine negroes. These dwarf races cannot in any way be brought into line with the other dark peoples. Kinsfolk of the low-statured race, which has mixed with the Negritos or perhaps formed their foundation, exist on the peninsula of Malacca—especially in its northern part, on the Andamans, and in Ceylon. There were also, in all probability, representatives of this dwarf race to be found on the larger Sunda Islands, and in East Asia.

At any rate, it is a fact that some of the eastern islands of the Malay Archipelago, particularly the Philippines, still contain dark tribes, although, in consequence of numerous admixtures and the small numbers of these petty nations, their existence has often been doubted. Karl Semper describes the Negritos, or Antes, of the Philippines, as low-statured men, of a dark, copper-brown complexion, with flat noses and woolly black-brown hair. Where they have preserved to some degree their purity of race, they are a characteristic type, easily distinguishable from the members of the Malay race. There

Physical Character of Negritos

appear to be hardly any Negritos on the Sunda Islands proper. But in the south, on Timor, Floris, the Moluccas and Celebes, more or less distinct traces point to an admixture of a dark-skinned race with the Malay population. The same fact seems to be shown on Java. Where the Negritos are more differentiated from the others—on the Philippines especially—they usually live in the inaccessible interior of the islands, far from

the more densely peopled coasts, and avoid the civilisation that prevails there. It is sufficiently clear that these conditions point to a retrogression and displacement of the Negritos; but it is difficult to arrive at any certainty on these points.

The Papuan strain, which is so often to be found in the vicinity of the dwarf race, may be traced to an immigration from Melanesia, which has had its parallels even in quite modern times. The Papuans of Western New Guinea, who were bold navigators and robbers, penetrated to the coasts of the eastern Sunda Islands, and planted settlements there; or possibly they immigrated to those parts as involuntary colonists, having been defeated and carried away by the Malays in their punitive expeditions. On the whole the relation of the Papuan to the Malayan civilisation is very remarkable. An explanation of it is much needed, and would prove of extreme value for the history of both races. The Papuan has not merely been receptive of Malay influences, but has also, to some slight extent, created and diffused an independent and self-developed civilisation.

THE WANDERINGS OF THE MALAYS

ALTHOUGH a certain migratory impulse which is innate in the Papuan has caused considerable migrations of the race, yet these are completely overshadowed by the wanderings of the Malay peoples, which are distinctly the most extensive known to the earlier history of mankind; the more so because the Malays, not content with spreading over a continent, took to the sea as well, and thus became a connecting link between the four quarters of the globe.

What is Meant by "Malays"

The expression "Malays," since it is used sometimes in a narrower, sometimes in a wider sense, has given rise to many misunderstandings and unprofitable disputes. The source of the confusion lies in the circumstance that the name of the people which at the period of the European voyages of discovery seemed most vigorously engaged in war and trade has been given to the whole ethnological group, of which it formed only a single, though characteristic, part. This group, for whose accepted name it is difficult to find a substitute, is a branch of the human race easily distinguishable from its neighbours and admirably adapted to the nature of its home; its homogeneity is further attested by the affinity of the languages which are spoken by its various branches.

We may assume that it was originally an amalgamation of various primitive races. In the islands, as in Northern Asia, long-skulled (dolichocephalic) peoples appear to have spread first, but soon to have received an admixture of short-skulled (brachycephalic) immigrants.

It is an idle question to ask for the original home of these two component parts of the Malay race, in face of the incontestable fact that the kernel of the Malay nationality occupies at present, as it has occupied since early times, the island world of Melanesia; on the other hand, comparatively small fragments of the stock, with a larger proportion of mixed peoples of partly Malay, partly Mongol, elements, are found on the continent of Asia. In this sense the region we are now surveying is the cradle of the Malay race as a separate group of mankind: it was the starting-point of those marvellous migrations which it is our immediate intention to examine more closely. The larger islands within the Malay island world have exercised an isolating and warping influence on the inhabitants, and thus have produced nations as peculiar as the Battaks on Sumatra, the Dyaks on Borneo, and the Tagales on the Philippines; but this fact must not shake our conviction that, taken as a whole, the Malay race, as we call it, is a comparatively definite idea. The later infusions of Indian and Chinese blood, which are now frequently observable, do not concern the earliest periods.

At first sight, it ought not to be a difficult task to describe the culture of those racial elements which migrated from Malaysia in various directions. Among the descendants of the emigrants there are many

The Common Factor

tribes, especially in Oceania, which have found little opportunity on solitary islands to acquire new wealth of civilisation, and therefore may have preserved the old conditions in some degree of purity. It must also be possible even at the present day to determine, by the simple process of sifting and comparing the civilisations of the different branches which have differentiated themselves from the primitive stock, what was the original

inheritance which all these had in common with one another.

But the conditions are by no means so simple. Quite apart from the possible continuance of changes and further developments in remote regions, we must take into account the losses of culture which are almost inseparable from extensive migrations. Polynesia in particular is a region where a settlement without such losses is almost inconceivable; the natural conditions are such that it is impossible to maintain some of the arts of civilisation.

If, therefore, at the present day, as we advance towards Oceania, we cross the limits within which a large number of crafts and acquisitions are known; if on the eastern islands of Indonesia iron-smelting ends; if on the Micronesian realm of islands the knowledge of weaving and the circulation of old East Asiatic or European beads, and on Fiji the potter's art, cease, the cause of these phenomena is not immediately clear. It is indeed possible that the inhabitants of Polynesia emigrated from their old homes at a period when smelting, weaving, and the potter's art were still unknown; but it is perhaps more probable that at least one part of the civilisation possessed by the small coral islands of the oceans has been simply forgotten and lost, or finds a faint echo in linguistic traces, as the knowledge of iron on Fiji. And, even in the first case, the question may always remain open whether the different branches of knowledge reached their present spheres of extension in the suite of migratory tribes, or whether we may assume a gradual permeation of culture from people to people, which is possible without migrations on a large scale, and may have continued to the present day.

Migrations of Primitive Islanders

The most valuable possession which can furnish information as to earlier times is the language, but unfortunately there is still an entire want of investigations which would be directly available for historical inquiry. This much may certainly be settled—that there are no demonstrable traces of Indian or Chinese elements in the Polynesian dialects any more than in those of Madagascar. It is thus at least clear that the great migrations must have taken place before the beginning of our era.

A proof that the islands proper in ancient times possessed a civilisation of their own, nearly independent of external influences, is given by the supply of indigenous plants useful to man which were at the disposal of the inhabitants, even at the period of the migrations. Granted that the cultivation of useful growths was suggested from outside sources, still these suggestions were apparently followed out independently in the islands. Rice, the most valuable cereal of India and South China, is not an ancient possession of the islands' culture, which is acquainted instead with the taro, the yam, and sesame. Among useful trees may be mentioned the bread-fruit palm, and perhaps the coco-nut palm, which are widely diffused, in the Malayo-Polynesian region at any rate. Of useful animals man appears in earlier times to have been acquainted only with the dog, possibly the pig, but not with the ox or the horse. This is again an important fact. Attention is elsewhere called to the probability that the agriculture of the Old World was older than the cattle-breeding industry, which in its developed form was introduced into India only by the Aryans. While, therefore, in ancient times the practice of agriculture may have been brought to the islands from the mainland, the knowledge of cattle-breeding at the beginning of the migration had not reached them by that road. We are not able to settle any fixed date, but these facts at least confirm the view that the years of migration fall in a comparatively early period.

Fruits and Cereals of Malaysia

The seamanship of the immigrants and the fact that even in Polynesia they continued to inhabit the coasts and peopled the interior of the islands only sparsely justify the conclusion that the mass of the migratory bands was sent out from typical maritime nations. Java, possibly, which favoured the growth of population by the fertility of its soil, and where prehistoric weapons of polished stone lead us to assume the existence even in early times of a centre of some civilisation, was the chief starting-point for the migrations, which split up into various subdivisions, now hardly distinguishable. For the most part it would not have been a question of enormous journeys, but of an advance from island to island, where the immigrants would have been content first to occupy a part of the coast, and then, in

Java the Base of Migrations

the traditional manner, to build up a new system of life by cultivating clearings in the primeval forests, by fishing, and by profitable raids. The arts of shipbuilding and navigation must have reached a comparatively high stage; double canoes and outriggers, which enabled boats to keep out at sea even in bad weather, and to cross wide expanses of water, must have already been invented. Even at the present day the boats of the Polynesians—and of the Melanesians, who are closely connected with them in this respect—are the best which have been made by primitive races; while in the Malay Archipelago the imitation of foreign models has already changed and driven out the old style of shipbuilding. The sail must have been known to the ancient inhabitants, and it is more than probable that they understood how to steer their course by the stars and the movement of the waves, and that they possessed the rudiments of nautical cartography.

A CANNIBAL CHIEF OF BORNEO

The social conditions of the early period certainly encouraged the spirit of adventure. No ethnological group in the world has shown a stronger tendency than the Malays and Polynesians to encourage the system of male associations as distinct from families and clans. The younger men, who usually live and sleep together in a separate bachelors' house, are everywhere organised as a military body, which is often the ruling force in the community, and, in any event, welcomes adventure and dangers in a spirit quite different from families or clans burdened with the anxiety of wives and children. These conditions create a warlike spirit in the people, which regards feuds and raids as the natural course of things, and finds its most tangible expression in head-hunting, a custom peculiar to the Malayo-Polynesian stock. Originating in the habit of erecting the skulls of ancestors as sacred relics in the men's quarter, it has led to a morbid passion for collecting, which provokes continual wars and never allows neighbouring races to remain at peace. Thus there remain even now the traces of a former state of things in which bold tribes of navigators and freebooters were produced.

We are here dealing with such remote ages that there can be no idea of assigning any precise dates to the different migrations; they can therefore be only briefly sketched, in an order which does not imply any necessary chronological sequence.

A first wave of migration flowed to the north. It is, in the first place, very probable that Malay tribes settled in the Philippines at a later period than in the great Sunda Islands, the proper home of true Malay life; but for this nation of skilful seamen it was only a step across from the Philippines to Formosa, where tribes of unmistakably Malay origin are still living. This can hardly have been the ultimate goal. There are numerous traces on the mainland of South China which point to an immigration of Malays. Again, the peculiarity of the Japanese is best explained by an admixture of Malay blood; it is indeed not inconceivable that the political evolution which began in the south was due to the seafaring Malays who first set foot on the southern islands and mixed with the existing inhabitants and with immigrants from Korea. Since this political organisation took place about 660 B.C., the migration might be assigned to a still earlier time. The first migration northward

DYAK WARRIOR

NATIVES OF ÇERAM

GROUP OF THE COMMON PEOPLE OF BORNEO

SUMATRAN

SULU ISLANDER

JAVANESE HEAD-DRESS USUAL MALAY HEAD-DRESS

TYPES OF THE NATIVE RACES OF MALAYSIA

was also followed by a subsequent one, which reached at least as far as the Philippines, if not farther.

A second stream of emigrants was directed toward the east. On the Melanesian islands, which since early times were occupied by a dark-skinned race, numerous Malay colonies were founded, which exercised a marked influence on the Melanesians, but were gradually, and to some degree, absorbed. Even the continent of Australia must have received a strong infusion of Malay blood. The Malay migratory spirit found freer scope on the infinite island world of the Pacific, and weighty facts support the view that isolated settlers reached even the shores of North-west America. How those voyages were made and what periods of time they required is not known to us. Only the tradition of New Zealand tells us in semi-mythical fashion how the first immigrants, with their families and gods, took the dangerous voyage from Sawaii and Rarotonga to their new home, in their immense double canoes.

Migration to the Pacific Islands

The third ethnological wave swept over the Indian Ocean, and bore westward to Madagascar the first germs of a Malay population; the Arabic "Book of Miracles" relates an expedition of three hundred sails from Wakwak to Madagascar in the year 945 A.D. Possibly even the African coast was reached in this movement, although no permanent settlements were made there.

Thus we see that, at least a thousand years ago, the Malay race spread over a region which extends from the shores of America to the mainland of Africa, over almost two-thirds of the circumference of the earth. The Malayo-Polynesians have kept aloof from the continents. The oceans studded with islands are the inheritance of their race, which has had no rival in the command of the seas except the European group of Aryan nations in our own days. If the lessons of comparative philology and ethnology supply all our knowledge of the old migrations, we have, in compensation, another ethnological movement more directly under our eyes, which also began with members of the Malay race, and forms a fitting counterpart to earlier events. The name of Malays did not originally belong to the whole race, but only to one definite people of the Archipelago; and it is this very people which by its migrations in more modern times has reproduced primitive history on a small scale, and thus shown itself worthy to give its name to the whole restless group. Probably, indeed, it was not even the whole stock with which we are at present concerned that bore the name of Malay, but only the most prominent subdivision of it.

A Race that Avoided Continents

The original home of this people lay on Sumatra in the district of Menangkabau. The name "Malayu" is applied to the island of Sumatra even by Ptolemy; and in 1150 the Arabian geographer Edrisi mentions an island, Malai, which carried on a brisk trade in spices. Indian civilisation, it would seem, had considerable influence on Menangkabau, for according to the native traditions of the Malays it was Sri Turi Bumana, a prince of Indian or Japanese descent—according to the legend, he traced his lineage to Alexander the Great—who led a part of the people over the sea to the peninsula of Malacca and in 1160 founded the centre of his power in Singapore. The new state is said to have aroused the jealousy of a powerful Javanese realm, presumably Modyopahit, and Singapore was ultimately conquered in the year 1252 by the Javanese.

Europe's Early Records of Malaysia

A new Malay capital, Malacca, was subsequently founded on the mainland. In the year 1276 the reigning chief, together with his people, were converted to Islam. The Malays, who had found on the peninsula only timid forest tribes of poor physique, multiplied in course of time so enormously that it became necessary to send out new colonies, and Malay traders and settlers appeared on all the neighbouring coast districts. Toward the close of the thirteenth century the State of Malacca was far more powerful than the old Menangkabau, and became the political and ethnological centre of Malay life. The result was that the true insular Malays apparently spread from the mainland over the island world of the East Indies. The Malay settlers played to some extent the rôle of state builders, especially in Borneo, where Brunei in the north was a genuine Malay state; other states were formed on the west coast. The Malays mixed everywhere with the aborigines, and made their language the common dialect of intercourse for the

Sunda Islands. The Bugi on the Celebes also spread over a wide area from their original homes.

Trifling as all these modern events may be in comparison with those of old times, still they teach us to grasp the conditions prevailing in the past, and to realise the possibility of migrations as comprehensive as those which the Malayo-Polynesians accomplished.

THE COMING OF THE ASIATICS

THE influences of the voyages and settlements were not so powerful as those foreign forces which were continually at work owing to the favourable position of the islands for purposes of intercourse. Asiatic nations had long sought out the Archipelago, had founded settlements, and had been able occasionally to exercise some political influence. The islands were, indeed, not only half-way houses for communication between Eastern Asia and the west; they themselves offered coveted treasures. First and foremost among these were spices, the staple of the Indian trade; gold and diamonds were found in the mines of Borneo, and there were many other valuable products. The Chinese from East Asia obtained a footing in the Malay Archipelago; from the west came the agents of the East Asiatic commerce—the Hindus first, then the Arabs, and soon after them the first Europeans, the present rulers of the island world.

The Chinese are not a seafaring nation in the correct acceptance of the word. It was only when, after the conquest of South China, they acquired a seaboard with good harbours, and mixed at the same time with the old seafaring population, that a maritime trade with the rich tropical regions of Indonesia (*i.e.*, the Indian islands) began to flourish; only perhaps as a continuation of an older commerce, which had been originated by the northward migration of the Malayan race, and consequently lay in the hands of Malayan tribes. Since South China therefore came into the possession of China in 220 B.C., it must have been subsequent to that time, and probably much later, that the influence of the Chinese was fully felt by the inhabitants of the Archipelago. Permanent connections with Annam can hardly have been established before the Christian era.

Chinese Influence in Malaysia

It was not the love of a seafaring life that incited the Chinese to travel, but the commercial instinct, that appeared as soon as other nations commanded the commerce and sought out the Chinese in their own ports. The Chinese fleet then quickly dwindled, the number of voyages lessened, and the merchants of the Celestial Empire found it safer and more convenient to trade with foreigners at home than to entrust their precious lives to the thin planks of a vessel. But the stream of emigration from over-populated China developed independently of these occurrences, and turned by preference, whether in native or foreign ships, toward the East Indian Archipelago, in many countries of which it produced important ethnological changes.

Very contradictory views are entertained about the extent of the oldest Chinese maritime trade, and especially about the question, with which we are not here so much concerned, of the distance which Chinese vessels sailed toward the west. It appears from the annals of the Liang dynasty, reigning in the first half of the sixth century of our era, that the Chinese were already acquainted with some ports on the Malacca Straits which clearly served as marts for the trade between India and the Farther East.

Early Chinese Traders

As early as the fifth century commercial relations had been developed with Java, stimulated perhaps by the journeys of the Buddhist missionary Fa-hien, who, driven out of his course by a storm to Java, brought back to China more precise information as to the island. The south of Sumatra also at that time maintained communications with China. The political system of Java was sufficiently well organised to facilitate the establishment of a comparatively secure and profitable trade. From these islands the Chinese obtained precious metals, tortoise-shell, ivory, coco-nuts, and sugar-cane; and the commodities which they offered in return were mainly cotton and silk stuffs.

There are constant allusions to presents sent by island princes, on whom the Chinese Court bestowed high-sounding titles, seals of office, and occasionally diplomatic support. In the year 1129 one such prince received the title of King of Java. Disputes between the settled

Chinese merchants—who plainly showed even thus early a tendency to form state within state—and the Javanese princes led, in later times, to not infrequent interruptions of this commercial intercourse; indeed, after the conquest of China by the Mongols hostile complications were produced. A Mongol-Chinese army invaded Java in the year 1293, after it had secured a strategic base on the island of Billiton, but it was forced to sail away without any tangible results. During the age of the Ming Dynasty, the trade was once more flourishing, and we can even trace some political influence exercised by China. In the years 1405–1407 a Chinese fleet was stationed in the Archipelago; its admiral enforced the submission of a number of chieftains, and brought the ruler of Palembang prisoner to China.

Chinese Invasion of Java

The coasts of Borneo, which were touched at on every voyage to and from Java, soon attracted a similar influx of Chinese merchants, to whom the wealth of Borneo in gold and diamonds was no secret. The kingdom of Polo, in the north of the island, which appears in the Chinese annals for the first time in the seventh century, was regularly visited by the Chinese in the tenth century. On the west coast, Puni, whose prince sent an embassy to China for the first time in 977, was a much-frequented town; while Banjermassin, now the most prosperous trading place, is not mentioned until 1368.

As the spread of Islam with its consequences more and more crippled the trade of the Chinese with the Sunda Islands, they turned their attention to a nearer but hitherto much-neglected sphere, the Philippines. There, too, the Malay tribes were carrying on a brisk commerce before the Chinese encroached and established themselves on different points along the coast. This step was taken in the fourteenth century at latest. But then the Chinese trader was already followed by emigrants, who settled in large numbers on the newly-discovered territory, mixed with the aborigines, and in this way, just as in North Borneo, called into life new Chinese-Malay tribes. When, after the interference of the Spaniards, the Chinese traders withdrew or were restricted to definite localities, these mixed tribes remained behind in the country.

Chinese Emigration to Philippines

To sum up, it may be said that the Chinese, both here and in Indonesia, exercised a certain amount of political influence, and produced some minor ethnological changes, and that they are even now still working in this latter direction. On the other hand, the intellectual influence of China has not been great, and cannot be compared even remotely with that of the Indians and Arabs. Chinamen and Malays clearly are not in sympathy with each other. At the present day a large share of the trade of the Archipelago once more lies in Chinese hands, the immigration has enormously increased, and the "yellow peril" is nowhere so noticeable as there. But the Malayan must not, in any way, be called for this reason an offshoot of Chinese civilisation. The Chinaman shares with the European the fate of exercising little influence on the intellectual life of the Malay. The cause in both cases is the same; both races appeared first and foremost as traders and rulers, but kindled no flame of religious zeal. The Chinaman failed because he was indifferent to all religious questions; the European failed because Islam, with its geater power of enlisting followers, prevented Christianity, on which it had stolen a long march, from exerting any influence. It is possible that in earlier times the Chinese helped Buddhism to victory in the islands, but at present we possess no certain information on the subject.

Why Chinese Influence Failed

The inhabitants of India have influenced their insular neighbours quite differently from the Chinese. They brought to them, together with an advanced civilisation, a new religion, or rather two religions, which were destined to strike root side by side in the Archipelago—Brahmanism and Buddhism. The Hindus and the other inhabitants of India, who have gained their civilisation from them, are as little devoted to seafaring as the Chinese, for the coasts of India are comparatively poor in good harbours. Probably the first to cross the Bay of Bengal were the sea-loving inhabitants of the Sunda Islands themselves, who, first as bold pirates like the Norwegian Vikings, ravaged the coasts, but also sowed the first seeds of commerce. But after this the inhabitants of the coasts of Nearer India, who hitherto had kept up a brisk intercourse only with Arabia and the Persian Gulf, found something very

The finest of the numerous bas-reliefs in the famous temple of Boro-Budur. Women are shown carrying vessels at a pond, where lotus flowers grow and birds disport.

Bas-relief, showing a prince receiving presents.

General view of the immense temple of Boro-Budur, in Java.

Bas-relief, showing a sea-storm on one side, and a royal couple, with a child, handing gifts to certain of the mariners, who have evidently reached the shore. This is the lowest in a general scheme of four panels.

TEMPLE OF BORO-BUDUR, IN JAVA, THE FINEST EXISTING BUDDHIST MONUMENT

attractive in the intercourse with the islands, which first induced some enterprising merchants to sail thither with their store of spices, until at last an organised and profitable trade was opened. Many centuries, however, must needs have passed before the spiritual influence of Indian culture really made itself felt. Since the Hindu has as little taste for recording history as the Malay, the beginning of the intercourse between the two groups of peoples can be settled only by indirect evidence. The two articles of trade peculiar to the islands, and in earlier times procurable from no other source, were the clove and the nutmeg. The first appearance of these products on the Western markets must, accordingly, give an indication of the latest date at which the intercourse of Nearer India with the Malay Archipelago can have been systematically developed. Both these spices were named among the articles imported to Alexandria for the first time in the age of Marcus Aurelius—that is to say, about 180 A.D.; while, a century earlier, the "Periplus of the Erythræan Sea" does not mention them.

Influence of India on Malaysia

If, then, we reflect that a certain time would have been required to familiarise the natives of India with these spiçes before there was any idea of shipping them further, and that perhaps on the first trading voyages, necessarily directed toward the Straits of Malacca, products of that region and of more distant parts of the Archipelago had been exchanged, we are justified in placing the beginnings of the Indian-Malay trade in the first century of our chronology. This theory is supported by the mention in the "Periplus" of voyages by the inhabitants of India to the "Golden Chersonese," by which is probably meant the peninsula of Malacca. Chinese accounts lead us to suppose that at this time Indian merchants had even reached the south coast of China. At a later period more detailed accounts of the islands reached the Græco-Roman world. Even before cloves and nutmegs appeared in the trade-lists of Alexandria, Ptolemy, the geographer, had already inserted on his map of the world the names "Malayu" and "Java." Various other facts point to the position of the island of Java as the centre of the island civilisation, and the emporium for the commerce which some centuries later was destined to allure even the ponderous junks of the Chinese to a voyage along their coasts.

Java the Centre of Early Trade

Following in the tracks of the merchants, and perhaps themselves condescending to do a stroke of business, Indian priests gradually came to the islands and won reputation and importance there. India itself, however, at the beginning of the Christian era, was not a united country from the religious point of view. Buddhism, like an invading torrent, had destroyed the old Brahma creed, had shattered the caste system, and had then sent out its missionaries to achieve splendid success in almost all the surrounding countries.

But it had not been able to overthrow the old religion of the land; Brahmanism once more asserted itself with an inexhaustible vitality. At the present day Buddhism has virtually disappeared in its first home, while the old creed has again obtained an almost exclusive dominion. The growth of Hindu influence in the islands falls in the transition period when the two forms of religion existed side by side, and the religious disputes with India are not without importance for this outpost of Indian culture. Buddhists and Brahmans come on the scene side by side, often avowedly as rivals, although it remains doubtful whether the schism led to any warlike complications. The fortunes of the two sects in the Malay Archipelago are remarkably like those of their co-religionists in India. In the former region Buddhism was temporarily victorious, and left its mark on the most glorious epoch of Javanese history; but Brahmanism showed greater vitality, and has not even yet been entirely quenched, while the Buddhist faith speaks to us only from the gigantic ruins of its temples.

Importation of Hindu Religions

The thought is suggested that the Brahman and the Buddhist Hindus came from different parts of the peninsula. James Fergusson conjectured the home of the Buddhist immigrants to be in Gujerat and at the mouth of the Indus, and that of the Brahman to be in Telingana and at the mouth of the Kistna, or Krishna. The architecture of the Indian temples on Java, and the language of the Sanscrit inscriptions found there, lend colour to this view. We may mention, however, that recently it has been asserted by H. Kern and J. Groneman, great authorities on Buddhism, that the celebrated

temples of Boro-Budur must have been erected (850–900) by followers of the southern Buddhists, whose sect, for example, predominated on South Sumatra in the kingdom of Sri-Bhodja. Brahmans and Buddhists certainly did not appear contemporaneously in Java.

The most ancient temples were certainly not erected by Buddhists, but by worshippers of Vishnu in the fifth century A.D. Some inscriptions found in West Java, which may also be ascribed to followers of Vishnu, date from the same century. The Chinese Buddhist Fa-hien, who visited the island about this time, mentions the Hindus, but does not appear to have found any members of his own faith there. According to this view the Indians of the Coromandel coast would have first established commercial relations with the islands ; it was only later that they were followed by the inhabitants of the north-west coast of India, who, being also connected with the civilised countries of the West, gave a great stimulus to trade, and became the leading spirits of the Indian colony in Java. This, then, explains the later predominance of Buddhism in the Malay Archipelago.

Reason of Buddhist Supremacy

In the eighth century A.D. the immigration of the Hindus, including in their number many Buddhists, seems to have increased in Java to an extraordinary extent. The construction of a Buddhist temple at Kalasan in the year 779 is recorded in inscriptions. The victory of Indian civilisation was then confirmed ; the rulers turned with enthusiasm to the new forms of belief, and spent their accumulated riches in the erection of vast temples modelled upon those of India. From Java, which was then the political centre of the Archipelago, the culture and religion of the Hindus spread to the neighbouring islands, to Sumatra, South Borneo, and other parts of the Archipelago. The most easterly points where Buddhism achieved any results were the island of Ternate and the islet of Tobi, north-east of Halmahera, which already formed a stepping-stone to Micronesia. At that time Pali was the language of the educated classes. The Indian systems of writing stimulated the creation of native scripts even among those tribes which, like the Battaks in the interior of Sumatra, were but slightly affected in other respects by the wave of civilisation. The influence of India subsequently diminished. In the fifteenth century it once more revived, a fact that may certainly be connected with the political condition of Java. Since Buddhism had at this time almost disappeared in Nearer India, this revival implies also a strengthening of the Brahman doctrine, which had survived, therefore, the fall of the Indian civilisation.

The Coming of Islam

In the meantime the victorious successors to Hinduism, the Islamitic Arabs, had appeared upon the scene. The Arabian trade to Egypt and India had flourished before the time of Mohammed, had received the products of the Archipelago from the hands of the Indian merchants, and had transmitted them to the civilised peoples of the West. It is possible that Arabian traders may have early reached Java without gaining any influence there. It was Islam which first stamped the wanderings of the Arabs with their peculiar character ; it changed harmless traders into the teachers of a new doctrine, whose simplicity stood in happy contrast to the elaborate theology of the Hindus, and to the degenerate form of Buddhism which could have retained little of its original purity in the Malay Archipelago.

The new duties which his religion now imposed on the Arabian merchant inspired him with a fresh spirit of adventure, and with a boldness that did not shrink from crossing the Indian Ocean. The rise of the Caliphate, which drew to itself all the wealth of the Orient, secured to the bold mariners and traders a market for their wares and handsome profits. Bushira then attained prosperity, and was the point from which those daring voyages were made whose fame is re-echoed in the marvellous adventures of Sindbad the Sailor in the Arabian Nights. Oman, on the Persian Gulf, became an important emporium, but even the older ports in Southern Arabia competed with their new rivals, and still retained the trade at least with Egypt.

Arabian Merchants in Malaysia

The voyages of the Arabs at the time of the Caliphate form the first stage in the connections between the Archipelago and the world of Islam, which seem at first to have been of a purely commercial character. The enterprising spirit of the Arabian merchants soon led them, after once the first steps had been taken, beyond the Malay Archipelago to the coasts of China,

which, in the year 850, were already connected with Oman in the Persian Gulf by a flourishing maritime trade. This, however, necessitated the growth of stations for the transit trade in the Archipelago itself, where Arabian traders permanently settled and, as we can easily understand, endeavoured to win supporters for Islam. Even then conversions on a large scale might have resulted had not the overthrow of the Caliphate gradually caused an extraordinary decline in the Arabian trade, and consequently in the influence of the Arabs throughout the islands.

Decline of Arabian Trade

A new stimulus was given to the intercourse between the states of Islam and the Malay Archipelago when, at the time of the Crusades, the Mohammedan world regained its power, and the dominion of the Saracens flourished, about 1200 A.D. Nevertheless, Islam appears to have achieved little success at that time in the islands, apart possibly from the conversion of Mohammed Shah, a Malay prince resident in Malacca. This event, however, which, according to a somewhat untrustworthy account, occurred in 1276, was of great importance for the future, since the Malays in the narrower sense became the most zealous Mohammedans of the Archipelago. The third great revival of trade, produced by the prosperity of the Turkish and Egyptian empires in the fourteenth century, prepared the way for the victory of the new doctrine, which was permanently decided by the acquisition of Java. The first unsuccessful attempt at a Mohammedan movement on Java took place in 1328; a second, equally futile, was made in 1391. But little by little the continuous exertions of the Arabian merchants, who soon found ready helpers among the natives, and had won sympathisers in the Malays of Malacca, prepared the ground for the final victory of the Mohammedan doctrine. The Brahmans, whose religion, as now appeared, had struck no deep roots among the people, offered a feeble and ineffectual resistance to the new creed. The fall of the kingdom of Modyopahit, which had been the refuge of the Indian religious party, completely destroyed Brahmanism in Java in the year 1478.

THE EUROPEANS IN MALAYSIA

VICTORY cheered the missionaries of Islam at the end. A few decades later the first Europeans appeared in the Archipelago. They, indeed, were fated to win the political supremacy, but their spiritual influence was not equal to that of Islam.

The Portuguese admiral, Diego Lopez de Sequeira, and his men, when they appeared in the year 1509 on the coast of Sumatra, were certainly not the first navigators of European race to set foot on the shores of the Malay Islands. Many a bold trader may have pushed his way thus far in earlier times; and the first traveller in whom the European spirit of exploration and strength of purpose were embodied, the great Venetian, Marco Polo, had visited the islands in the year 1295, and reached home safely after a prosperous voyage. No brisk intercourse with Europe could be maintained, however, until a successful attempt had been made, in 1497–1498, to circumnavigate the southern extremity of Africa, and thus to discover the direct sea route to the East Indies. After that, the region was soon opened up.

The first expedition under Sequeira with difficulty escaped annihilation, as it was attacked, by order of the native prince, while anchoring in the harbour of Malacca. In any case the governor, Alfonso d'Albuquerque, when he was on his way to Malacca, in 1511, had a splendid excuse to hand for adopting a vigorous policy and plundering the Malay merchantmen as he passed. Since the Sultan of Malacca offered no satisfactory indemnity, war was declared with him; the town was captured after a hard fight, and was made into a strong base for the Portuguese power. Albuquerque then attempted to establish communications with Java, and made preparations to enter into closer relations with the Spice Islands in the East, the Moluccas. After his departure repeated efforts were made to recover Malacca from the Portuguese, but the fort held out.

The Portuguese had followed on the tracks of he Arabs as far as Malacca, the crossing point of the Indian and East Asiatic trade, and they naturally cherished the dream of advancing to China, and thus securing the trade with that country. A fleet under Fernao Perez d'Andrade sailed in the year 1516 from Malacca, and, after an unsuccessful preliminary attempt, reached Canton in 1517. Communications

Portuguese Adventures in Malaysia

with the Moluccas had already been formed in 1512 through the efforts of Francisco Serrao; and, since the Portuguese interfered in the disputes of the natives, the commander of their squadron, Antonio de Brito, soon succeeded in acquiring influence there, and in founding a fort on Ternate in 1522. They were unpleasantly disturbed in their plans by the small Spanish squadron of Ferdinand Magellan, who had himself been killed on Matan on April 27th; this fleet, after crossing the Pacific, appeared on November 8th, 1521, off Tidor, and tried to enforce the claims of the King of Spain to the Moluccas.

Generally speaking, it was clear, even then, that the Portuguese could not possibly be in a position to make full use of the enormous tract of newly discovered territory, or even to colonise it. There was never any idea of a real conquest even of the coast districts. A large part of the available forces must have been employed in holding Malacca and keeping the small Malay predatory states in check, while the wars with China made further demands. The Malay prince of Bintang, in particular, with his large fleet, continually threatened the Portuguese possessions on the Strait of Malacca, and after 1523 caused great distress in the colony, until his capital was destroyed in 1527. The position of the Portuguese on the Moluccas was also far from secure, since the state of Tidor, which was friendly to Spain, showed intense hostility. Commercial relations had been established since 1522 with the state of Sunda in Western Java, but the permission to plant a settlement in the country itself was refused. On Sumatra, where Menangkabau was visited by the Portuguese as early as 1514, some petty states recognised the suzerainty of Portugal; Achin, on the contrary, was able to assert its independence, while attempts to establish intercourse with Borneo were not made until 1530.

AN EARLY PORTUGUESE GOVERNOR
Alfonso d'Albuquerque, explorer, navigator, and Governor of the Portuguese East Indies, who plundered the Malays in 1511.

In the same year new disturbances broke out in the Moluccas, since the encroachments of the Portuguese commanders, who had taken the King of Ternate prisoner, had incensed the subjects of this ally. When the new commander-in-chief, Gonzalo Pereira, to crown all, declared that the clove trade was the monopoly of the Portuguese Government, the indignation was so intense that the queen ordered him to be murdered, and the lives of the other Portuguese were in the greatest jeopardy. Peace was restored with the utmost difficulty. Fresh disorders were due to that corrupt mob of adventurers who ruled the islands in the name of the King of Portugal, abandoned themselves to the most licentious excesses, and undermined their own authority by dissensions among themselves. The governor, Tristao de Taide, brought matters to such a pitch that all the princes of the Moluccas combined against him (1533); his successor, Antonio Galvao, at last ended the war with considerable good fortune, and restored the prestige of Portugal on the Spice Islands. His administration certainly marked the most prosperous epoch of Portuguese rule in those parts. Later, the struggles began again, and finally, in 1580, led to the evacuation of Ternate by the Portuguese and their settlement in Tidor.

Thus the influence of the Portuguese was restricted to parts of the Moluccas and some places on the Strait of Malacca. The Archipelago was in most respects only the thoroughfare for the Chino-Japanese trade, which at first developed with as much promise as the East Asiatic missions. The principal station of the trade continued to be Malacca, notwithstanding its dangerous position between states of Malay pirates and the powerful Achin on Sumatra.

The history of Spanish colonisation in the Malay Archipelago is almost entirely bound up with the history of the Philippines, and is treated of in that section.

THE TOWN OF BANTAM IN THE DAYS OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY

The Portuguese rule in the Archipelago was as brief as in India. At the end of the sixteenth century the two nations which were destined to enter on the rich inheritance, the Dutch and the English, began their first attempts at commerce and colonisation in the Indian waters. The Dutch in particular, through their war with Spain, which crippled the hitherto prosperous trade with the American colonies, were compelled to seek new fields for their activity. Their eyes were turned to India, where Portugal, weakened rather than strengthened by the union with Spain (1580), tried in vain to enforce its influence over a vast tract of territory. Even without at once becoming hostile competitors to Portuguese trade, the Dutch merchants might hope to discover virgin lands, whose exploitation promised rich gains.

Commercial Rivalry in the 16th Century

The first Dutch fleet set sail from the Texel on April 2nd, 1595, under the command of Cornelis de Houtmans, a rough adventurer, and anchored on June 2nd, 1596, off Bantam, the chief trading port of Java. This expedition did little to secure the friendship of the natives, owing to the bad qualities of the commander; but at least it paved the way for further enterprise. In the course of a few years a number of small trading companies arose, which succeeded only in interfering with each other and causing mutual ruin, until they were finally combined, through the co-operation of Oldenbarneveld and Prince Maurice, on March 20th, 1602, into a large company, the "Universal Dutch United East India Company." This company soon obtained possessions in the Malay Archipelago, and after 1632 exercised full sovereign sway over its territory.

The company founded a permanent settlement in Bantam, whose prince made friendly overtures, and they took over the already existing trading enterprises in Ternate, Amboina, and Banda, the existence of which proves incidentally that even the Dutch had at once tried to win their share of the spice trade. Disputes in consequence arose on the Moluccas in 1603, when the natives, exasperated by the oppression of the Portuguese and Spaniards, took the side of the Dutch. The undertakings of the company were, however, first put on a systematic basis in the year 1609, when the office of a governor-general was created, at whose side the "Council of India" was placed, and thus a sort of independent government was established in the Archipelago.

Rivalry of English and Dutch

The Spaniards now suffered a complete defeat. And when in their place the English appeared and entered into serious competition with the company, they found themselves confronted by the Governor-General, Jan Pieterszon Coen, a man who, competent to face all dangers, finally consolidated the supremacy of the Dutch. The English tried in vain to acquire influence on Java by the help of the Sultan of Bantam. Coen defeated his opponents,

removed the Dutch settlements to Jacatra, where he founded in the year 1619 the future centre of Dutch power, Batavia, and compelled Bantam, whose trade was thus greatly damaged, to listen to terms. "We have set foot on Java and acquired power in the country," Coen wrote to the directors of the company; "see and reflect what bold courage can achieve!" To his chagrin the Dutch Government, from considerations of European policy, determined to admit the English again to the Archipelago. This proceeding led to numerous complications, and finally to the massacre of a number of Englishmen, on the pretext that they had tried to capture the Dutch ports on Amboina. Coen's whole energies were required to hold Batavia, which was besieged in 1628 by the Javanese. His death, which occurred in that same year, was a heavy blow to the Dutch power.

FOUNDER OF DUTCH POWER IN THE EAST
Jan Pieterszon Coen, the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, from 1618 to 1628, and founder of Batavia.

The influence of the company, however, was now sufficiently assured to withstand slight shocks. The Portuguese had been little by little driven back and forced almost entirely to abandon the East Asiatic trade. The English found a field for their activity in India, and the Spaniards retained the Philippines, but were compelled in 1663 definitely to waive all claim to the Moluccas. Java and the Spice Islands were the bases of the Dutch power, which reached its greatest prosperity under the Governor-General, Anton van Diemen (1636–1645). Malacca was then conquered, a friendly understanding was established with the princes of Java, and Batavia was enlarged and fortified in every way. Soon afterward the sea route to the East Indies was secured by the founding of one station at the Cape of Good Hope and another on Mauritius. But in this connection the huckstering spirit of the trading company was unpleasantly shown in the regulations which were passed for the maintenance of the spice monopoly in the Moluccas, and were fraught with the most lamentable consequences for the native population.

Greater attention was now gradually paid to the hitherto neglected islands of the Archipelago, especially as Formosa,

THE CAPITAL CITY OF BATAVIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
The headquarters of Dutch power in the East, founded by Coen in the year 1619, and then called Jacatra.

captured in 1624, was in 1662 lost to the Chinese. The attempts to set foot on Borneo met at first with little success; on the other hand, factories were founded on different points of the coast of Sumatra, and in the year 1667 the Prince of Macassar on Celebes was conquered and compelled to conclude a treaty to the advantage of the company. In Java the influence of the Dutch continually increased; Bantam was humbled in 1684, and the final withdrawal of the English from Java was the result. But even in later times there were many severe struggles.

British Withdrawal from Java

Like almost all the great sovereign trading companies of the age of discovery, the Dutch East India Company enjoyed but a short period of prosperity. The old spirit of enterprise died away; a niggardly pettiness spread more and more, and produced a demoralising effect on the servants of the company, although their dangerous posts and the tropical climate must have served as an excuse in any case for numerous excesses. In 1731 the Governor-General, Diederick Durven, had to be recalled, after barely two years of office, on account of unparalleled misconduct; but the state of things did not improve appreciably even after his departure. The misgovernment weighed most heavily on the Chinese merchants and workmen who were settled in the towns. At last, in Java, this part of the population, which was essentially untrustworthy and had always been aiming at political influence, was driven into open revolt. Since the Chinese rendered the vicinity of Batavia insecure, the citizens armed themselves, and at the order of the Governor-General, Adrian Valckenier, massacred all the Chinese in the town in October, 1740. But it was only after a long series of fights that the insurgents, who had formed an alliance with Javanese princes, were completely defeated, and the opportunity was seized of once more extending the territory of the company.

The strength of the company was based on its jealously-guarded trade monopoly. A blow directed at that was necessarily keenly felt. It was observed in Holland with a justifiable anxiety that the English, whose naval power was now the first in the world, once more directed their activities to the East Indies, and came into competition with the company not only on the mainland but also on Sumatra and the Moluccas, answering all remonstrances with thinly veiled menaces. The mouldering officialism of the Dutch company was totally unable to cope with this fresh energy. While individuals amassed wealth, the income of the company diminished, and all profits on the unceasing wars with Malay pirates and similar costly undertakings had to be sacrificed.

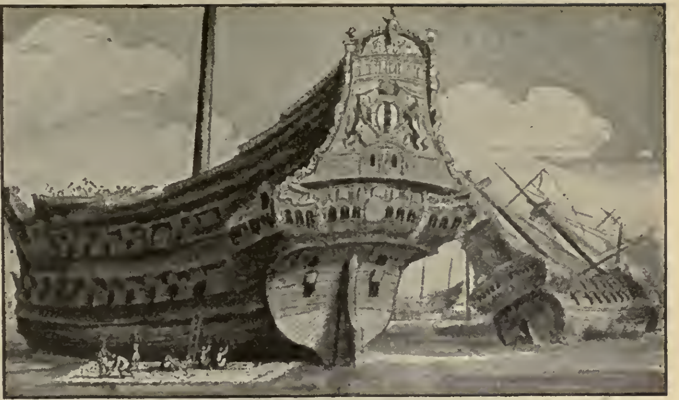
A CELEBRATED DUTCH GOVERNOR

Anton van Diemen, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies (1636-45) when Dutch power was at its zenith.

Toward the close of the eighteenth century the States-General were compelled to aid the helpless sovereign company by sending a small fleet of warships. But when the Netherlands, after their transformation into the "Batavian Republic" on January 26th, 1795, were involved in war with England, the fate of the company was sealed; it fell as an indirect victim of the French Revolution. The Cape settlement first went; then Ceylon and all the possessions in India were lost. In 1795, Malacca also fell, and a year later Amboina and Banda were taken. Ternate alone offered any resistance. Java, which for the moment was not attacked by the English, was soon almost the only relic of the once wide realm of the company, which, harassed with debts and enfeebled by the political situation at home, could hold out a few years longer only by desperate means. The company was dissolved in the year 1798, and Holland took over its possessions in 1800.

The change of the Batavian republic on May 26th, 1806, into a kingdom held at the will of Napoleon, and the French occupation of Holland on July 9th, 1801, involved further important consequences for the East Asiatic possessions. The British took advantage of the propitious moment to become masters of the colonies which had now become French, and in the

A Result of Napoleon's Wars



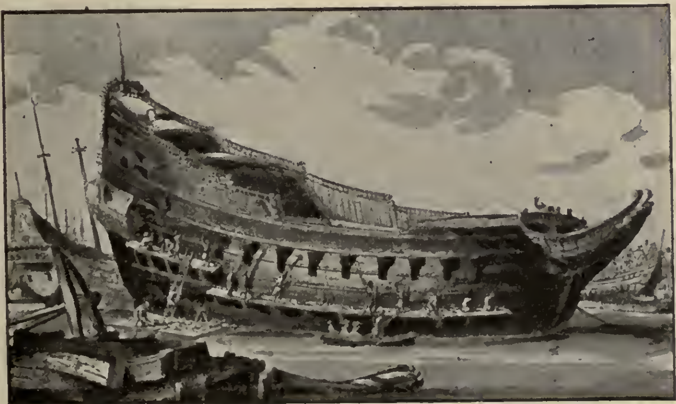
DUTCH EAST INDIAN MERCHANT SHIP OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

year 1811, as a final blow, equipped an expedition against Java. Its success was complete; Batavia fell without any resistance, and the small Dutch army, which held out for a short time in the vicinity of the capital, was forced to surrender on September 18th.

Great Britain took possession of the Dutch colonies, and proved her loyalty to those great principles which have raised her to be the first maritime and commercial power of the world by abolishing the monopolies and establishing free trade. But the precipitate introduction of these reforms and other injudicious measures soon led to all sorts of conflicts and disorders, which deprived the British Government of any advantage which might otherwise have been gained from their new possession. After the fall of Napoleon, the Netherlands, by the Treaty of London of August 13th, 1814, received back the colonies which had been taken from them, with the exception of the Cape and Ceylon. On June 24th, 1816, the Dutch commissioners at Batavia took over the government from the hands of the British commander. Nevertheless, the British soon afterward struck a severe blow directly at the Dutch colony, by adding to their possessions on Malacca, which had been held since 1786, the island of Singapore, which they acquired by purchase, and by establishing there in a short time a flourishing emporium for world trade. Batavia was the chief loser by this, and its population soon sank to one-half of what it had formerly been.

A MALAY VESSEL OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The dissolution of the company, and the British reforms, had broken down the narrow-spirited system of monopolies, and the Dutch Government had no option but to conform to the altered conditions. A small country like Holland, however, could



DUTCH EAST INDIAN WARSHIP OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY UNDERGOING REPAIR

THE COLLYER QUAY AT SINGAPORE

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SINGAPORE

SCENE FROM PENANG WHARF

ON THE RIVER AT SINGAPORE

GREAT BRITAIN IN MALAYSIA: VIEWS OF SINGAPORE AND PENANG

Photographs by G. Lambert, Singapore, and Underwood & Underwood, London

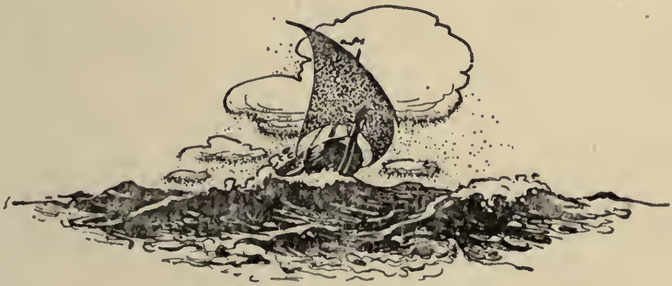
neither, from economic reasons, adhere to the British system of free trade nor waive all direct national revenue, and in its place await the indirect results of unrestricted commerce; the colonies were compelled not only to support themselves and the colonial army which had now been formed, but also to provide for a surplus. Thus the spice monopoly in the Moluccas, which had been successfully abolished, was reintroduced, though in a somewhat modified and less profitable form than before, since in the interval the cultivation of spices had been introduced into other parts of the tropical world. The bulk of the revenue had to be supplied by the patient population of Java, which, in accordance with a scheme drawn up by the Governor-General, Jan von den Bosch, in 1830, was employed on a large scale in forced labour on Government plantations, and was also burdened by heavy taxes.

The System of Monopoly Modified

The Dutch possessions from that time were no longer menaced by foreign enemies; but the colonial army had to suppress many insurrections and conquer new territories for Holland. The Dutch, by slow degrees and in various ways, obtained the undisputed command of the Indian Archipelago. For a long time, in the large islands of Sumatra and Borneo, they exercised only a more or less acknowledged influence on the coasts, while the interior, even at the present day, does not everywhere obey their rule; in any case the coast districts gave them much work to do, as their desperate battles with Achin, or Acheh, prove. The native princes were almost everywhere left in possession of their titles; but on many occasions the Dutch, not reluctantly perhaps, were forced to take different districts under their immediate government. The splendid training which their colonial officials received assured them success. A great change in the internal conditions began in the year 1868. The situation of the natives on Java, which had become intolerable—and still more perhaps the knowledge that, in spite of all the forced labour, the profits of the Government plantations did not realise expectations—led to the abolition of the *corvée* and the former unsound and extravagant methods of working. The campaign which the Dutch poet and former colonial official, Eduard Douwes Dekker, had conducted since 1859 against the abuses in the government, contributed to this result, although for a long time no direct effects of his attacks were noticeable. The coffee monopoly, indeed, was left, though somewhat modified; so, too, the principle that the native should be left to work on his own account, and that then the results of his labour should be compulsorily bought from him at a very low price, is still enforced, since the balance of the Indian finances must be maintained. It was possible to abandon the Javanese system of forced labour without excessive loss owing to the fact that the development of tobacco-growing on Sumatra since 1864 and of coffee-growing on Celebes opened up new sources of revenue. Accordingly, in 1873 the antiquated spice monopoly on the Moluccas was finally abolished without inflicting an insupportable blow on the State finances.

The scientific exploration of the region has been begun and carried out in a very thorough fashion. From many points of view the Dutch possessions are models for the colonial administrator; and, in spite of all mistakes, the earlier development shows how a small European people can succeed in ruling an infinitely larger number of unstable Asiatics, and in making them profitable to itself.

Models for Colonial Administrators



THE FOUNDING OF BRITISH POWER IN MALAYSIA
In the year 1824 the island of Singapore was ceded to Great Britain by the Sultan of Johor by purchase, and in the hands of the British the town of Singapore speedily became the greatest port in Malaysia and one of the most important of the many centres of British trade in the Eastern seas. The picture, by Mr. Caton Woodville, illustrates the state entry of the British into Singapore in 1824.

THE ISLANDS AND THEIR STORY

JAVA: THE CENTRE OF THE DUTCH INDIES

JAVA is far from being the largest island of the Archipelago, but it is certainly the most fertile, so that it can support a very dense population; it is also the most accessible, and consequently was the first and favourite resort of traders. It is true that culture has been able to take root easily only on the comparatively flat north coast with its abundance of harbours, while the steep south coast, looking out on a sea seldom navigated in old days, has never attained to any importance. The long, narrow island, through which a chain of lofty volcanoes runs, divides into a number of districts, in which independent political constitutions could be developed.

Apart from slight traces of a population resembling the Negritos, Java was originally inhabited by genuine Malays. No

Java the Focus of Malaysia

reliable early history of the island is forthcoming, since the first records, which are still untrustworthy, date from the Islamitic Age. We are thus compelled to have recourse to the accounts supplied by other nations, and to the remains of buildings and inscriptions which are still to be found plentifully on the island. In any case, Java was the focus of the Archipelago, so far as civilisation was concerned, and to some extent the political centre also, and it has retained this position down to the present day.

Our earliest information about Java can be traced to the Indian traders, who had communication with the island since, perhaps, the beginning of the Christian era. The fact that the Indians turned special attention to Java, which was by no means the nearest island of the Archipelago, must certainly be due to the existence there of rudimentary political societies whose rulers protected the traders, and whose inhabitants had already passed that primitive stage when man had no wants. The Indian merchants, by transplanting their culture to Java, and giving the princes an opportunity to increase their power and wealth through trade, had no small share in the work of political consolidation. We must treat as a mythical in-

Mythical Legends of Early History

carnation of these influences the Adyi Saka, who stands at the beginning of the native tradition, and is said to have come to Java in 78 A.D., for which reason the Javanese chronology begins with this year. He gave them their culture and religion, organised their constitution, made laws, and introduced writing. The Javanese legend mentions the names of some of the kingdoms influenced by Hindu culture. Mendang Kamulan is said to have become important at the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century; in 896 the dynasty of Jangala, and in 1158 that of Pajajaram or Pajadsiran, are said to have succeeded.

The first immigrants to Java were worshippers of Vishnu, who were followed later by Buddhists; this fact appears from the inscriptions and ruins and is confirmed by the accounts of the Chinese Fa-hien. The oldest traces of the Hindus have been discovered in West Java, not far from the modern Batavia. There must have been a kingdom in that part, between 400 and 500 A.D., whose monarch was already favourable to the new culture and religion. It is possible that the first Buddhists then appeared on the island and acquired influence. Important inscrip-

Revelations of Ancient Inscriptions

tions dating from the beginning of the seventh century tell us of a prince of West Java, Aditya Dharma, an enthusiastic Buddhist and ruler of a kingdom which comprised parts of the neighbouring Sumatra. He conquered a Javanese prince, Siwaraga—whose name leads us to conclude that he was a supporter of the Brahman doctrines—and built a

THE MARKET PLACE IN JAVA, AS EVERYWHERE ELSE, IS THE FAVOURITE RENDEZVOUS

magnificent palace in a part of Java which can no longer be identified. It does not seem to have been any question of a religious war which led to this conflict, but merely of a political feud. We learn from Chinese sources that there was a kingdom of Java to which twenty-eight petty princes owed allegiance, and that in the year 674 a woman, Sima, was on the throne. This kingdom, whose capital lay originally farther to the east, embraced presumably the central parts of the island, and was not therefore identical with that of Aditya Dharma.

Buddhism, at all events, supported by a brisk immigration from India, increased rapidly in power at this time, especially in the central parts of Java, while in the east, and perhaps in the west also, Brahmanism held its own. In the eighth and ninth centuries there were flourishing Buddhist kingdoms, whose power and splendour may be conjectured from the magnificent architectural remains—above all, the ruins of temples in the centre of the island—and from numerous inscriptions. The fact that in the year 813 negro slaves from Zanzibar were sent by Java, as a present to the Chinese Court, shows the extent of Javanese commerce of that time. If we may judge of the importance of the states by the remains of the temples, the kingdom of Boro-Budur must have surpassed all others, until it fell, probably at the close of the tenth century. After the first quarter of that century hardly any more temples or inscriptions seem to have been erected in Central Java, a significant sign of the complete decay of the national forces. With this, the golden age of Buddhism came to an end.

Underwood & Underwood, London

NATIVES OF EASTERN JAVA

At the same time the centre of gravity of political power shifted to the east of the island. Inscriptions of the eleventh century tell of a king, Er-langa, whose hereditary realm must have lain in the region of the present Surabaya. By successful campaigns he brought a large part of Java under his rule, and seems to have stood at the zenith of his power in the year 1035. His purely Malay name proves that the dynasty from which he sprung was of native origin. He was, however, thoroughly imbued with Indian culture, as may be concluded from the increase of Sanscrit inscriptions in East Java after the beginning of the eleventh century. A Chinese account leads us to conjecture that about the same time a kingdom existed in the west of Java which was at war with a state in Southern Sumatra.

An Early Malay King and Warrior

The next centuries are somewhat obscure. This may be connected with a certain decline in the trade, and thus in the influence of the civilisation of India; but it is principally due to the division and subdivision of Java into numerous petty states. But, in spite of this want of union, the attempt of the Mongol monarch Kublai Khan to seize Java proved unsuccessful; only a part of the east was laid waste. That side of the island contained among others the states of Pasuruan, Kadiri, and Surabaya, the first of which gradually lost in importance. The states in Central Java apparently sank into insignificance compared with those of the east, this condition of things lasting until the intercourse with Nearer India once more flourished, and the kingdoms of Solo and Semarang began, in consequence, to revive.

The new Hinduistic age, in which Brahmanism again became prominent, had, however, a stimulating influence on the East, where the kingdom of Modyopahit rose to be a mighty power. In the west at that time the kingdom of Pajajaram was the foremost power. Javanese records give the year 1221 (according to the Saka reckoning, 1144) as the date of the founding of Modyopahit, or, more correctly, of the preceding kingdom of Tumapel, and name as the first sovereign Ken Arok, or Angrok, who took as king the title Rayasa, and is said to have died in 1247. The kingdom of Modyopahit in the narrower sense was probably not founded before 1278; the first king was Kertarayasa.

Modyopahit is the best known of the earlier Javanese kingdoms, since it lasted almost to the arrival of the Europeans, and an offshoot survived destruction by Islam. A glance at the power of Modyopahit is therefore instructive, since it is typical of the peculiar conditions of the

A SCENE ON THE SOLO RIVER IN JAVA

Malay Archipelago, and all the seafaring population of the states on the coast or on the islands. Modyopahit never made an attempt to subjugate completely the island of Java and change it into a united nation, but it made its power felt on the coasts of the neighbouring islands, just as Sweden for a time ruled the shores of the Baltic without annexing Norway, or as England had long laid claim to the French coasts before Scotland joined hands to make the British realm. We may allude, in passing, to the colonies of Ancient Greece, to Carthage or Oman. In the west of Java a strong kingdom still stood, which for a time reduced Modyopahit to great straits. The advance of Modyopahit was naturally possible only when a large fleet was

Extension of Javanese Dominion

available; this is said to have destroyed, in 1252, the Malay capital Singapore.

The kingdom attained its greatest size under the warlike king Ankawijaya, who mounted the throne in 1390, and is said to have subjugated thirty-six petty states. It is certain that the kingdom had possessions on Sumatra and settled Javanese colonists there, also that the south coast of Borneo stood partially under its influence. It is probable that the Javanese, who, as can be proved, settled on the Moluccas, had also gained political power there. The island of Bali in the east of Java formed an integral part of Modyopahit. The kingdom seldom formed a united nation, but it exercised a suzerainty over numerous petty states, which gladly seized every opportunity of regaining independence. A great war between West and East Java, which had no decisive results, broke out in the year 1403, and led to the interference of Chinese troops.

Zenith of Javanese Empire

In spite of all the brilliance of the Hindu states, the seeds of corruption had been early sown in them. The immense prosperity of the Arabian people had, centuries before, brought into the country Arab merchants, who ended by permanently settling there, as the merchants of India had already done, and had won converts for Islam in different parts of the Archipelago, chiefly among the Malays on Malacca, but also among the Chinese traders. "The Oriental merchant," says Conrad Leemans, "is a man of quite different stamp from the European. While the latter always endeavours to return to his home, the Oriental prolongs his stay, easily becomes a permanent settler, takes a wife of the country, and has no difficulty in deciding never to revisit his own land. He is assimilated to the native population, and brings into it parts of his language, religion, customs, and habits." It was characteristic of the heroic age of Islam that the Arabian merchants had other aims beyond winning rich profits from trade; they tried to obtain political dominion by means of religious proselytism. Apparently the kingdom of Modyopahit, the bulwark of Hinduism, had early been fixed upon as the goal of their efforts.

Oriental Immigrants to Java

The comparatively feeble resistance of the Buddhist and the Brahmin doctrines is partly explained by the fact that both were really comprehended by the higher classes alone, while the people clung to outward forms only. A Chinese annalist at the beginning of the fifteenth century calls the natives of Java downright devil-worshippers; he does not therefore put them on a footing with the Buddhists of China or Further India, so familiar to him. The first victory of Islam was won in the Sumatran possessions of Modyopahit. The new doctrine found converts among the nobles of the kingdom; of these Arya Damar, the governor in Sumatra, and, above all, his son Raden Patah, are mentioned.

The improbable Javanese account of the fall of Modyopahit only leads us to suppose that a revolt of the nobles who had been won over to Islam, probably assisted by female intrigues, cost the reigning monarch, Bromijoyo, his throne in 1478. The Brahmanists, who remained loyal, withdrew to the island of Bali, whence for a long time they commanded a part of the east coast of Java, and, when that was no longer possible, they at least hindered the advance of Islam on Bali. The victory of Islam in Modyopahit soon had its counterparts in the other states of the island. Even in 1552 the ruler of Bantam sought to obtain the protection of the Portuguese against the Mohammedans; but it was too late. When, two years afterward, a Portuguese fleet appeared, the important trading town was in the hands of the Mohammedans. Since the conversions in the several districts of Java took place at different times, and were mostly associated with disturbances, a number of petty states soon arose, of which Pajang and Damak were the most powerful. On the island of Madura, whose destinies were always closely linked with those of Java, there were three independent kingdoms.

Conflict of the Creeds

About a hundred years after the triumph of Islam the situation was altered. The princes of Mataram had gradually attained greater and greater power, though their country had originally been only a province of Pajang; in the end they had subjugated most of the east and the centre of the island. In the west, on the contrary, Bantam, now Islamitic, was still the predominant power. The Dutch, after 1596, tried to negotiate an alliance with it, which could not permanently prove advantageous to Bantam. The founding of Batavia and the interference of the English soon led to hostile

complications, but the attempt to expel the Dutch once more from the island did not succeed. The Dutch Trading Company, naturally, also came into conflict with the ambitious kingdom of Mataram. The Sultan, Agong of Mataram, had formed a scheme to subdue the west of Java, and had proposed an alliance to the Dutch; but he found no response from the cautious merchants, and consequently twice, in 1628 and 1629, made an attempt to seize Batavia. After his death, his son Ingologo (1645–1670) concluded a treaty of peace and amity with the company (1646). Since the Dutch did not for a time try to extend their possessions on Java, the peace was one of some duration. Ingologo's successor, the Sultan Amang Kurat, first invoked the help of the Dutch against a Burinese freebooter who had settled in Surabaya. The latter was expelled, and a rebellious prince, Truna Jaya, also succumbed to the attack of the Dutch fleet. The company, in the Treaty of Javara (1677), were well paid by concessions of territory and trading facilities for the help which they had rendered.

The Dutch Trading Company

But the complications were not yet ended. Truna Jaya once more drew the sword against the apparently unpopular Amang Kurat, drove him out from his capital, and selected Kadiri as the capital of the kingdom which he had intended to found. But the decision rested with the Dutch, and they were resolved to keep the old dynasty on the throne, for the good reason that the expelled prince was forced to submit to quite different terms from those offered by his victorious rival. They defeated the usurper and placed on the throne the son of Amang Kurat, who had died meanwhile; a small Dutch garrison was left in the capital to protect him.

The Dutch Preserve a Dynasty

The Sultan of Jokjakarta in semi-dress.

The Sultan of Solo in full dress.

THE TWO NATIVE RULERS OF JAVA IN 1864

In the year 1703 the death of the sultan gave rise to violent disputes about the succession. Once more, naturally, Paku Buwono, the candidate who, with the help of the company, suceeded in establishing his claim to the throne, had to show his gratitude by surrenders and concessions of every kind (1705). The disputes, however, still lasted. Henceforth the sultans of Mataram could hold the sceptre and avert the fall of their feudal sovereignty only by the continuous support of the Dutch. Confusion reached its height when, by the

Growth of Dutch Power

revolt of the Chinese in the year 1740, the power of the company itself was shaken to its foundations. The reigning sultan, as well as the princes of Bantam and Cheribon, encouraged the rebellion, though they feigned devotion to the interests of the company. The result was that the sultan had to consent to fresh concessions after the defeat of the Chinese, and, what was most important, to renounce his sovereignty over the island of Madura. The kingdom of Mataram, after the loss of the coast, became more and more an inland state, and consequently was left helpless against the maritime power of the Dutch. The seat of government was then removed to Solo, or Surakarta.

But the greater the influence which the company acquired over Mataram, the more it saw itself dragged into the endless rebellions and wars of succession which had now become traditional in that kingdom. From 1749 to 1755 a war raged, which was finally decided by a partition of the kingdom. By treaties in 1755 and 1758, the Sultan Paku Buwono III. received the eastern part, with the capital Surakarta; his rival, Mangku Bumi, the western, with Jokjakarta as chief town; while a third claimant was granted some minor concessions. Besides the two states formed out of the ancient Mataram, there still remained in the west the kingdoms of Bantam and Cheribon, both entirely subject to the company.

Collapse of Dutch Trading Company

Under the conditions thus established the more important disputes were ended; but the maladministration of the company, together with its oppression of the natives, produced their natural result in a series of petty disturbances during which robbery and pillage were carried on without a check. The final collapse of the company, and the chequered fortunes of the Netherlands in 1800, naturally increased the disorders in Java, and the reforms which General Herman Willem Daendels finally carried out in the year 1808 came too late. Britain took possession of the island in 1811, and held it till 1816. At this time the remaining territories of Bantam and Ceribon were taken away, and nothing was left to the two sultans beyond a pension and the empty title. Thus only the Susuhunan of Surakarta and the Sultan of Jokjakarta were left as semi-independent rulers; but both, as a penalty for their resistance to the British, were once more confined to their own territory, and watched by garrisons.

The New Régime

With the second occupation of Java by the Dutch a new, but on the whole hardly more prosperous, era opens for the islands. The narrow-spirited monopolies and trading restrictions of the old company were, it is true, not revived, or revived only in a modified form; and since the Government devoted its attention to the widest possible cultivation of useful plants, it not only enlarged its revenue, but promoted the increase of the population and of the general welfare. But all the more heavily did the burden of the *corvée* weigh upon the natives. Insurrections were, therefore, still very frequent; one of them ended with the banishment of the discontented ex-Sultan of Bantam (1832). An earlier rebellion, which broke out in 1825 in Jokjakarta, under the leadership of the illegitimate Prince Dhigo Negoro, against the Governor-General Godard van der Capellen, had been still more dangerous. As had happened in previous cases, the troops of the princes of Madura, who were loyal to the Dutch, lent efficient aid in its suppression. Although this revolt exposed many weak points in the administration of the Dutch Indies, it is only since 1868 that radical changes have been made. The *corvée* was virtually abolished in the case of the natives, and a more equitable system of government introduced. Of late years no events of importance, beyond several volcanic eruptions and a native insurrection in 1888, have to be related.

The area of Java, with the adjacent island of Madura, is 50,554 square miles, and the population 30,000,000. The whole of Dutch India is under the administration of a Governor-General—the present officer being J. B. van Heutsz—who has the power of passing laws but who must conform to the constitutional principles laid down in the "Regulations for the Government of Netherlands India." He is assisted by a council of five. The chief towns in Java are Batavia, with a population 138,551 including 8,893 Europeans; Soerabaya, with a population 150,198, including 8,906 Europeans; and Samarang, with a population 96,660, including 4,800 Europeans. The principal agricultural products are rice, maize, cotton, sugar cane, tobacco, indigo, cinchona, tea, and cacao. There are also coal and mineral oil industries.

SUMATRA: THE STEPPING STONE FROM ASIA

SUMATRA, which is far larger than Java, but of a similarly elongated shape, rises in the interior into numerous uplands possessing a comparatively cool climate; the east coast is flatter and more accessible than the west coast, in front of which lies a row of small islands. The political attitude of Sumatra has been determined by its geographical position; it has been connected on the one hand with the Strait of Malacca, on the other with Java. But ethnographically it is a purely Malay country, the place probably from which the ancient migrations to the west started. In the Battaks of the interior a people has been preserved which, although largely impregnated with the results of civilisation, has still retained a considerable share of its original peculiarities, and has resisted the introduction of any religious teaching from without.

Indian Influence in Sumatra

Sumatra, as might be expected from its position, probably came into contact with India and its culture at a somewhat earlier period than Java, since the rich pepper-growing districts on the Strait of Malacca were the first to create a systematic commerce. It is quite in harmony with these conditions that the districts on the northern extremity, the modern Achin, were the earliest which showed traces of Hindu influence, and, consequently, the beginnings of an organised national life; thence this influence spread farther to the inland region, where signs of it are to be found even at the present day among the Battaks. The older kingdoms of the northern extremity were Poli and Sumatra; the capital of the latter, situated east of Achin, has given its name to the entire island. In Java it was the culture and the religion of the Hindus which made themselves chiefly felt, while the political power remained in the hands of the natives. In North Sumatra, on the contrary, the immigrants from India seemed completely to have assumed the lead in the state, and to have created a feudal kingdom quite in the Indian style. This kingdom, whose capital for many years was Pasir, held at times an extended sway, and comprised a part of the coasts of Sumatra.

A NATIVE RULER IN SUMATRA

The Sultan of Jambi, from a portrait taken in 1880

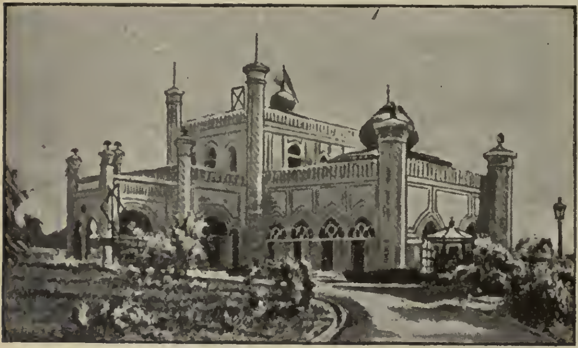
While the Indian civilisation thus struck root in the north, and the political organisation of the kingdom of Menangkabau in the central districts was probably also due to its influence, it began indirectly to affect the south, where, according to Chinese accounts, a state had been formed as early as the fifth century.

Southern Sumatra and Java

Southern Sumatra, by its geographical position, has always been fated to be in some degree dependent on the populous and powerful Java. In the earliest Hindu period of Java we learn of a prince whose territory lay on both sides of the Sunda Strait. It is possible that the inhabitants of Southern Sumatra enjoyed greater independence afterward, since we have no detailed accounts of the relations between the two islands, except Chinese accounts of wars between West Java and Southern Sumatra in the tenth century. In 1377 Southern Sumatra, whose ruler actually appealed to China for help, was conquered by the Javanese; for a time it belonged to Modyopahit. Palembang was then founded by Javanese colonists. We have already seen how Islam found its first adherents there, and became a menace to the kingdom of Modyopahit.

In the north, also, Islam effected the overthrow of Hinduism. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the first preachers of the new doctrine appeared in the Strait of Malacca, and at first gained influence over the Malays—in

the narrower sense of the word—who came originally from Sumatra and ruled the peninsula of Malacca and the adjacent islands. In Achin itself, on the other hand, they won no success until the beginning of the sixteenth century—later, that is, than in Eastern Java. At any rate, the



PALACE OF THE SULTAN OF SIAK IN SUMATRA

political supremacy of the Hindus seems already to have broken up, and to have given place to native dynasties. Ali Moghayat Shah was, according to a credible tradition, the first Mohammedan sultan of Achin. Ala-ed-din al-Kahar (1530–1552) seems to have completely reorganised the political system; he also conquered a Battak-Hindu kingdom, which continued to resist the new doctrine in the north. In the succeeding period Achin blossomed out into a powerful state, and was naturally soon involved in the wars which raged almost without intermission on the Strait of Malacca between the Portuguese and the Malays. The fleets and armies of Achin repeatedly appeared off Malacca, and made successful attempts to capture the town from the Portuguese.

The Dutch having obtained a foothold in Java, extended their influence from that island over the south of Sumatra, and also in Lampong, which paid tribute to the Javanese kingdom of Bantam. The most important kingdom, Palembang, appears to have enjoyed a short period of independence after the destruction of Modyopahit, but it was conquered by the Geding Souro—who originally came from Demak in Java in the year 1544—and thus received a Javanese dynasty, which reigned until 1649; after that a new line occupied the throne until 1824. A factory was set up in the vicinity of the town of Palembang by the Dutch as early as 1618, and events then took their usual course. After the natives in the year 1662 had attacked the factory and massacred almost the entire garrison, the town of Palembang was destroyed by a Dutch fleet, a favourable commercial treaty was exacted from the intimidated sultan, and this remained in force until 1811. Palembang acquired new interest for the Dutch—who meanwhile had been forced on one occasion to end a civil war by their interference—when in 1710 immensely rich tin mines were discovered on the island of Banka, belonging to that kingdom; the company promptly secured for itself a share of the profits by a separate treaty. The usually friendly relations between the Dutch and Palembang were immediately destroyed when, after the occupation of Java by the British, the whole garrison of the Dutch factory at Palembang was murdered by the sultan's order in a most horrible manner. The British undertook

DRAWING-ROOM IN PALACE OF SULTAN OF SIAK

a punitive expedition, but failed to restore order thoroughly; and the Dutch, after the restoration of their East Indian possessions in 1816, were not more successful, until in 1823 they summarily incorporated Palembang as a province of their colonial empire.

The Dutch, on entering upon the inheritance of the Portuguese, took over

their unfriendly relations with Achin. At first everything seemed to go well. The Dutch turned their attention more to Java and the Moluccas, and contented themselves with concluding a sort of commercial treaty with Achin in the year 1602, and with obtaining the concession of a strip of territory for the establishment of factories; in the meantime, also, owing to internal disorders, the power of Achin had greatly waned. But the keener the interest felt in Sumatra, the clearer it became that the originally despised Achin was a formidable and most invincible antagonist. After the middle of the nineteenth century it became the most dangerous piece on the chessboard of Dutch colonial policy. A dynasty of Arabian stock, whose first ruler, Mahmud Shah, mounted the throne in the year 1760, resolutely resumed the struggle with the Dutch. Achin had, it is true, been recognised as a sovereign state by the Treaty of London on March 17th, 1824; but the fact was gradually made evident that a free Malay state, with its inevitable encouragement or tolerance of piracy, could no longer be allowed to exist in so dangerous a place as the Strait of Malacca.

Finally, therefore, in the year 1870, Holland, in return for a promise to resign its possessions in West Africa, received full permission to take any action it wished against Achin. Negotiations with the sultan led to no result. The war, which began on March 25th, 1873, proved unexpectedly difficult and costly. An obstinate resistance was offered by the population on various occasions, and particularly when, on January 24th, 1874, the sultan's palace was stormed by the Dutch under Lieut.-General J. van Swieten. But this difficulty was greatly increased by the unfavourable nature of the scene of operations and the unhealthy climate. It was not until 1879 that the country could be considered subjugated; even then it still required an unusually large garrison, and occasional insurrections continue to show on how uncertain a foundation the Dutch rule in these parts is reared. No other feature in recent events requires to be noted, except the volcanic eruptions and earthquakes of 1883.

HOUSE OF A PADANG CHIEF, SUMATRA

ON THE RIVER AT PALEMBANG, SUMATRA

The island of Sumatra has an area of 161,612 square miles and an estimated population of 3,168,312, of whom 93,000 are Chinese. The largest town is Palembang with a population of 53,788. The mineral products are gold, petroleum, and coal, and the chief produce consists of tobacco, coffee, rubber, gum, rattan and spices, including pepper and nutmegs. As part of the Dutch East Indies, its administration is in the hands of the Governor-General, who exercises his functions through the agency of subordinate Residents.

THE FIRST BRITISH FOOTHOLD IN BORNEO

James Brooke, afterwards Rajah Brooke, making his first treaty with the Rajah of Borneo, in 1842.

BORNEO: LARGEST OF THE MALAY ISLANDS

BORNEO, the largest island of the Malay Archipelago has not hitherto, in the course of history, attained anything like the importance to which its size should entitle it. A glance at the geographical features of this clumsily shaped island, which is surrounded on almost every side by damp, unhealthy lowlands, will satisfactorily account for this destiny; indeed, Borneo would have probably drawn the notice of maritime nations to itself even less, had not its wealth in gold and diamonds proved so irresistibly alluring. If the physical characteristics of the huge island are unattractive to foreign visitants, they also inspire its inhabitants with little disposition for seafaring, migrations, and commerce. The Dyaks, who are the aborigines of Borneo, are mainly a genuine inland people, which in the course of history has shown little mobility and has tenaciously preserved its ancient customs.

There is no trace of political societies on a large scale in the interior of the island; the coasts alone, washed by the waves of foreign peoples, show the beginnings of national organisations, which from their position are influenced by the other islands of the Archipelago and the chief routes of maritime trade far more than by the land on which they are established. It would, for example, have been a less adventurous journey for an inhabitant of the north coast to visit the ports of China than to penetrate a dozen miles into the interior of his own island, or even to migrate as far as the south coast. Thus, the old tradition, that originally the island was divided into three large kingdoms—Borneo or Brunei, Sukadana, and Banjermassing—is untrustworthy in this form. The south coast of the island was influenced in a remarkable degree by the vicinity of Java. We have not only the remains of buildings and idols, but also literary evidence to prove that the Hindu kingdoms of Java affected, both by conquest and by example, the adjoining parts of Borneo. Modyopahit, in particular, received tribute from the kingdom of Banjermassing and other states on the south coast; even after the fall of the Brahman state the Islam princes of Java kept up this relation for some time. The legends of Borneo point in the same direction when they record that Banjermassing was founded by Lembong Mangkurat, a native of Nearer India, who had immigrated from Java.

SULTAN OF BORNEO IN 1880

At the time of the fall of Modyopahit, Banjermassing was the most powerful state in Borneo. It certainly owed its prominence to the advanced civilisation which, evoked by a large Javanese immigration, was naturally followed by the introduction of Hindu creeds. According to the legend, a son of the royal house of Modyopahit founded in the fourteenth century a Hindu dynasty which reckoned thirteen princes down to Pangeran Samatra, the first Islam ruler; the daughter of Pangeran Samatra was married to a Dyak, who became the founder of a new dynasty. The circumstance that Banjermassing became tributary to the Islam state of Demak on Java, while Sukadana and Landak, the other capitals of the south coast, were subject to Bantam, equally Islamitic, favoured the introduction of the Mohammedan faith, which first struck root in 1600. But all recollection of Modyopahit was not lost; mos of the princely families of the south coast traced their descent from its royal house.

The north, on the other hand, was considerably influenced in early times by China; even at the present day pieces of Chinese porcelain, which evidently

reached the island through ancient trading transactions, are highly valued by the Dyaks of the interior. The earliest mentioned kingdoms in Borneo, Polo in the north and Puni on the west coast, may have acquired power from the trade with

RAJAH BROOKE
The venturesome Englishman who founded the British Dependency of Sarawak

China; in the fourteenth century, certainly, Puni also was subject to Javanese influence. In addition to the Javanese, the Malays—in the stricter sense of the word—exercised great influence over Borneo, whose coasts in quite early times had become the favourite goal of their voyages and settlements. It was through them that Brunei, the chief state of the north coast, was founded, though the date cannot be accurately fixed; perhaps it was merely a continuation of the old kingdom of Polo. Malay immigrants had probably come to Brunei, even before their conversion to Islam, which took place in the middle of the thirteenth century. Modyopahit also gained a temporary influence over Brunei. When, however, the first Europeans visited the country, it was a powerful and completely independent kingdom, which for a time extended its sway over the Sulu Islands and as far as the Philippines. In the year 1577 the first war with the Spaniards broke out, and further collisions followed later. Other Malay states on the west coast were Pontianak—probably the ancient Puni—Matan, Mongama, and others. Banjermassing, Sukadana, and Landak were also originally founded by Malays, and only subsequently brought under Javanese rule.

From the east the Bugi of Celebes sought new homes on the shores of Borneo, and also founded a number of small kingdoms, whose existence depended originally on trade and piracy. All these immigrations have naturally produced the result that the coast population of Borneo is everywhere an inextricable tangle of the most various racial elements, and that the aboriginal Dyaks have intermixed freely with Malays, Javanese, Chinese, Bugi, and others. Which racial element predominates depends on various contingencies from time to time. In the mining districts of the kingdom of Samba

TYPES OF THE INHABITANTS OF SARAWAK

in Western Borneo, for example, Chinese were settled after the second half of the eighteenth century in such large numbers that they were far too strong for the Malay sultan, and were finally suppressed by the Dutch government only in 1854.

The first Europeans who attempted to form connections with Borneo were the Portuguese, after 1521; they met, however, with little success, although they renewed their attempt in 1690. Meanwhile the Dutch East India Company had opened, in the year 1606, a factory in Banjermassing, whose business was to export pepper and gold dust; but, owing to the vacillating and often hostile attitude of the sultan, it was no more successful than the Portuguese settlement, and was finally abandoned, in consequence of the murder of Dutch officials and merchants at Banjermassing in 1638 and 1669. The residence of the sultan, since Banjermassing had been destroyed by the Dutch in 1612, was removed to Martapura, and remained there, although Banjermassing soon rose from its ashes. In 1698 the English appeared upon the scene, and were at first successful, until the destruction of their factory in the year 1707 thoroughly discouraged them from further undertakings. The Sultan of Banjermassing, in spite of his faithless behaviour, was in no way inclined to abandon the advantages of the European trade, but once more turned to the Dutch.

At length, then, in 1733, the Dutch resolved on a new attempt. Since that date, notwithstanding frequent misunderstandings, their relations with the island have been practically unbroken. The interference of the company in a war about the succession to the throne turned the scale and procured for it the sovereignty over Banjermassing; and thus the greater part of the south coast of Borneo, as well as the coveted monopoly of the pepper trade, passed into its hands in 1787. During the occupation of Java by the English the reigning sultan consented to make further concessions, which after January 1st, 1817, benefited the Dutch.

To this period belongs the romantic attempt of an Englishman, William Hare, to found an independent kingdom in South Borneo. The Dutch have considerably extended and consolidated their power by new treaties and by the wars which they fought from 1850 to 1854 on the west coast, as also from 1859 to 1862 on the south-east coast. Banjermassing itself, after the interference of the Dutch in the succession to the throne in 1852 had caused a rebellion, was deprived of its dynasty in 1857 and completely annexed in 1864. A fresh rebellion in 1882 did not alter the position of affairs.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the sultanate of Brunei had lost much of its power; when, therefore, in the year 1839, an insurrection was raging in the province of Sarawak, the governor gladly accepted the offer of James Brooke, an Englishman, to come to his assistance.

ORIGINAL RESIDENCE OF RAJAH BROOKE AT SARAWAK

Brooke, born on April 29th, 1803, at Bandel, in Bengal, had then formed the plan of founding a colony in Borneo at his private cost; he appeared in June, 1839, with his crew on the coast, and actually conquered the opponents of the sultan, who in gratitude entrusted the governorship of Sarawak to him in 1840, and in 1842 formally invested him with the province.

Since "Rajah" Brooke was no ordinary adventurer, but a man of noble nature and strong character, his administration proved a blessing to the disorganised country. When the sultan showed signs of suspicion, the rajah relied upon England, and compelled the sultan in the year 1846 to cede

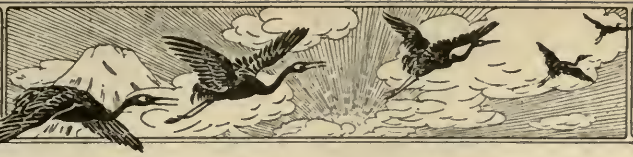
TYPES OF MALAY HOUSES IN BORNEO

the island of Labuan to the British, and finally, after he had suppressed various risings of the Malays and Chinese, made himself absolutely independent of Brunei. Shortly before his death he offered Sarawak to the British government. But the offer was refused, and after his death in 1868 the state of Sarawak passed to his nephew, Sir Charles Brooke. Subsequently the British government reconsidered its former decision, and in 1888 both Brunei and Sarawak were received under British protection on the terms that internal administration should be left entirely in the hands of their respective rulers, but that the foreign relations of both states should be controlled by Britain. The declaration of this protectorate came as a natural sequel to the acquisition of North Borneo. This province was granted to the British North Borneo Company as its private property in the year 1881. It passed under the protection of England at the same time and on the same terms as the states of Brunei and Sarawak.

FAMILY TOMB OF THE RAJAH OF DINDA

Thus the entire island of Borneo, the largest in the world except Australia and New Guinea, is divided, politically, into two parts, about three-quarters of the island being a Dutch colony, and the remaining fourth—the north and north-west portion—being British, and being composed of British North Borneo (31,106 square miles), Brunei (4,000 square miles), and Sarawak (42,000 square miles), with the contiguous island of Labuan (31 square miles). The territory of British North Borneo is administered by the British North Borneo Company through the agency of a resident Governor, whose appointment is conditional upon the approval of the Secretary of State. The chief products of British Borneo are timber, coffee, rice, sago, tobacco, rubber, gums, and spices. There is a railway of about 120 miles and there is telegraphic cable communication with the outer world. The chief town of British North Borneo is Sandakan, with a population of 8,000, and of Sarawak the chief town is Kuching, also the capital, with a population of a little over 30,000.

A RIVERSIDE VILLAGE IN THE ISLAND OF BORNEO



CELEBES: SMALLEST OF THE LARGER ISLANDS

THE fourth large island of the Archipelago, Celebes, is of quite a different character from Borneo. Instead of the clumsy contour of Borneo, we find here a most diversified coast line. Immense plains such as we find in Borneo are wanting in Celebes, which is a land of mountainous peninsulas separated by deeply indented gulfs. If the island has not attracted commerce to its shores to the extent that might be expected from these favourable natural conditions, the reason is, doubtless, that attention has been diverted from it by the proximity of the spice-bearing Moluccas.

A Land of Gulfs and Mountains

Celebes, although fertile and not actually poor in ore and precious metals, and for that reason a valuable possession at the present day, does not contain those tempting products which hold out to the merchant the prospect of rapid and splendid profits. But although the accessibility of the island has not been thoroughly appreciated by foreigners, it has exercised great influence on the fortunes of the native population—it has sent them to the sea and turned them into wandering pirates, traders, and settlers.

Celebes has thus acquired for the eastern Malay Archipelago a significance similar to that of Malacca for the western. Celebes was not regarded by the old inhabitants of the Archipelago as a single united country. The northern peninsula with its aboriginal population of Alfur tribes had nothing in common with the southern parts, which were inhabited by the Macassars and the Bugi; and even the Dutch have recognised this difference so far as to place the two districts under different Residencies. Celebes, on the whole, is a genuine Malay country, although there are many indications among the Alfurs that there was an admixture of dark-skinned men; but whether we must think of these latter as stunted Negrito-like aborigines or as immigrant Papuans, is an insoluble problem for the time being. The Bugi and Macassars are pure Malays, who, in their whole life and being, probably most resemble those bold navigators of Malay race who have peopled Polynesia and Madagascar.

In view of the fact that the bulk of the population is still divided into numerous small tribes, which show little inclination to amalgamate, we cannot venture to assign an early date for the rise of large kingdoms in Celebes. Tradition in the south can still tell how the shrines of separate localities, from which emigrants went to other parts of the island, first acted as a rallying point for small tribes, or hindered the disintegration of others which were increasing in numbers and extent of territory; the chiefs of the several localities recognised the possessor of the most ancient and most potent magic charm as their superior lord, assembled from time to time at council meetings in his village, and thus prepared the way for the erection of larger political communities. This process probably was carried out in Celebes with comparatively little interruption and without the help of foreigners. Even of Hinduism only faint traces can have reached the island, as is shown, among other instances, from the absence of Sanscrit words in the original dialects of the Bugi. The small tribes were engaged in constant feuds among themselves before any states were formed, and after that epoch these wars were continued on a larger scale, and alternated with sanguinary conflicts within the still incompletely organised kingdoms. The annals of Macassar relate, for example, as a noteworthy fact, that one of these princes died a natural death. The foremost power among the Macassars was Goa, later Macassar; among the Bugi, on the contrary, the foremost power was Boni, from where the Bugi gradually spread far over the coasts of the Eastern Malay islands and to some extent founded new states.

When Death by Violence was the Rule

The Portuguese opened communications with Celebes in the year 1512. The kingdoms into which the island was then divided could hardly have been long

established; for even if the annals of the Macassars enumerate 39 princes, who occupied the throne in succession down to the year 1809, the average duration of a reign during those early days of barbarism and bloodshed must have been short. Assuming, therefore, that the records are fairly trustworthy, the state of Macassar may have been founded subsequently to the year 1400. The Portuguese first tried to secure a footing on the island in 1540, when they set up a factory in Menado, and later also in the south. They obtained, however, no better results than the English and Danes at a somewhat later period. The Dutch, who had turned their attention to Celebes after 1607, alone met with ultimate success.

But meanwhile Islam had reached the island. In 1603 the Prince of Macassar, with his people, adopted the new faith. The great ideas of this world-religion were here, as in so many other places, a stimulus to the prosperity of the country, so that the influence of the kingdom of Macassar made vast strides in the next few years, until its supremacy in Southern Celebes was indisputable. It was engaged in repeated wars with Boni, the state of the Bugi, since the people of that democratically organised kingdom refused to accept Islam, and resisted the new creed, first with their prince at their head, and then, when he was converted to the Mohammedan faith, in opposition to him. The Sultan of Macassar interfered in these quarrels, and succeeded, in the year 1640, in subduing Boni. The same fate was shared by numerous petty states. Macassar, with its naval power, partially conquered the coasts of Sumbawa and Buton; but it was destined soon to discover that the age of large native states was past.

The Wars of the Petty States

The destruction of a Dutch factory on Buton compelled the East India Company to take active measures; in doing so it relied on the conquered, but still disaffected, Boni, whose royal family had found a friendly reception as fugitives among the Dutch. The Sultan of Macassar was soon compelled to abandon his conquests and resign the throne of Boni to Rajah Palaka, a protégé of the Dutch, who from the year 1672 onward raised Boni to the ruling power in South Celebes. After his death (1696) a part of his kingdom became the absolute possession of the company. Although the Dutch always took full advantage of the inveterate hatred between Macassar and Boni, yet their attempts to extend their rule still farther led to repeated and troublesome wars, until the temporary British occupation of the island (1814–1816), and the ensuing disorders, resulted in drastic modifications of the political situation. A war with the princes of South Celebes ended in 1825 with the victory of the Dutch. The independence of the native states would have then ended for ever had not the rebellion in Java diverted attention in another direction. It was only after new struggles in 1856 and 1859 that their annexation to the colonial empire of the Dutch East Indies was effected.

Establishment of Dutch Supremacy

The history of North Celebes really belongs to that of the Moluccan Archipelago. The state of Menado may be noticed as an important political entity. When the northern peninsula, and especially the hilly district of Minahassa, had proved to be suitable for coffee plantations, European influence easily became predominant there, and all the more so since Islam had not yet won a footing. Elsewhere in the Dutch East Indies there have been few or no conversions to Christianity; but a part of the inhabitants of Minahassa have been converted. The eastern and smallest peninsula of Celebes has also in its external life been subject to the influence of the Moluccas.

Celebes is administered, like the other islands of Dutch East Indies, by the Governor-General, with headquarters in Batavia. The area of the island is 71,470 square miles, and the population is conjectured to be under one million, but there seems to have been no authoritative basis for this estimate. The chief town and port is Vlaardingen, or Macassar, with a population of 20,000, in the extreme south of the island. Other trading ports are Menado and Kema on the northern peninsula. The climate of Celebes is much healthier than that of many other islands in the Malaysian group. Mining is prosecuted to some extent, valuable coal deposits existing in the northern parts. Gold has been found, and there is possibility of remunerative enterprise in its exploitation, and in the south sulphur is plentiful.

Industrial Conditions in Celebes

THE ISLANDS OF MALAYSIA AND THEIR STORY V.

THE MOLUCCAS AND THE SUNDA ISLANDS

THE modern history of the Malay Archipelago centres in the west round Java, but in the east round the Molucca Islands. In the earlier period, when the trade in muscat nuts and cloves had not yet attracted foreign shipping to its shores, the group of the Moluccas may have been less conspicuous; small tribes and village communities probably fought against each other, and may have extended their warlike expeditions and raids to Celebes and New Guinea, and these visits were probably returned in similar fashion. The trade in spices then raised the wealth and power of certain places to such a pitch that they were able to bring under their dominion large portions of the Archipelago. Jilolo, on the northernmost peninsula of Halmahera, is considered to be the oldest kingdom; in 1540 it was absorbed by Ternate. It is a remarkable fact that the influence of China on the Moluccas seems to have been very slight, since the islands are hardly mentioned in the Chinese annals before the fifteenth century.

The Portuguese on their arrival found two large kingdoms, Ternate and Tidor; both originally rose in small insular districts, their chief towns lay in close proximity, and as hostile rivals each was bent on eclipsing the other. The population of these two states was even then, probably, much mixed; in addition to the Alfurs, presumably the oldest occupants, who, on Halmahera especially, and also on Seram, had preserved a large share of their independence, there were on the coasts Malays, Bugi, and the descendants of other nations occupied in the spice trade. These included Javanese—who seem at first to have been almost exclusively occupied in transporting spices to their native island—Arabs, and probably also Chinese and Hindus. About Ternate we know that the seventh ruler mounted the throne in the year 1322; in his time Javanese and Arabs are said to have immigrated in exceptional numbers. Ternate and Tidor were maritime and insular states; they kept closely to the coast, and while their fleets were powerful they never possessed extensive territory on Halmahera and Seram. Since their power was entirely based on the spice trade, the princes of the two states courted the favour of the Portuguese, who indeed first appeared as traders. When Ternate proved successful in this respect, the monarch of Tidor threw himself into the arms of the Spaniards, who then came forward with their claims on the Moluccas. The outrages of the Portuguese led to many rebellions and conflicts

ENEMIES OF THE DUTCH IN BALI
These Balinese natives are said to use their wives and children as shields in battles against the Dutch

The Dutch first appeared on the scene in the year 1599, and planted a small settlement on Banda; another half century elapsed, however, before they felt themselves strong enough to seize the monopoly of spice-growing and the spice trade. The sultanates of Ternate and Tidor, which had some power over the coast districts of Celebes and New Guinea, were allowed to remain; but the spice islands proper—Amboina, after 1605, and Banda especially—were placed under Dutch administration. As it seemed impracticable to watch over all the islands, the company determined to allow the cultivation of cloves and

muscat nuts only in certain places, and everywhere else to effect a complete destruction of the spice trees.

The execution of this purpose necessitated a war, which in 1621 almost annihilated the population of the Banda Islands, so that thenceforth the company was able to introduce slaves, and thus exercise a stricter supervision. But since the seeds of the spice trees were continually being carried by birds to other islands, annual expeditions were undertaken to destroy the young plantations on prohibited soil, by force of arms if necessary; and unspeakable misery was in this way spread over the islands. These sad conditions, whose prime mover was the Governor, Arnold de Vlaming, lasted down to the British occupation in 1810, and were afterward renewed, though in a modified form. In 1824 the destructive expeditions were discontinued, but the last traces of the spice monopoly disappeared only in 1873, when the plantations were sold to private speculators. During the time when the small Spice Islands had so chequered a history, the main islands long remained neglected. The Dutch gradually succeeded in acquiring influence over the semi-civilised Alfurs, of whom those who live on Seram are organised in peculiar secret societies, which originated in the peculiar system of male associations to which reference has been made. Of all the districts of the Malay Archipelago, the "small" Sunda Islands play the least conspicuous part in history. Devoid of any political unity, they stagnated in their isolation until foreign immigration introduced a higher type of social life, and small kingdoms sprang into existence here and there along their coasts. The interior of the islands remained unsubdued and unaffected by this change.

Bali affords a solitary exception to the general rule. This island, although profoundly influenced in ancient times by Java, frequently enjoyed political independence. When the Brahman states of East Java increased in strength towards the close of the first millennium of the Christian era, Bali also was a state with Hindu culture. Ugrasena ruled there in the year 923; in 1103 another prince, Jayapangu, is mentioned. Bali later formed a part of the kingdom of Modyopahit. It was impossible for Islam to convert the Balinese, who, at the time when they formed a united people, actually assumed the aggressive, oppressed the Mohammedan Sassaks on the temporarily conquered Lombok, and menaced Sumbawa. Brahmanism defied its rival in this case at least, and has lasted on Bali down to the present day. In consequence of the prevailing system of small sovereigns, complete political disintegration gradually set in. There were eight petty states in Bali in the nineteenth century, when the Dutch in the years 1846, 1848, 1849, and 1868 undertook campaigns against Balinese princes. Nevertheless, the Dutch, even within the last

THE DUTCH SOLDIERS IN HOLLAND'S EAST INDIAN WAR
A Dutch fort on the island of Bali, where the inhabitants resisted the soldiers of Holland for thirty years. The war was most sanguinary and the mortality appalling.

SEAPORT VILLAGE ON THE ISLAND OF SERAM

twenty years have required a comparatively strong levy of troops to crush the resistance of one of the princes.

Javanese influence also temporarily touched Sumbawa, the development of which on the whole was affected by the seafaring inhabitants of Southern Celebes, the Macassars and Bugis. It was formerly split up into six small and independent states, Bima, Sumbawa, Dompo, Tambora, Sangar, and Papekat. The population of the "kingdoms" of Tambora and Papekat suffered terribly under the devastating eruption of Tambora (April 10th, 1815), as, to a somewhat less degree, did those of Sangar, Dompo, and the town of Sumbawa. In the east of Floris, or Flores, of which the capital is Larantuka, Malay and Buginese immigrants predominated; the west, Mangerai, was dependent on Bima, one of the states on Sumbawa, and connected with it by a common language. Timor may have been mostly influenced by the Moluccas, and saw small principalities formed on its coast at a comparatively early date; these principalities had mostly disappeared by 1600 in consequence of the advance of Timorese, in the stricter sense of the word, who inhabited the east of the island and originally, perhaps, had their homes in Seram. The most north-easterly part of Timor (Deli or Dilhi) is the last remnant of the Portuguese possessions in Indonesia; in the south-west (Kupang) the Dutch have had a footing since 1688.

The total area of the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, is about 43,864 square miles. They consist of two main groups, the northern including Jilolo, Ternate, Tidore and the Obi group, and the southern including Buro, Ceram, Amboina and the Banda group. The total population is estimated at about 411,000. The chief town and commercial centre is Amboina, on the island of the same name, with a population of about 8,000, and an annual trade of about $425,000. The chief products are cloves and other spices, rice, sago, maize, timber, coco-nuts, and cocoa.

ATTACK OF THE OLD MALAY PIRATES

THE MANIFESTO OF A MODERN PATRIOT

AGUINALDO'S OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

"I HEREBY renounce all allegiance to any and all so-called Revolutionary Governments in the Philippine Islands, and recognise and accept the supreme authority of the United States of America therein. I do solemnly swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to that Government; that I will at all times conduct myself as a faithful and law-abiding citizen of the said islands, and will not, either directly or indirectly, hold correspondence with, or give intelligence to any enemy of the United States; nor will I abet, harbour, or protect such enemy; that I impose upon myself these voluntary obligations without any mental reservations or purpose of evasion, so help me God."

AGUINALDO TO HIS COUNTRYMEN

"I BELIEVE I am not in error in presuming that the unhappy fate to which my adverse fortune has led me is not a surprise to those who have been familiar with the progress of the war. The lessons taught with a full meaning, which have recently come to my knowledge, suggest with irresistible force that a complete termination of hostilities and lasting peace are not only desirable, but absolutely essential to the welfare of the Philippine Islands.

"The Filipinos have never been dismayed at their weakness, nor have they faltered in following the path pointed out by their fortitude and courage. The time has come, however, in which they find their advance along this path to be impeded by an irresistible force, which, while it restrains them, yet enlightens their minds and opens to them another course, presenting them the cause of peace. This cause has been joyfully embraced by the majority of my fellow countrymen, who already have united around the glorious sovereign banner of the United States. In this banner they repose their trust and believe that under its protection the Filipino people will attain all those promised liberties which they are beginning to enjoy.

"The country has declared unmistakably in favour of peace. So be it. There has been enough blood, enough tears, and enough desolation. This wish cannot be ignored by the men still in arms if they are animated by a desire to serve our noble people, which has thus clearly manifested its will. So do I respect this will, now that it is known to me. After mature deliberation, I resolutely proclaim to the world that I cannot refuse to heed the voice of a people longing for peace, nor the lamentations of thousands of families yearning to see their dear ones enjoying the liberty and the promised generosity of the great American nation. By acknowledging and accepting the sovereignty of the United States throughout the Philippine Archipelago, as I now do, and without any reservation whatsoever, I believe that I am serving thee, my beloved country. May happiness be thine."

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
THE STORY OF A STRUGGLE FOR NATIONALITY

THE large group of the Philippines, which comprises over 3,000 distinct islands and islets and which in a geological as well as ethnological sense represents the link connecting Indonesia to the region of Eastern Asia, forms the north-eastern portion of the Malay world of islands. Malayism is always predominant in the Philippines; it may, indeed, have prevailed in Formosa also, and thence have made further conquests. The Philippines were not always in the possession of the Malays. In the earliest historical age we find the islands inhabited by the Negritos, who were only gradually driven back to the mountains of the interior by the immigrating brown race; it was only on the north shores of Luzon that they kept their position on the sea-coast. There were probably two invasions of Malays; the tribes of the first intermixed very largely with Negritos, and on the second immigration shared their fate, since they, too, were forced to retreat to the mountainous interior of the islands, while the newcomers occupied the coasts.

The second wave of immigration, like the first, flooded chiefly the south of the Archipelago, and ethnologically changed it, while the Negritos on the coast in the north-east of Luzon once more escaped extermination. The Malays of the second migration brought to the Philippines an advanced civilisation which shows traces of the influence of India; this event may have occurred, therefore, some centuries after the Christian era. Though not absolutely convincing, many arguments support the view that the second immigrants came from Sumatra, the cradle of the Malay race; other features of resemblance point to the Dyaks of Borneo. The Tagals on the peninsula of Luzon became the representatives of the native semi-civilisation. A third immigration, which, however, was not so thoroughly carried out, is connected with the advance of Islam into the Malay island-world. The Malays of Brunei in Borneo undertook expeditions of conquest and conversion to the Philippines about 1500. They subdued Palawan and firmly established themselves on Luzon. Almost simultaneously immigrants from the Moluccas settled on Mindanao and seized the Sulu Islands. A Mohammedan pirate state arose there, while previously, as we learn from Chinese records of 1417, the group of islands was divided into three kingdoms.

AGUINALDO, THE NATIONAL HERO

The Philippines were reached, from the east, on

March 16th, 1521, by the Portuguese Magalhaes, who was in the Spanish service, and were called St. Lazarus Isles; later the name Islas de Poniente was given them; the name Philippines was not adopted until 1565. The islands excited little attention at first, while an obstinate struggle developed between the Spaniards and the Portuguese for the possession of the Moluccas. When Charles V. abandoned the Moluccas on April 22nd, 1529, the Philippines also would probably have fallen into the hands of the Portuguese if private Spaniards had not set foot on them, and if Portugal had not attached light importance to their possession. It was not until 1543 that a Spanish fleet appeared once more in the Archipelago with the commission to found a Spanish settlement. But this finally fell into the hands of the Portuguese, who theoretically still asserted their claims to the Philippines. A renewed attempt in the year 1565 met at last with success; the Spaniards established themselves first on Sebu, then on Panay. In 1570 they turned to Luzon, and founded in the ensuing year the town of Manila.

The Struggle between Spain and Portugal

FILIPINO INSURGENT CHIEFS

The Spaniards, after Portugal had been united to their kingdom in 1580, found two other rivals who endangered their existence—the Mohammedans, or Moros, advancing from the south, and the Chinese, who were largely represented, especially on Luzon. These latter had long maintained commercial intercourse with the Philippines, and seem sometimes also to have won political influence. They constituted a perpetual menace to the Spanish rule, but required, nevertheless, to be treated cautiously, since the revenues of the colonies depended almost wholly on the trade with China. In the year 1603 a terrible revolt of the Chinese broke out. It was quelled with great slaughter of the insurgents by the Spaniards with the help of the natives and of Japanese, who were also resident on Luzon for trading purposes.

A few years later, however, the number of Chinese settlers in Manila had once more risen to an alarming height. A new revolt was suppressed in 1639, and when, in 1662, the Philippines were threatened by the Chinese freebooter Cheng Ko Chuang, whose father, Koxinga, had conquered Formosa, there was once more a massacre, which, however, did not result in the total exclusion of the undesirable guests.

The Spaniards met with more success in their struggle against Islam. Christianity, thanks to the active zeal of the Spanish monks, completely outstripped Islam on Luzon, while on Mindanao and the other southern islands the progress of the Mohammedan teaching was at least checked. The task of ruling the natives was facilitated through the circumstance that no large kingdoms appear to have existed on the Philippines before the conquest. The Spanish Government was most anxiously concerned to obtain the complete monopoly of the trade of the Philippines. Commerce was permitted only with the American colonies of Spain. A port was founded at Acapulco for the purpose of this trade, and once a year a great galleon sailed thither from the Philippines, bearing native spices and goods from China, Japan, and India. The price of this cargo was usually paid in silver dollars. A definite maximum in goods and money was fixed, which might not be exceeded. Direct trade with Europe was prohibited, notwithstanding frequent attempts by the merchants of

Spanish Trading Restrictions

INTERIOR OF FORT SANTIAGO, MANILA

SCENE ON THE PASIG RIVER, MANILA

BRIDGE OF SPAIN, MANILA

CHURCH OF SAN SEBASTIAN, MANILA

MANILA'S PRINCIPAL BUSINESS STREET

ENTRANCE TO THE WALLED CITY, MANILA

Underwood & Underwood, London

PHILIPPINE COCO-NUT FARM

PHILIPPINE SUGAR MILL

NATIVE BATHING HOUSES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF MANILA

SCENE IN MALOLOS, AGUINALDO'S CAPITAL

NATIVE HOUSE IN THE TOWN OF ERMITA

Underwood & Underwood, London

THE DEFENCE OF MALOLOS, AGUINALDO'S CAPITAL, BY NATIVE TROOPS

AGUINALDO'S TROOPS ON THE DEFENSIVE IN A FIELD ENGAGEMENT

Underwood & Underwood, London

Seville. The richly laden vessels which were engaged in the commerce with America naturally tempted all the pirates and admirals of unfriendly nations, and were not unfrequently plundered, as, for example, by Anson on the coast of the island of Samar in 1743.

Plundered Galleons of Spain

After 1758 the trade lay in the hands of the Real Compania de Filipinas. The harbour of Manila was first opened to all maritime nations in 1803; in 1814 free trade was introduced, and in 1834 the company was dissolved. But even then foreign competition was checked as much as possible by all kinds of vexatious customs duties; the ruinous tobacco monopoly was not done away with until 1882.

Although these ridiculous restrictions on trade and the ascendency of the clerical party hindered all progress, still the Philippines, during the union of Portugal with Spain (1580–1640), formed the centre of a splendid colonial empire. But through the competition of the Netherlands, Spain was soon restricted to the Philippines proper, which now for a long time were anything but prosperous. Nevertheless the spread of Christianity among the natives helped to consolidate the colony. When a British fleet appeared off Manila in the year 1763, and the Chinese and Indians rose against the Spaniards, the latter received the help of the Christian native population.

These allies could not save Manila from falling for the moment into the hands of the British, but the Treaty of Paris restored to the Spaniards all that had been conquered from them in the Philippines. Their power was now unchallenged, except by such rebellions as the tyranny of the monastic and mendicant orders produced among the native races, and by the more formidable discontent of the Malayo-Spanish half-castes, who had received a tinge of European culture, but felt themselves slighted and were eager to play a leading part. Unrest showed itself in 1824. The mutiny of the troops in 1872 might have been most dangerous had it not been smothered by prompt action. The political power of Spain seemed on the whole to have been consolidated in the course of the nineteenth century; and Spain gradually succeeded in annexing to her sovereignty a part at least of the hitherto independent districts such as Southern Mindanao and the Sulu Islands. But the ineradicable tradition of treating the colonies as sources of profit for place hunters and for the ecclesiastical orders prevented any real prosperity; it was equally impossible to treat the Tagals for all time as the Indians of Paraguay had been treated at the time of the Jesuit supremacy. The thought of freedom gradually gained ground: secret societies, resembling freemasonry, formed the rallying-point of discontented Filipinos, whose hatred was directed chiefly against the priesthood.

FILIPINO TRENCH TAKEN BY AMERICANS
Underwood & Underwood, London

Though nominally a Spanish colony for 327 years, the Spanish arm did not reach over the greater part of the group. The Government was virtually subservient to the monastic orders, who, through influence at the Court, could make or unmake the Governor-General.

Influence of Monastic Orders

They absorbed all the best land in the colony, and by their intrigues and their quarrels among themselves brought the Europeans into contempt among the natives.

A revolt against the power of the monks was inevitable as soon as the natives began to acquire wealth. At first it took a

AGUINALDO AT HOME WITH HIS LITTLE SON

Keystone View Co.

SPANISH MEZTIZA GIRLS OF MANILA IN NATIVE DRESS

Underwood & Underwood, London

constitutional form. Contrary to the decrees of the Council of Trent, the monks usurped the duties of the secular clergy and acted as spies in every Christian village, procuring the deportation of any native obnoxious to them without trial. Many of the Filipinos had been ordained priests, and the natives demanded that Mass in the country villages should be celebrated by the secular clergy, the ministration of the friars being confined to missions. In 1872 the monasteries retaliated by a Bill of Indictment against the richest and most influential native families, who were deported summarily to the Ladrone Islands, while four ringleaders of the native priests were publicly garrotted, and the native clergy were declared thenceforth to be incompetent to have the cure of souls. It was no longer a matter for constitutional methods, and the Filipinos began to talk openly of revolution. Philippine committees were founded at Madrid and Barcelona, and native scholars trained in Europe began to introduce new ideas.

Discontent Among the Filipinos

The most distinguished of these was the late Dr. Rizal, who at once joined issue with the monks by disputing their legal title to the lands they occupied. It was open war, and Rizal became the idol of his fellow-countrymen. His life being unsafe, he returned to Europe, but in 1892, having received a safe-conduct from the Governor-General, he returned. He was immediately arrested, however, at the instance of the monks, on a charge of introducing seditious leaflets in his luggage. The monks demanded his execution, but the Governor took the halfway measure of banishing him to the island of Mindanao. The familiar machinery of the monastic orders was now put into motion, and the procurators of the religious houses in Madrid obtained from the Government the recall of Governor-General Despujols, though he had been only eight months in office. The revolutionaries immediately planned a rising in arms, and in the desultory guerilla warfare of 1896 Emilio Aguinaldo came to the front as commander-in-chief of the rebels.

Filipinos in Arms Against Spain

The revolt of 1896, inspired by the Filipino League, closely followed by the war between Spain and America in 1898, finally put an end to the wretched pretence of a Spanish Government, and when Manila was ceded to the Americans the real trouble began. The Filipinos were hungering for the loot of the city, and to leave the country to their tender mercies would have been an unthinkable crime. Common humanity, no less than policy, forced the hands of the American Government, and the Philippines had to be conquered from end to end. For more than two years an army of 60,000 men was kept fully occupied, and it was not until fifteen months after the capture of Aguinaldo and his lieutenant Malvar that resistance was stamped out. The Americans lost no time in substituting civil for military administration, and as soon as peace prevailed throughout the islands a legislative assembly was formed. The franchise for the Lower House was confined to property owners and persons who could speak English or Spanish. The Upper House had a majority of American members. At the same time overtures were made for buying out the various monastic orders. The real difficulty for the Americans lay in the want of civil servants trained in colonial administration, but that is a difficulty which time is fast removing. The total area of the Philippine Islands is about 127,853 square miles. The largest islands are Luzon (40,969 square miles) and Mindanao (36,292 square miles). The population, according to an estimate made in 1913, is 8,831,618, of whom 647,740 are uncivilised. Manila, the capital of the group, had a population of 250,000 in 1913. The islands contain about 25,000 Europeans and Americans, and about 100,000 Chinese. The legislative body consists of seven commissioners—four Americans and three Filipinos — under a Governor-General. The whole area of the islands is now under civil governors, and the country is fast settling down to industrial life and progress. The chief products of the Philippines are hemp, coffee, sugar, copra, tobacco, rice, and indigo. Before the coming of the Americans the mineral resources of the Philippines had not been investigated, but under American enterprise prospecting is being carried out. The most important minerals seem, from present indications, to be lignite, gold, iron, copper, lead and manganese. For the year 1912 the approximate revenue was 13,517,070 dollars, and the expenditure amounted to 14,804,040 dollars.

Philippine Policy of America

MEN AND MANNERS IN OCEANIA

HULA GIRLS OF HAWAII, SANDWICH ISLANDS
Edwards, Littlehampton

NATIVE LADY OF FIJI

HIGH-CASTE NATIVE OF FIJI

Underwood & Underwood, London

GROUP OF YOUNG WOMEN OF THE BETTER CLASS, TAHITI

TAHITAN FISHERMEN

YOUNG MEN OF TAHITI

WARRIORS, WOMEN, AND BOYS OF NEW CALEDONIA

MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF THE NEW HEBRIDES

YOUNG WOMAN OF TONGA AND SAMOAN "ORATOR,' WITH FLY FLAPPER

SCHOOL-GIRLS OF SAMOA AND FRUITSELLERS OF NEW CALEDONIA

Kerry, Sydney

NATIVES OF THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS

FIJI WARRIORS REPRESENTING A FIGHT WITH CLUBS
Underwood & Underwood, London

"MONKEY SHAVE" IN NEW BRITAIN

NATIVES OF GERMAN NEW GUINEA

Underwood & Underwood, London

DYAK FIGHTING MEN OF NEW GUINEA

AN ELDERLY SOLOMON ISLANDER

SOLOMON MAN WITH BLEACHED HAIR

Underwood & Underwood, London

GROUP OF NATIVE MEN OF THE SOLOMON ISLANDS

MAORI MOTHER AND CHILD

TWO MAORI CHIEFS

YOUNG MAORI IN FULL DRESS

AN OLD MAORI CHIEF

Photographs: J. Valentine, Dundee

THE ISLAND NATIONS OF THE SOUTH SEAS

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ISLANDS

FROM a geographical point of view Oceania is a unique feature of the surface of the globe. In the first place it is of enormous size. From the Pelew Islands in the west to Easter Island in the east it stretches over 120 degrees of longitude, that is to say, over fully a third of the circumference of the earth, and from Hawaii in the north to New Zealand in the south it covers 80 degrees of latitude. It resembles, therefore, in this respect the giant continent of Asia, while with its entire land and water area of 27,000,000 square miles it is nearly half as large again.

Enormous Extent of Oceania

The distribution of this "world of islands" within this enormous space is most uneven. Speaking generally, the islands are less densely clustered and smaller in size as one goes from west to east. Though Melanesia does not include many large islands, it includes New Guinea, a country which is not only twice as large as all the other islands of Oceania put together—320,000 square miles to 177,000 square miles—but represents the largest insular formation on the globe.

The Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Group contain islands which in size far exceed all the Micronesian and most of the Polynesian islands; New Caledonia alone is in area almost twice as large as all the Polynesian islands put together, if Hawaii be omitted—7,000 square miles to 4,000 square miles. New Zealand, finally, has almost exactly ten times the area of the whole Polynesian realm of islands including Hawaii—106,000 square miles to 11,000 square miles. Melanesia forms the inner of the two great belts of island groups which curve in a thin line round the continent of Australia, while the outer belt contains all Micronesia and West Polynesia. But between the island clusters of Melanesia, in spite of their considerable area and their dense grouping on a narrow periphery, stretch broad expanses of sea. How thinly scattered, then, must be the islets of Micronesia and Polynesia, with their insignificant area, over the vast waters of the ocean! This isolation is the main feature in their distribution. Our maps of the Pacific are always on a very small scale and cannot bring out this peculiarity. The Caroline Islands, to give an instance, do not indeed appear on them as a dense cluster, but still show clearly how close their interconnection is. Including the Pelews they comprise forty-nine islands and atolls, whose total area is six hundred square miles; or, to give an American parallel, about one-third the area of

Isolation of the Ocean Island Groups

Long Island. This is certainly not much in itself, and how infinitely small it appears when distributed over the expanse of sea which is framed by the archipelago! Stretching over thirty-two degrees of longitude and nine degrees of latitude it covers almost precisely the same area as the Mediterranean—namely, one hundred thousand square miles. We are, therefore, dealing with magnitudes which practically allow of no comparison; and all the more so since, of those six hundred square miles, five islands—which, it may be remarked, are the only ones of non-coralline formation—contain more than two-thirds. The small remainder is distributed over forty-four atolls, hardly rising above the level of the sea, which, with their average size of one square mile, literally disappear in that vast waste of waters. The case is the same with the majority of the Micronesian and Polynesian archipelagoes. Even if the distribution is not so thin as that of the Caroline Islands, still the insignificance of the land surface in comparison with the sea is shown by the fact that the Spaniards in the sixteenth century cruised for some decades up and down the south seas without sighting more than a few islands, which formed part of the densest clusters.

Size of Coral Islands

This distribution of its homes over so vast a region has been of the greatest importance for the inhabitants of Oceania. In the first place, they could reach their ultimate home only by navigation; and, besides that, it was impossible to form and maintain any relations with neighbours by any other means of communication. One result of this was that the natives in general had attained a high degree of skill in seamanship at the time of the arrival of the Europeans; another that they showed a marvellous disregard of distances and a mobility most unusual among primitive races. Not one among all the peoples of the earth can comparewith the Oceanians in all these respects. The clumsy Melanesians, it is true, remain in the background; but where can we find ships to compare in grace and seaworthiness with those of Polynesia or Micronesia, or voyages so extended as those of the Pacific races? And what primitive people can point to colonisation so wide and so effective as the Polynesian? Yet it must be borne in mind that all these astounding performances were executed by races who knew nothing of iron until quite recent times, and were restricted to stone, wood, and shells.

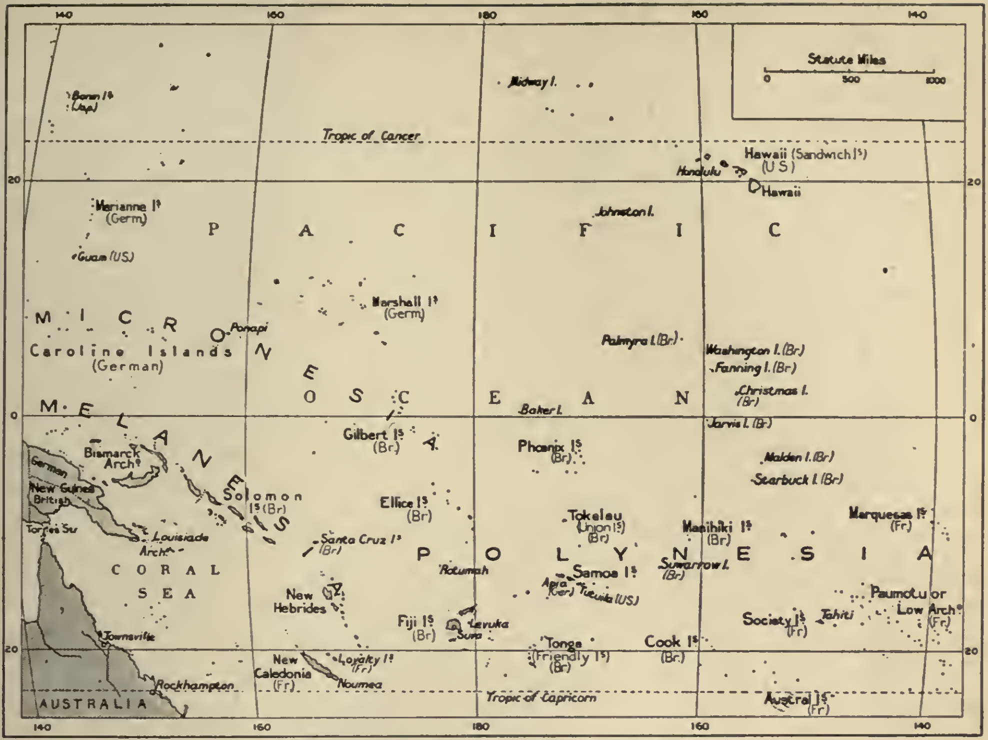
Races of Seamen and Boat-builders

The configuration of the islands in the South Sea has exercised as great an influence on the racial life as their geographical distribution and size. According to the degree of their visibility from the open sea the realm of islands is divided into high (mainly volcanic) and low (or coral) islands. There is no sharp local differentiation of the two groups within the vast region. Some archipelagoes indeed, such as the Tuamotu, Gilbert, and Marshall islands, are purely coral constructions; others again, like all the remaining groups of East and West Polynesia, are high islands. But generally speaking, the fact remains that coralline formations, whether fringing reefs or barrier reefs, are the constant feature of the high islands. This is also the case with the five high islands of the Carolines.

This peculiar arrangement, as well as the configuration of the islands, has in various points greatly influenced the Oceanians and their historical evolution. In the first place the labour of the coral insects always increases the size of the land. This is most clearly seen in the atolls; the reef-building capacity of those insects has produced the whole extent of those dwelling places for man. The activity of the corals, though less in itself, is more varied in its effect in the case of the high islands surrounded by reefs. First, the beach is widened and thus the entire economic position of the islanders is improved. The fertile delta of the Rewa on Vita Levu, as well as the strips of shore from half a mile to two miles broad which border the Tahiti islands, lie on old reefs. These themselves are, wherever they occur, the best fishing grounds; besides this, they always form excellent harbours and channels—a most important point for seafarers like the Oceanians. The seamanship and bold navigation of this racial group has thus been markedly affected by the activity of diminutive molluscs.

How Coral Islands make Nations

The great poverty of the islands as a whole has been an important factor in their history. From a distance they appear like earthly Paradises, but on landing the traveller finds that even the



MAP OF THE ISLANDS OF OCEANIA

Showing their relationship to the Australian continent and the great island of New Guinea.

most picturesque of them offers little to man. Barely a hundredth part of the surface of the coral islands is productive; in the majority of the larger volcanic islands the fertile soil does not amount to more than a quarter, or according to some authorities to more than an eighth, of the entire surface. There is also often an entire lack of fresh water. Under such circumstances the possibility of settlement is confined within narrow limits; if the population exceeds a definite figure there is imminent risk of death from starvation or thirst. The South Sea Islanders are therefore, in the first place, prone to wander; in the second place they adopt the cruel custom of infanticide, in order to check the growth of the population.

Paradises of Poverty

A third result of the poverty of the islands, and one which is important for the geographical aspect of the settlements, is the limitation of the habitable region to the outer edge of the islands. This peculiarity is, on the atolls, a necessary consequence of their circular shape; but it is the rule also among the high islands, even the largest of them. Even in New Guinea itself, that immense island, with its enormous superficial development, the coast districts seem to be distinctly more densely inhabited than the interior. This is the most striking fact about the distribution of animal and vegetable life in Oceania. The land is poor; the sea, the only means of communication, is rich in every form of life.

The poverty of this world of islands is partly connected with the nature of the soil and the enormous distances, which most organisms cannot cross, but partly also with the climate. If we leave out of consideration New Zealand, which extends into temperate latitudes, Oceania possesses a tropical climate tempered by the surrounding ocean. The temperatures are not excessive even for Europeans. But uniformity is their chief feature; the diurnal and annual range is limited to a few degrees.

Climatic Influences in Oceania

The differences in the rainfall are more marked. Although generally ample, in places amounting to two hundred and fifty or three hundred inches in the year, it is

almost completely wanting in parts of that vast region, which are so dry that extensive guano beds can be formed. The contrasts in the rainfall on the several groups and islands are the more striking, since they are confined to a smaller space. These are not, of course, noticeable on the flat coral islands, which scarcely project a couple of yards above the sea; but the elevation of the high islands into the moister strata of the atmosphere presupposes a strong differentiation between the weather side and the lee side. The side sheltered from the wind escapes the rain. These two sides do not face the same points of the compass throughout the whole Pacific Ocean. Its western part, as far as the Solomons, belongs to the region of the West Pacific monsoon; the east, however, is the definite region of the trade-winds. Hence, in the east, the most luxurious tropical vegetation covers the east and north sides of the islands in the Northern Hemisphere, and the east and south sides of those in the Southern Hemisphere; while on their lee side the true barrenness of the soil shows itself, whereas, in the west, the conditions are almost reversed.

Effects of Mountains on the Islands

The effect of this climate on the development of the culture and history of the Oceanian is at once seen in the difference of temperament and character between the wild and energetic, yet politically capable, Maori on far distant New Zealand with its bracing Alpine air, and his not ungifted northern kinsmen, indolent and politically sterile, who have been unnerved by the unvarying uniformity of temperature. On the other hand the steadiness of the meteorological conditions has allowed the Oceanians to develop into the best seamen among primitive races.

Where, as in Oceania, one can be certain of the weather often for months in advance, it is easier, from inclination or necessity, to venture on an excursion into the unknown than in regions where the next hour may upset all calculations. The regularity of the winds and currents of the Pacific Ocean has played a great part in the theories that have been formed about the Polynesian migrations; in fact, most of them are absolutely based upon them.

Regular Weather Conditions

Thanks to geographical exploration, we now know that this regularity is by no means so universal as used to be assumed; that, on the contrary, in these regions also, the wind veers with the variations of atmospheric pressure, and the currents with the wind. Here also from time to time deviations from the usually prevailing direction—that is, from the eastern quadrants—are to be noticed. On the other hand, we are indebted to the spread of ethnographical investigation for the knowledge that the seamanship of the Polynesians not only extended to sailing with the wind, but that an occasional tacking against it was not outside the limit of their nautical skill. The ocean and its meteorology thus lose some of their value as sources furnishing an answer to the question of the origin of the Polynesians, in comparison with anthropological and ethnographical evidence; but it would be at any rate premature to disregard them altogether. Even if skilful use of the last-mentioned methods of inquiry is likely to solve the problem of origin, the other and almost equally important question of distribution over the whole ocean can be answered only by giving full weight to geographical considerations.

Poverty that Makes History

The main feature of the flora of Oceania is its dependence on the region of the south-east Asiatic monsoon. This feature is very marked in Melanesia; but further toward the east it gradually disappears, while the number of varieties generally diminishes. Strangely enough, it is this very scantiness that has proved of such importance for the history of Oceania. The Melanesian, surrounded by a luxuriant wealth of vegetation, dreams away his existence and leaves no history; his wants are supplied by the unfailing store of the ocean or the rich forest. We first find a historical life in the Fiji archipelago, where nature is less prodigal. The inhabitant of Polynesia or Micronesia has not been so spoilt. Scantily endowed with fertile soil and edible plants, he is confronted by the wide ocean, which he has nevertheless learnt to subdue. Although he did not possess a single tree which could furnish him with seaworthy timber, he became a craftsman, whose skill compensated for the deficiencies of Nature. But by so doing he had in one direction freed himself from the constraint of Nature, and nothing could hinder him from mastering her in another. Progress in technical skill has always been the first

step toward every other form of progress, including the annihilation of distance.

Nevertheless, the Polynesians would not have been able to extend their wanderings so widely had not Nature, so niggard in everything else, given them further support in the shape of the coco-nut palm. Its seeds, together with those of a few other plants, can cross spaces as vast as the distances between the Pacific islands without losing their germinative power; thus these seeds have been the first condition of the diffusion of the Polynesian over the wide realm of islands. It is only recently that other food plants have become more important for the nourishment of the islanders than the coco-nuts.

Importance of the Coco-nut

This does not apply to New Zealand. Just as the country climatically is distinct from the rest of the island world, so its flora bears an essentially different stamp. It is unusually varied, and the number of species can be counted by the thousand. Only two plants, however, have proved of value to the aborigines—the rarauhe, a fern with an edible root, and the hara-keke, or New Zealand flax. The value attached to it by the first Europeans, and their consequent efforts to obtain it, led to the first friendly intercourse between the Maoris and the whites.

CAPTAIN COOK

The English naval captain who circumnavigated the globe, and made important geographical surveys and discoveries.

The characteristic of the fauna of Oceania is its poverty in mammals and animals of service to man, in the east even more than in the west. Even the dingo, which the wretched native of Australia could make his somewhat dubious companion, has not been vouchsafed by Nature to the Oceanian. It is only in quite modern times that the kindness of foreigners has supplied the old deficiency by the introduction of European domestic animals. New Zealand was once rich in the species and number of its large fauna. Many varieties of the moa, some of gigantic size—the largest species measured thirteen feet in height—roamed the vast plains. At the present day it is one of the long extinct classes, having fallen a victim to the insatiable craving of the Maori for flesh food. It is easy to understand that the small islands are poor in animal life, for with their scanty space they could not afford the larger creatures any means of existence. On the other hand, the poverty of the fauna of New Guinea is more surprising; notwithstanding the tropical luxuriance of its soil, its fauna is even more scanty than that of Australia. The pig alone has proved valuable to the population.

The result of this limited fauna, as reflected in an ethnographically important phenomenon, has been of much consequence in the historical development of the races of Polynesia and Micronesia. The races living principally on islands of very small size are at the present day either entirely without bows and arrows as weapons, or retain them merely as a survival. This has been traced back to the want of opportunity for practice, which is more essential for the bow than for any other weapon. This opportunity could never have been very frequent, even if the supply of game had been ample at the time of the immigration of the hunters. The loss of any weapon which would kill at a distance must naturally have appreciably altered the tactics of the islanders.

Evolution in Methods of Warfare

It is true that, on some groups of islands, fighting at close quarters, which all primitive peoples dread, was avoided by the adoption of the slingstone or the throwing club in place of the arrow; but, as a rule, the transition to hand-to-hand fighting with spear, axe, or club was inevitable. This always denotes an improvement in tactics, as is shown by the

classic examples of the Zulus in South Africa, who, merely from the method of attack in close order introduced by Tchaka, and the use of the stabbing spear as the decisive weapon, won the foremost place in the south-east of the Dark Continent. In Polynesia the new method of fighting certainly contributed to that bloodiness of the battles, both among the natives themselves and against the whites, which distinguishes its history from that of all other primitive races. The political consequences, from want of any suitable antagonist, could naturally not be so important here as in South Africa. Nevertheless, the comparatively rigid organisation of the majority of the Polynesians is certainly to a large degree the result of their tactics.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PEOPLE

ETHNOLOGY separates the population of Oceania into three large groups—the Melanesians, who inhabit the inner belt of coast from New Guinea to New Caledonia and Fiji; the Micronesians, on the Caroline, Marianne, Pelew, Marshall, and Gilbert islands; and the Polynesians, who inhabit the rest of the great world of islands, including New Zealand.

The Island Races

The question of the racial position, the connection and the origin of these three groups, has occupied scientific inquiry since the early days of their discovery, and has created a truly enormous literature, although no thoroughly satisfactory solution has hitherto been found. So far as the Melanesians are concerned, the question is indeed to be regarded as settled, since no one at the present day feels any doubt of their connection with the great negroid group of races. Even on the subject of the Micronesians there is a general consensus of opinion that they can no longer be contrasted with the Polynesians. They are seen to be a branch of the Polynesians, and that branch indeed which, on account of the close proximity of Melanesia, has received the largest percentage of negroid elements.

Thus it is only the Polynesian question which awaits solution. Nothing supports the view that the Polynesians grew up in their present homes. Such a theory is impossible on purely geographical grounds. We are left, therefore, with immigration from outside. The claims of America, on the one hand, and of Malaysia on the other, to be the cradle of the Polynesian race have each their supporters. Under the stress of more modern views on the penetration and wanderings of nations, the disputants have agreed in recognising a physical and linguistic connection with the latter region, without, however, denying ethnological relations with the former. The racial affinity of the Polynesians with the inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago is firmly established on the strength of physical and linguistic resemblances. There is more difference of opinion as to the nature and amount of the foreign admixture. As matters stand, a negroid admixture can alone enter into the question. Even those who believe in the former racial purity of the Polynesians must allow such an admixture in the case of Micronesia. As the result of numerous modern observations, it appears probable that a similar admixture exists as far as Samoa and still farther; even remote Easter Island does not appear quite free from it.

A multitude of facts supports also the ethnological connection of Polynesia with America. The faith and religious customs in both regions rest as a whole on the same basis of animism and ancestor worship. In both we find the same rude cosmogony, the same respect for the tribal symbol, and the same cycle of myths, to say nothing of the numerous coincidences in the character of material culture possessed by them, and in the want of iron common to both. Ethnology, in face of these coincidences, is in a difficult position. Few

Origin of the Island Peoples

ethnologists still venture to think of any direct migration from America. It is certain that the Polynesians were bold sailors, and often covered long stretches in their wanderings, voluntary or involuntary; but to sail over forty to sixty degrees of longitude without finding an opportunity to put into port anywhere would surely have been beyond their powers, and still more beyond the powers of their forefathers.

Under these circumstances the most satisfactory assumption is that of a large Mongoloid primitive race, whose branches have occupied the entire "East" of the inhabited world, East Asia, Oceania, and America. This theory extricates us at

once from the difficulty of explaining those coincidences, but it does not directly solve the problem of the great differences in the civilisations belonging to the different branches of the Mongoloid family. It seems audacious to explain it by absorption of influences of the surrounding world, but the theory offers possibilities.

The first really historical activities of the Oceanians are their migrations. At the present day they are the most migratory people among the primitive races of the world, and voyages of more than a thousand nautical miles are nothing unusual among them. There are various incentives to such expeditions, such as the wish and the necessity of trading with neighbouring tribes, starvation, which is not infrequent on the poor islands, political disturbances, and a pronounced love of roaming. This last is the most prominent feature in the character of the Malayo-Polynesian, which has, more than anything else, scattered this ethnological group over a region of 210 degrees of longitude, from Madagascar to Easter Island, and over 80 degrees of latitude. Compared with this, the other causes of migration shrink in general significance, although locally they are often of primary importance and have had great bearing on history. The number of the journeys known to us is not great; the interval since the opening up of the island world of Oceania is too short, and the region is too remote. Yet the number is sufficient to bring more than one characteristic of the past history of these races clearly before our eyes.

Causes of Primitive Wanderings

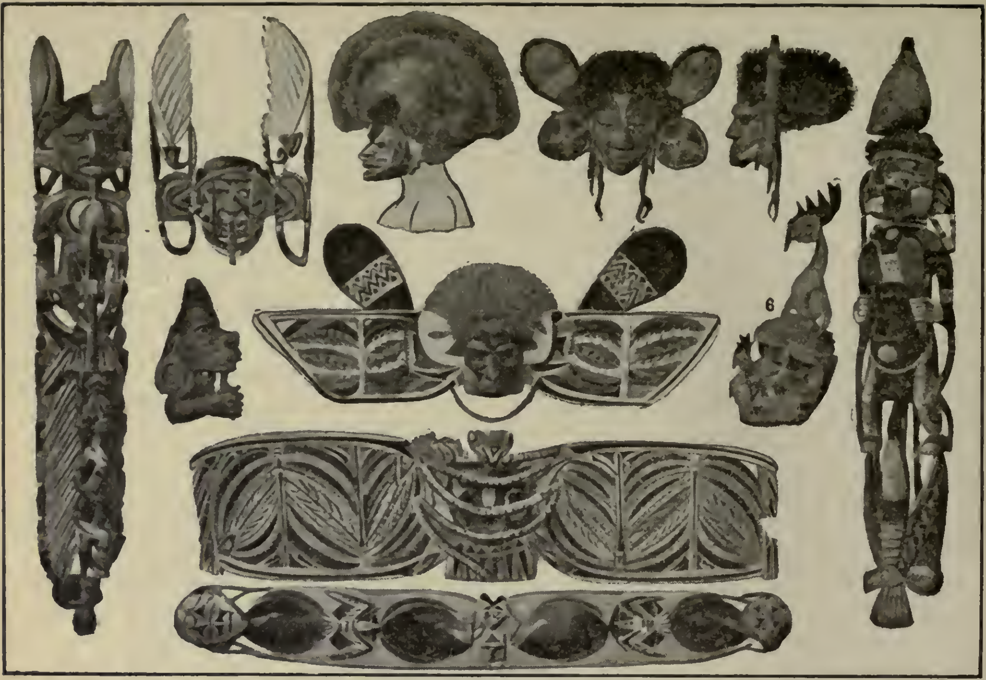
In the first place the frequent involuntary voyages, when the seafarers were driven far out of their course, teach us that the winds and currents have not set from east to west with that persistency which old and celebrated theories maintain, and that therefore no natural phenomena hindered the Polynesian from spreading from west to east. Under these conditions, the way from the west as far as distant Easter Island was not barred. Secondly, the frequency of these voyages allows us to understand the true character of the Pacific Ocean. It is no waste of waters, where islands and archipelagoes, like the oases in a desert, lie remote and solitary; but a sea full of life, where the constant traffic prevents any one group of islands from being absolutely cut off from the outer world.

The ocean has not presented this feature for the last few centuries only; it has been characteristic of it since the day when the first keel touched the shores of Hawaii, New Zealand, and Easter Island. We have the evidence of the aborigines themselves for this. Their rich store of legends hinges on their old wanderings, and as it deals more particularly with the earliest voyages it gives us a welcome insight into the original relations of the islanders with one another and with the outside world; it is thought that the question of the original home of the Polynesians might be solved in this way. The part which the land of Hawaiki under its various names—Sawaii, Hawaii, Hapai, Hevava, Awaiki and others—plays in the ancestral legends of most Polynesians is familiar even beyond the circle of ethnologists. It recurs among the Maoris of New Zealand, in Tahiti, Raiatea, Rarotonga, the Marquesas, Hawaii, and elsewhere. To see in it a definite and limited locality, from which the streams of emigration flowed at different times to the most varied directions of the ocean, appears impracticable in view of the fact that the geographical position of Hawaiki is not accurately fixed in all the traditions, but varies considerably; it even meets us as the land of ghosts, the western land where the souls sink together with the sun into the lower world.

Legends of Ancestral Migrations

Nevertheless, the investigation of the primitive period in Polynesian history is benefited in several instances by tracing out the Hawaiki myth; especially if this task be supplemented by a review of the anthropological, ethnographical, and geographical evidence. We may then assume with great probability that the island of Savaii, which belongs to the Samoa group, was the starting point of the migration of the Maoris to New Zealand. Under the name of Hawaii it also forms the starting point of the inhabitants of Raiatea and Tahiti. To this fact, again, point the legends of the Marquesas and the Hawaii group; partly also of Rarotonga, which, on its side, as the "nearer Hawaiki" of tradition, served the Maoris as an intermediate station on the way to New Zealand, while it was a regular starting-place for the inhabitants of the Austral and Gambier islands. A final starting-point was the Tonga group.

Polynesia Before the Europeans



THE REMARKABLE ART OF MELANESIA: SPECIMENS OF NATIVE CARVING

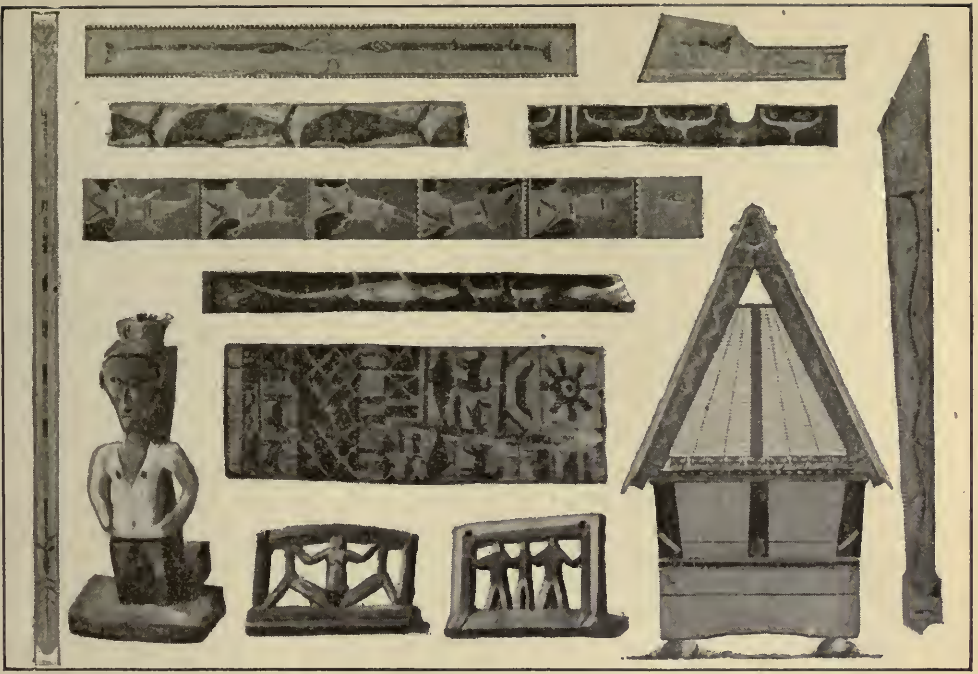
The Melanesians were backward in political culture but their arts were highly developed. These examples of their carvings, chiefly from drawings made from specimens in European collections, are more graphic and realistic and display far more observation of Nature than those of the Micronesians, illustrated on the opposite page.

Not only is the number of starting-points surprisingly small in comparison with the size of the territory occupied by the Polynesians, but the original relations among the several groups appear simple to an astonishing degree. Examined in the light of ethnology and history, this simplicity cannot be maintained. It is an ascertained fact as regards the Maoris that their immigration did not occur in the form of one single wave, but that fresh batches came from the north; and a very late subsequent immigration is specially recorded. The inhabitants of the Hawaii islands are connected with Tahiti by language, customs, and legendary travels; on the other hand, the place names show the enduring recollection of Samoa. Rarotonga is the focus of the entire remotest south, while it was itself peopled with settlers almost simultaneously from Samoa and Tahiti. In the end, Tahiti seems to have sent emigrants to Rarotonga and Hawaii, also to the Southern Marquesas, as the resemblance in language and customs proves.

Relations of the Island Groups

It is difficult to determine the date of these migrations, since these movements are a constant feature. Obviously, no reliance can be placed in the genealogical lists of the several islands, which vary from twenty to eighty-eight generations. History does not carry us very far; ethnology alone tells us that the dispersion of the Polynesians over the Pacific Ocean cannot go back to any remote period, since they have not had the time to develop any marked racial peculiarities. It can be only a question of centuries for New Zealand and many other countries. In the case of Tahiti, and perhaps Hawaii, the first settlement may be assigned possibly to an earlier date. But in no case need we go back more than a millennium and a half. The wanderings extended also to Melanesia, in the east of which, as a consequence of the distances, more settlements were planted than in the west. Fiji, in respect of social and political customs, shows almost as many Polynesian traits as its two neighbours, Tonga and Samoa, and has experienced a considerable infusion of Polynesian blood. In New Guinea, on the other hand, we find marked traces of this blood, but an almost total

Comparative Lateness of Settlement



DECORATIVE ART OF MICRONESIA: SPECIMENS OF NATIVE CARVING

A comparison between the examples of Micronesian carving, illustrated above, and the Melanesian carvings shown on the opposite page gives evidence of a less free and imaginative art in the former, but a considerable feeling for decorative effect and genuine craftsmanship is to be seen by a careful inspection of the detail of these Micronesian objects.

absence of Polynesian customs and political institutions. It can hardly be shown at the present day, when the Western Pacific contains so mixed a population, in what proportion migration has been deliberate or involuntary; but, doubtless, besides the frequent driftings to east and west, there were many cases of systematic colonisation. We thus get to know an aspect of the Polynesians which is not often represented among primitive peoples.

In Africa the only examples are the Wanyamwesi of Central German East Africa, who since the middle of the nineteenth century have colonised the whole equatorial east of the continent, and advanced their settlements far into the Southern Congo basin, and the Kioto in the Western Congo State.

THE BEGINNING OF OCEANIC HISTORY

OUR knowledge of the history of Oceania goes scarcely beyond the discoveries of the island world, for the tradition of Polynesia, which goes considerably further back into the past, does not distinguish between fact and fiction. Nevertheless, even in Oceania it is possible to have a glimpse of the past. Here, as in Australia, we find remains of old buildings and sites whose nature presupposes certain definite political and social conditions then existent; but, besides this, we have adequate data in the information which the early explorers give as to the state of things they discovered. In the case of the Polynesians and Micronesians, as in that of the Australians, it admits of no doubt that their present stage of civilisation does not denote the highest point of their development, but that in many departments of national life a distinct retrogression has taken place. In Melanesia, on the other hand, where the civilisation does not even reach the present stage of the neighbouring peoples on the east, all evidence of a previous higher culture is wanting. Melanesia is, in this respect, like a hollow between an elevation in the west, the Malay civilisation, and a second somewhat lower

elevation in the east, the Polynesian civilisation.

This by no means implies that the culture possessed by its inhabitants was in itself inferior or lacked originality. On the contrary, the arts were highly developed in Melanesia; indeed, much of the material culture, and some branches of intellectual culture, surpass anything shown by the Micronesians at least. It is only in political respects that the Melanesian is behind. The cause of this is to be found primarily in the character of the negroid race, and, secondly, in the absence of any stimulus from outside. Where these causes are absent, as in Fiji, even the Melanesian has shown himself capable of political development.

Three Degrees of Civilisation

The decadence of the Polynesian and Micronesian civilisation is shown in two ways—first, in buildings and works of a size, mass, and extent which preclude all idea that they could have been erected by a population at the stage in which the first Europeans found them; and, secondly, in the political and social institutions, which bear every trace of decay. The South Sea is not poor in remains of the former class. On Pitcairn Island, which has long been deserted by all primitive inhabitants, the stone foundations of ancient temples are to be found even now; on Rapa old fortifications crown the hills, and on Huaheine a dolmen rises near a cyclopean causeway. Under the guano layers of the Christmas Islands roads skilfully constructed of coral-rag bear witness to an age of a greater spirit of enterprise, of a higher plane of technical skill, and of a more pronounced national life. Tinian, one of the Marianne group, has its colossal stone pillars, crowned with capitals, to mark the dwelling-places of the old and more vigorous Chamorro. But all this is nothing in comparison with the ruins of Nanmatal on Ponape, and the stone images on Rapanui in Easter Island. The decadence in the political and social field is not generally so obvious as that in technical skill; but it is incontestable everywhere, and has been distinctly more disastrous to the national development of the islanders. This is shown by the loss of the old patriarchal society, in which the king was reverenced by the people as a god; where he was the natural owner of all the land, and where the view prevailed that all was from him and all was for him. When Captain Cook and his contemporaries appeared in the South Sea, in many places hardly any trace of such a society remained, while in others it was rapidly disappearing. The ancient dynasties had either been entirely put aside and the states dissolved, or, if they still existed, only a faint gleam of their former glory was reflected on the ancient rulers. The old organisation of the people, with its strictly defined grades, had already been destroyed, and a struggle of the upper class for property and power had taken the place of the former feudalism. This effort had been everywhere crowned with success, and had mainly contributed to break up the rigid and yet universally accepted system. Finally, even religion entirely lost its ancient character. The original gods were indeed retained; but their number, at first limited, had been in the course of time indefinitely multiplied, since the gods created from the class of the high nobility were gradually put on a level with the older deities.

Evidences of an Earlier Civilisation

Thus the national and popular religion was changed into a superstitious worship of the individual. It is one and the same thing which destroyed the State and the religion of the Polynesians—the degradation of the old civil and religious authorities or the promotion of the formerly lower degrees. But in any case the abandonment of the old idea of a state was complete. The tokens of retrogression in Oceania, when collected, speak a clear language. They tell us, in the first place, that there must have been a time in the prehistoric period of the South Sea Islanders when an overgrowth of the population on the already settled islands made it necessary to send out colonies; we learn, further, that the period of colonisation must have also been the period of the highest development of culture.

Religion Becomes Superstition

Colonisation was possible only under the government of a rigid political organisation, of which we can at most discover a reflection in the subsequent life of the South Sea races. We may not assume a growth of technical knowledge on the settled islands, such as was requisite for the erection of large buildings; so that even in the field of material culture we can suppose the existence of only an

THE NATIVE ART OF NEW ZEALAND: SPECIMENS OF MAORI CARVING

1. Carved window frame with sliding sash at Rotorua Lake, South Island: the woman is a Maori guide. 2. Maori gods. 3. Carved portal of Maori house. 4. Figure from Lake Pukaki in South Island. 5. Maori canoe.

original and more universal standard of accomplishment. We thus find the phenomenon, interesting both from the historical and the geographical point of view, that the moment of the widest dispersion of a race denotes the beginning of its decadence. This phenomenon is not surprising if we take into account the nature of the homes of the race. It is easier for the population of small islands to attain a higher culture and a more strict political organisation than to maintain themselves at the stage which they inherited or brought with them. The narrow limits of space make a comprehensive scheme easy and possible, but involve the danger of a conflict between opposite parties, and thus the destruction of the existing system. None of the Polynesian islands escaped this fate, especially since the character of the people shows few traits of conservatism. Quarrels and disputes have been the chief and the favourite occupation of the Polynesians as long as we have known them. The decadence is the greatest where the island communities are the smallest, and where, therefore, destructive influences are most powerful; thus in the centre of the world of islands hardly a trace of the ancient culture has come down to us. When the Europeans appeared on the scene, marked traces of this culture—in one place a vigorous national life, in another stupendous monuments—were extant only on the outer belt, in Hawaii, New Zealand, and the remote Easter Island.

Dispersion Promotes Decadence

The fall of the Maoris is the best illustration of the rapidity with which the attainments of civilisation can be lost. At all times addicted to violence and intolerant of united effort, they split up the larger states of their twin islands into numerous mutually hostile and aggressive communities, from which every notion of a national unity and its effect in maintaining a civilisation has disappeared. At the same time the originally vigorous racial character lost more and more in moral restraint, and became more savage and cruel. The downfall of the ancient religion finally ensued. The old gods lost their personality, and were transformed into a multitude of forest and sea demons, unparalleled for extravagance and grotesqueness of form. Art and technical skill did not escape. As early as Captain Cook's time, it was no longer possible to produce carvings of the older kind.

Evidences of Maori Decay

CAPTAIN COOK'S DISCOVERIES IN THE SOUTH SEAS

The three voyages of the famous navigator, Captain James Cook, were fraught with momentous consequences to his country and the world. In his first voyage (1768-71) he circumnavigated New Zealand and surveyed the east coast of Australia. During his second voyage (1772-75) he cruised among the Pacific Islands. In his last voyage (1776-79) he discovered the Sandwich and other groups of islands, and was killed in an attempt to land on Hawaii, on February 14th, 1779.

THE OCEANIC ISLANDS AND THEIR STORY

WE come now to the separate histories of the three groups of islands of which Oceania consists—Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia—beginning with the first, and treating them in the order named.

MELANESIA

Melanesia, apart from Fiji, has no history properly so-called. We are acquainted merely with the treatment which the inhabitants have received at the hands of foreigners.

The chief cause of this phenomenon, which recalls the passivity of the Australians, is the slight political capacity of the negroid race. A second cause is that isolation from the outside world which can be partly attributed to the dreaded fierceness of the Melanesians. The more enterprising Polynesians have never shown any great inclination to attempt colonisation on a large scale in Central and Western Melanesia, and the whites have not entered on the task of opening up these islands with the zeal which they have shown in the rest of Oceania since the days of Cook. Exploration and missionary activity are tardy and timid in these parts, and European colonisation is still later in coming.

Notwithstanding this late beginning of serious encroachments from outside, the Melanesians came early into hostile contact with the whites. Out of the long roll of explorers, from J. Le Maire and W. Schouten (1616), past W. Dampier (1700) and J. Roggeveen (1722) to L. A. de Bougainville and De Surville (1768), there is hardly one who had not been guilty of the greatest cruelties to the natives. Even Cook, in 1774, ordered the natives of Erromango to be shot down with cannon for some trifling misconduct. But the nineteenth century has behaved still more outrageously to these islands. Their wealth in sandalwood soon attracted numerous traders, English and American in particular, but also Polynesians. All these persons, who sought merely their own advantage, behaved like savages. They plundered peaceable tribes, and forced them to work as slaves on other islands; they cut down the valuable trees, and thus caused disputes with their owners, which generally ended in the defeat of the latter.

Cruelties upon the Melanesians

Extortions and unprovoked bombardment of villages were matters of daily occurrence. The traders captured a chief, and only released him at a ransom of a shipload of sandalwood; and once when the inhabitants of Fate in the New Hebrides fled from the crew of an English ship and a body of Tongan allies into a cave with wives and children, their opponents lighted a fire at the entrance and suffocated all the fugitives.

A History Written in Blood

The consequences of this treatment of the natives were soon seen. The warlike and able-bodied Melanesians returned blow for blow, and avenged the outrages committed by the whites upon their fellows when and where they could. Whoever was imprudent enough to land upon their coasts was murdered. It thus comes about that the history of the exploration of Melanesia down to the present day has been written in blood. Even missions have met with greater initial difficulties here, and found a harder task than anywhere else in the South Sea.

The long duration of racial struggles has produced the result that the national characteristics of Melanesia are no longer in their primitive integrity. New Guinea, where little more than the fringe of the island has been explored, has, indeed, suffered little, and the inhabitants of the Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomons have hitherto successfully repulsed any serious attack on their modes of life and thought or their material possessions. The state of things is less favourable in the more easterly archipelagoes, Santa Cruz, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and Fiji. Here, undoubtedly, the stronger infusion of Polynesian blood has weakened the

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A TYPE OF MELANESIAN CANOE

These strangely constructed Reef Island canoes sail incredible distances among the Melanesian group, trading fish and coco-nuts for the products of the larger islands.

powers of resistance of the population, while these groups have also been longest exposed to the brunt of the attacks of the whites. The result, as is always the case where the barbarian comes into touch with civilisation, has been a decline in the numbers, physique, and morals of the native population. This is most marked in New Caledonia, where the natives, under the influence of the French system of transportation, have sunk from a warlike and honour-loving nation, endowed with high intellectual gifts, into a ragged mob. It is difficult to form an idea of the numerical shrinkage, since the older accounts are mere estimates. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the New Hebrides and Santa Cruz have undoubtedly much diminished in numbers, a change which in Fiji can be proved by actual statistics.

FIJI

The great political capacity, judging by a Melanesian standard, of the Fiji Islanders can be traced to the strong admixture of Polynesian elements and the position of the archipelago, which lies advanced toward the east. Their history begins with those feuds which have played a part in all the Polynesian islands for centuries. In these wars, unimportant enough in themselves, the Europeans interfered about the beginning of the nineteenth century, without any political intentions at first. In 1804 twenty-seven convicts, escaped from Norfolk Island, took sides, sometimes with one, sometimes with another chief; but the crew of the slaver Eliza, which was wrecked on the cliffs of Nairi in 1808, had a still more decisive share in the course of events, since they possessed muskets. Their choice fell on the chief Naulivau of Mbau, who thus was enabled to overthrow the head of the "State" of Verata in Great Fiji, or Viti Levu. His successors remained in possession of the supreme power until 1874. After a reign full of military successes, which won him the surname Vuni Valu, meaning "root of war," Naulivau died in the year 1829. He was followed by his brother, Tanoa, one of the most ferocious cannibals whom Fiji ever knew.

Under his son, Seru, better known by the name of Kakobau or Thakombau (1852-1883), the kingdom founded by the first Vuni Valu reached its greatest prosperity and extent, comprising almost the entire archipelago. His accession occurred at a time when the Fiji Archipelago had attracted, in more than one respect, the attention of the whites. The Wesleyan mission had obtained a footing here since 1835; in 1844 the Catholic mission also. Principally through the

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THE WORK OF AN EARTHQUAKE

This beautiful rock in Blanche Bay, New Britain, was thrown up by volcanic disturbance thirty years ago.

SCENES OF VILLAGE LIFE IN THE ISLANDS OF MELANESIA

1. "Tambo" House, Laembay, Utupua, Santa Cruz. 2. Native houses, in the Bismarck Archipelago. 3. Aerial house in the New Hebrides. 4. Native house in the Fiji Islands. 5. Native village in New Caledonia. 6. Hurricane-proof house in Port Vila, Santa Cruz. Chiefly from photos by Underwood & Underwood.

activity of the former the old feuds had stopped, at any rate in the coast districts of Great Fiji; British, American, and other white traders were able to settle there in complete security. In 1847 the United States of America, in order to express their appreciation of the newly discovered field, established a consular agency there.

At the same time artful aspersions were cast on the Wesleyan mission in order to weaken British influence. In 1849, when the house of the consul, Williams, was burnt, the natives stole some of his property. Williams demanded from Thakombau compensation to the amount of "three thousand dollars, twelve and a half cents." An unprejudiced witness informs us this "exact" sum was not justified, and was not paid. In the next year, in consequence of other thefts, it had mounted to five thousand and one dollars and thirty-eight cents. Williams laid this demand before the commanders of two American warships, with a request for support, but it was rejected. In 1855, however, Captain Boutwell, who had been sent to Fiji for a renewed inquiry, ordered Thakombau to pay capital and interest forthwith. The sum to be paid was fixed in a second letter at 30,000 dollars, and threats of force were held out. Finally, Boutwell sent for the chief on board his ship, demanded 45,000 dollars, and threatened to hang him. Thakombau then signed the agreement.

THAKOMBAU, A FAMOUS KING OF FIJI
He ruled over the greater part of the Fiji Islands from 1852 to 1883, and was nominally Christian. Under him, the islands reached their greatest prosperity, and he voluntarily ceded his country to the British Government in the year 1871.

Complications, also, were threatened with France. Fourteen years after the unsuccessful attempt at settlement in 1844, French Catholic missionaries tried once more to gain a footing on Viti Levu. Since Thakombau, who in 1854 had adopted Christianity, partly from conviction, but mostly on political grounds, felt the impossibility of any longer maintaining his position, especially as his relations with Tonga were very strained at that time, he determined to escape from his difficulties and cede his land to England. On October 12th, 1858, he made a treaty with the British Consul, Pritchard, to which all the chiefs of the island subsequently agreed, to the following effect: Thakombau, who wished to become a British subject but to retain his title and suzerainty, promised 200,000 acres of land; in return, Britain was to take over the American debt. The British Government, from the wish not to cause unpleasantness with America, refused the offer. Now, not only did the Americans immediately press their claims, but Tonga demanded a large sum of money for the assistance which it professed to have previously rendered. The monarch in his difficulty accepted the proposal of the Melbourne Polynesian Company in 1868, which promised to satisfy the claims of America in return for the grant of the land offered to the British Government. The flourishing condition of the German trading firms, which had been active in the country since 1860, had drawn public attention to Fiji. On conclusion of the treaty, the company paid the Americans $45,000. In return, it at once received 110,000 acres.

During these negotiations there had been incessant disputes among the natives themselves; at the same time there had been quarrels between them and the numerous white immigrants. In order to put an end to this state of things, Thakombau in 1871 formed a constitutional government, with a Ministry composed of twelve chiefs, a legislative council chosen by the whites, and a supreme court. So long as the interests of the Government and the colonists coincided, this artifice, frequently tried in the South Sea, was

SUVA, THE CAPITAL OF THE FIJI ISLANDS Underwood & Underwood

This, the chief town of Fiji, is on the south coast of Viti Levu, the largest island in the group. It is the centre of trade, and has a population of over 1,000 Europeans. It is extremely healthy, the temperature varying from 93° to 61°.

harmless in results; but when the whites were required to pay taxes, they simply ignored the laws. The public debt soon grew to $400,000. Thakombau saw no alternative left him but to renew the offer of his land to Great Britain, but this time as a gift. England at first refused it again, and only changed her purpose from the fear that other Powers—America, or Germany, which was interested just then in the enterprise of the Godeffroys—might close with the offer. On September 30th, 1874, England accepted Thakombau's offer, which had actually in the interval been made to the German Empire and declined by it. Fiji became a British Crown colony. England took over all the debts, and paid Thakombau a yearly allowance until his death in 1883. The sales of land completed before the British annexation were not at once recognised, but gradually tested; in 1885, more than ten years later, the Germans concerned were compensated with a small solatium of $53,100

Fiji Islands become British Crown Colony

Settlement of German Claims

In the spring of 1902 Fiji concluded a separate federal treaty with New Zealand. The individual islands in the Fiji group number over 200, and of these some 80 are inhabited. The total area of the islands is 7,435 square miles. The population is estimated at 148,891 of whom 2,500 are Europeans, and over 48,000 Indians. The largest islands are Viti Levu (4,250 square miles) and Vanua Levu (2,600 square miles). The government is in the hands of a governor appointed by the British Crown, and assisted by an Executive Council. There is also a Legislative Council consisting of ten official members, six elected members, and two native members. For native government the colony is divided into provinces, which are administered through native chiefs. In 1912 the revenue was $1,419,735, and the expenditure $1 340,790. The chief products of the islands consist of sugar cane, coco-nuts, bananas, maize, tea, tobacco, and rice, and

FIJIAN TEMPLE, FORMERLY A SCENE OF CANNIBALISM

there are several sugar mills, a tea factory, a soap manufactory, and some saw mills. There is regular communication with Australia, New Zealand, Tonga and Samoa, Honolulu and Canada.

MICRONESIA

The small average size of the Micronesian islands has not prevented the inhabitants from developing a peculiar, and, in many respects, a higher, culture than their kinsfolk in the east and south. The several localities have, indeed, proved too limited for any development of political importance. The only events to be recorded are the usual feuds between the hostile village communities, although, judging by the ancient buildings and terraces on the Pelews, on Ponape, and the Marianne Islands, the conditions for a politically organised activity must have been far more favourable in earlier times than at the present day. It is at present impossible to determine whether the decadence of the Pelews and the Carolines is due to other reasons than the antagonism of conflicting interests produced by the cramped space.

Village Feuds and Decadence

A YOUNG KING AND QUEEN OF THE MARQUESAS

On the other hand, the process of disintegration on the Marianne Islands can be accurately traced. All accounts from the period anterior to the beginning of the Spanish conquest and conversion speak in the highest terms of the condition of the islands, their high stage of civilisation and large population. Guam was compared to an immense garden, and in 1668, at the beginning of the Jesuit mission, contained 180 splendid villages. The total number of the Chamorro, as the aborigines were called by the Spaniards, is reckoned variously; a favourite estimate is 200,000, but even 600,000 has been given; the lowest calculation does not sink below 40,000.

In addition to an advanced agriculture, which, notwithstanding primitive tools, could boast of cultivating rice, we find an excellently developed art of navigation, a knowledge of pottery, a regulated calendar, and so forth. The Spaniards destroyed all this in a few years. According to an accurate calculation, in 1710, forty-two years after the arrival of the Jesuit father Sanvitores, there were 3,539 Chamorro still left; in 1741 there were 1,816. Their rapid diminution was caused by the fierce fights which broke out so soon as the freedom-loving inhabitants perceived that conversion in the ultimate resort aimed at subjecting them to the Spanish yoke. The census of 1741 brought home to the Spaniards the magnitude of the devastation wrought by them. In order to make up for the alarming mortality they introduced Tagals from the Philippines. The number of the inhabitants after that increased; in 1783 it amounted to 3,231 souls; in 1803 to 4,303; in 1815 to 5,406; and in 1850 to more than 9,000. But an epidemic of smallpox swept off the population in 1856. It had risen again to 5,610 only in 1864, and at the present day it reaches to about double that figure. The reckless extermination of the people is almost the least evil which the Spaniards perpetrated on the Chamorro; the annihilation of the national characteristics was still worse. At the present day no more traces are left of the old culture, with its buildings, its navigation, its agriculture, and technical skill, than of the old strong and proud physique of the inhabitants. In place of a love of freedom the miserable half-caste people of to-day show a dull indifference, while lethargy has taken the place of industry, and an unthinking use of Christian customs is substituted for a frank paganism. Next to the Tasmanians no people in the South Sea can have felt more deeply the curse of contact with the Europeans than the Chamorro. An account of the history of the Polynesians presents difficulties, in so far as every separate group has its own history. It is the exception to find any points of connection between neighbouring archipelagoes. This necessitates the separate treatment of the larger and more important groups, at any rate, although certain broad characteristics recur regularly. Since this phenomenon is still more marked in the case of the smaller and

The Curse of the White Man

less densely peopled archipelagoes, whose importance is slight, we shall abandon the task of any detailed description, and refer the reader for their most interesting features to the chapter on missionary work.

Within the region of Polynesia the Hervey, Tubuai, Society, Tuamotu and Marquesas Islands form a mass which stands out apart from the other clusters. This purely external grouping has, it is true, no geological foundation, but justifies the inclusion of the archipelagoes under the general title of East Polynesia, although the relations of the groups among themselves belong mostly to prehistoric or very early times.

TAHITI

The history of East Polynesia, whether native or colonial, is connected mainly with the double island of Tahiti. It is the only focus of an independent development, and also the natural starting-point and centre of the French Colonial Empire in East Polynesia. When Samuel Wallace finally discovered the island on June 19th, 1767, he found three states there, which were fighting savagely for the upper hand. The Spaniards took possession of the island on January 1st, 1775; but they soon abandoned it again after the death of their captain, Domingo de Bonechea, on January 26th. In 1789, the mutineers of the Bounty landed on Tahiti. Some preferred to remain there, took the side of the king, Otu, or Pomare, as he preferred to call himself, and thus enabled him to extend his sovereignty over the other islands of the archipelago.

The first English missionaries landed there on March 7th, 1797, and were destined soon to play a large part in the political life of Tahiti. In 1802 Pomare carried away the sacred Oro figure from the Marae at Atahuru, the possession of which was fiercely contested, and which he was compelled to surrender. He died suddenly on September 3rd, 1803, and his son, Pomare II., born in 1780, was

QUEEN POMARE AND HER HUSBAND
This queen of Tahiti assumed power in 1827, and reigned for fifty years. In her time the French took possession.

PALACE OF QUEEN POMARE IV. AT PAPEETE, THE CAPITAL OF TAHITI, IN THE YEAR 1876
The residence of the French Governor is seen immediately beyond the Royal Palace

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forced to fly. He took up his abode on Murea, the headquarters of the Christian mission. In July, 1807, he crossed with a number of Christians over to Tahiti, surprised his enemies, and massacred them so relentlessly that the whole island rose against him and the missionaries, and drove them back to Huahine and Murea. But in the battle at Narii—November 12th, 1815—King Pomare II., who had become a Christian on July 12th, 1812, completely defeated his enemies; the other islands of the archipelago adopted Christianity in consequence. Pomare crushed the power of the nobles, and gave the islands at the end of 1818 a new and written constitution. He died on November 30th, 1821. Pomare's infant son died on January 11th, 1827. His sister Aimata, a girl of seventeen, then mounted the throne as Pomare IV.—or Pomare Wahine I.—while her aunt, Ariipaia, remained regent, in accordance with custom.

Massacre by a "Christian King"

The reign of Aimata is marked by an overflowing tide of calamity, which soon burst on Tahiti, and ended in the loss of its independence. It began with the attempt of the Catholic Church—made in November, 1836, from the Gambier Islands—to gain a footing in Tahiti. In consequence of a law introduced by the British preachers of the Gospel, the French missionaries were forbidden to land; they therefore appealed to France for aid. On August 27th, 1838, Captain Abel Dupetit-Thouars appeared off Papeete with the frigate Venus, in order to demand satisfaction. He insisted upon an apology under the sign manual of the queen, and 2,000 piastres in Spanish money. The queen was forced to comply. In April, 1839, Captain Laplace demanded that the Catholic Church should be granted equal privileges with the Protestant, and that a building site for a church should be conceded. In September, 1842, Dupetit-Thouars, who had returned, once more expressed extravagant "wishes" to the Government, and, when they could not be granted, proclaimed a French protectorate in defiance of the protests of the queen and the English missionaries.

Aggression by France, and Its Results

When a Tahitian popular assembly, relying on the intervention of the British Captain Nicholas, declared for Britain and Pomare IV. (1843), Dupetit-Thouars on November 6th deposed the queen, and threw into prison the British Consul Pritchard, in whose house she had taken refuge. The storm of indignation roused in England by this procedure forced France in 1844 to reinstate Queen Pomare IV.; but the protectorate over the island was retained. It was only after a three years' war, waged with great fury on both sides, that the Tahitians submitted, on February 6th, 1847, and the queen returned from Murea to Papeete.

Pomare IV. died, after a reign of fifty years, on September 17th, 1877. Her son, Pomare V., abandoned all his imaginary sovereign rights to France on June 19th, 1880, in return for an annuity of $5,000, and died in 1891.

The political development has not been favourable in any way to the preservation of the national existence. In Cook's time the inhabitants were estimated at 120,000, a figure far too high, but one which in any case denotes an unusual density of population; in 1912 the numbers hardly reached 11,000. The introduction of disease, immorality, and drunkenness has taught the Tahitians a bitter lesson about the "blessings" of civilisation. Tahiti, as one of the French colonies in the Eastern Pacific, is administered by a governor assisted by a Privy Council and an Administrative Council. The island has an area of about 600 square miles. The chief town is Papeete, with a population of 4,282, of whom 2,490 are French. The chief products are copra, sugar, rum, pearls and mother of pearl. Coco-nuts, bananas, oranges, and sugar cane grow luxuriantly, especially near the coast. There is regular steamer communication with San Francisco, New Zealand, and Australia. In 1912 the imports were of the value of about $1,549,435, and the exports of $1,696,270.

"Blessings" Attending Civilisation

THE ISLAND GROUPS AROUND TAHITI

The history of the island groups which cluster round Tahiti, the Society, Tuamotu, Marquesas, the Cook, and Tubuai, or Austral, Islands, is not without some anthropological, political, and religious interest. The picture presented to the discoverers was everywhere the same; war and discord prevailed, limited usually to the separate islands and groups. The warlike inhabitants of the Tuamotu Islands

THE FAMOUS STONE IMAGES AT RONORORAKA IN EASTER ISLAND

undertook, even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, bold expeditions to other islands, plundering and carrying off the inhabitants as captives, until a stop was put to their proceedings by the influence of Tahiti.

Difficulties of Religious Workers

The relations between the natives and the Europeans in these parts were everywhere due to the instrumentality of the missions. It would have been well if the matter had rested with the introduction of one denomination only. But the Protestant missionaries were soon followed on every group by Catholics under the protection of France. The inevitable result was an effort on the Protestant side to keep the intruders off, and on the side of the French Catholics to gain a religious and political footing. In all this the native was the scapegoat. Any infectious diseases which the traders had not introduced were communicated by the crews of men-of-war. The French tricolour now floats over the whole large group of islands, and the Roman propaganda has succeeded, though not to the full extent desired, in breaking down the undisputed power of Protestantism. European civilisation has diminished the number of inhabitants and has put a mere caricature in the place of a nationality which, despite many dark traits, was primitive and vigorous.

EASTER ISLAND

Easter Island, or Rapanui, as the Polynesians call the most remote islet of the vast island world, is, with its area of forty-five square miles, one of the smallest high islands of the Pacific Ocean. Nevertheless, it draws our attention on account of one of the weightiest problems of ethnology and thus of the history of mankind. If any connection at all exists between Polynesians and Americans, we must regard Easter Island as the most easterly pier in the bridge. There is nothing in the ethnography of Easter Island which supports such a theory, Salmon, the Tahitian who accompanied the German Hyena expedition of 1882 under Lieutenant-Captain Geiseler, and the American Mohican expedition of 1886, reported a story of the natives of Easter Island, according to which they are supposed to have come in a large

Peopling of Easter Island

boat from one of the Galapagos Islands with the trade-wind and to have landed at Anakena in the north of the island; but he did not disguise the fact that this tradition was contrary to the ideas of other natives, who maintained that there had been an immigration from the west. The architecture of the island is supposed to show resemblances to buildings in Central and South America; but the simple huts of the Easter Islanders are not

to be compared with those colossal erections. Again, the construction of the famous stone images, some fifteen feet high and made of lava, extends to comparatively recent periods, when there can be no possible idea of America's influence; besides this, productions of similar size, although not of quite the same character, were nothing extraordinary among the other Oceanians, at least in earlier times. For this reason the modern relations between Easter Island and America are all the more frequent. Intercourse with the whites generally has, indeed, only brought the islanders misery and destruction hitherto. The beginning of the "mission of civilisation" is marked by the landing, on April 6th, 1722, of the Dutchman, Jacob Roggeween, who ordered the natives to be fired upon without any reason whatever. He found the island then most prosperous and densely populated, an appearance which it has long since lost. The natives were possibly too friendly and yielding to the whites. In 1805 the ship Nancy, from New London, which had been engaged in seal fishery at Mas-a-fuera, south-west of Juan Fernandez, came to Rapanui and carried away twelve men and ten women after a desperate fight. The men, when, three days after, they were released from their chains on the open sea, sprang overboard immediately, in order to reach their home by swimming; but the women were carried to Mas-a-fuera. The crew of the Nancy is said to have made several subsequent attempts at robbery. The American ship Pindos later carried away as many girls as there were men on board, and on the next morning as a pastime fired at the natives collected on the beach.

Coming of the Dutch

The most calamitous period began in 1863. Peruvian slave dealers then established a depôt on Easter Island in order to impress labourers for the guano works in Peru from the surrounding archipelagoes; for this purpose they carried away the majority of the inhabitants of the island. Most of them were, however, brought back at the representations of the French Government; but, unfortunately, smallpox was introduced by them and caused great ravages. In 1866 Catholic missionaries began their work, but they left the island after a few years, accompanied by some faithful followers, and went to Mangarewa. The last reduction in the number of the population was effected by the deportation of 400 Easter Islanders by a Tahitian firm to Tahiti and Murea, where they were employed as plantation labourers.

Slavery and Smallpox

The population has not been able to bear such frequent and heavy drains on its vitality. Estimated by Cook at 700 souls, by later travellers at 1,500, and numbering before 1860 some 3,000, it has dwindled at the present day to 150, whose absorption in the mass of the immigrant Tahitians, Chilians, and others is only a question of time. Since 1888 Easter Island has been used by Chili as a penal colony.

PITCAIRN

The history of Pitcairn, an isolated island lying far to the south-west of the Tuamotu, is, during the period which we can survey, detached from the framework of native history; its personages are almost entirely European immigrants. Pitcairn is one of the few islands which were uninhabited when the Europeans discovered them, although numerous remains in the form of stone images, relics of Marae, stone axes, and graves with skeletons, attest that the island was once populated.

Evidences of Earlier Inhabitants

The modern history of the island begins with the mutiny of the crew of the Bounty against their captain, Bligh, 1779, as related in the story of Australia. While the latter steered with his eighteen companions in his open boat to Batavia, the twenty-four mutineers sailed first to Tahiti. A number of them remained behind there, while eight men, under the leadership of the helmsman Christian, accompanied by six Tahitian men and twelve women, set sail in January, 1790, for the uninhabited island of Pitcairn. In order to prevent any escape from the island, Christian burnt the Bounty, whose tall masts might have betrayed the refuge of the mutineers. The beginning of the community was at once marked by disputes and quarrels; the men were killed in fighting, and in 1801, John Adams, aged thirty-six—who died in March, 1829—was the only man on the island, with some women and twenty children.

Adams, realising by the previous course of affairs the danger which threatened the little society, struck out other paths. By his care in educating the young generation a tribal community was

developed which united many of the good qualities of the Europeans with the virtues of the Polynesians, and by its sterling character and high morality, won the sympathies of Great Britain to no small extent, especially since these colonists regarded themselves as Englishmen and spoke English as familiarly as Tahitian. Great Britain has always watched over the welfare of this little society. The limited water supply of the island having threatened to prove insufficient for the growing numbers, the eighty-seven inhabitants then living were removed by the British Government to Tahiti in 1831; but most of them soon returned to Pitcairn. When, in 1856, in consequence of hurricanes, it became difficult to find food for the once more rapidly increasing population, 187 of the 194 settlers were removed to the then uninhabited Norfolk Island. The majority remained there, and increased and prospered. In 1871 the number had risen to 340 souls; in 1891 it reached 738 souls; and, according to the last account, it is now about 900 souls. Some, however, this time also, could not live in a strange island, and returned to Pitcairn, where their number in 1879 had again risen to 79 souls. The population of Pitcairn at various periods was as follows: 1800, 29; 1825, 66; 1831, 87; 1837, 92; 1841, 114; 1856, 194; 1864, 43; 1873, 76; 1879, 93; 1884, 104; 1898, 142; 1901, 126; 1907, 144. Contrary to the disquieting rumours circulated in 1896, to the effect that Pitcairn no longer supplied the requirements of human inhabitants, the population is thriving at the present day.

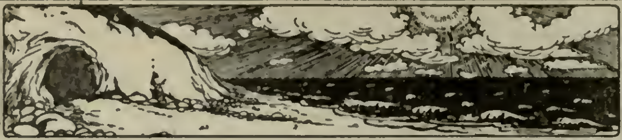
CHILDREN OF THE BOUNTY MUTINEERS

George Young, son of Young the midshipman, with his child and wife, Hannah Adams, daughter of John Adams.

The size of the island is not more than three miles long from east to west and two miles broad from north to south. There is a range of steep hills, the highest being Outlook Ridge, which is 1,008 feet high. The village of Adamstown is on a plateau about 400 feet above sea-level. Bounty Bay is the best of the three landing places, but even it is dangerous by reason of the violence of the sea and the currents. The climate is rainy but somewhat uncertain, hence the danger of drought. The chief food of the islanders is the sweet potato, but pineapples, bananas and yams grow abundantly.

The chief of the remaining islands of Polynesia — Hawaii, Samoa, Tonga, and New Zealand—are treated independently at greater length in the following chapters.

HOME OF JOHN ADAMS ON PITCAIRN ISLAND



HAWAII: BEGINNING AND END OF A KINGDOM

THE Hawaiian group of islands, otherwise called the Sandwich Islands, have a total area of 6,449 square miles. The chief members of the group are Hawaii (4,015 square miles), Maui (728 square miles), Oahu (598 square miles), Kauai (547 square miles), Molokai (261 square miles), Lanai (139 square miles), Niihau (97 square miles), and Kahoslawe (69 square miles).

The history of Hawaii begins for us with its discovery by Captain Cook; all that took place on it previously bears the impress of myth. The legends mention sixty-seven ancestors of Kamehameha I., and place therefore the beginning of the settlement of Hawaii at a period which would approximately correspond to the sixth century of the Christian era. As a matter of fact, human bones have been discovered under old strata of coral and lava streams; in any case, with such a system of chronology a large margin of error must be allowed for. Far more important is the exceptional evidence for the solution of the question of the origin of the native people. A large mass of the traditions point to the Samoan Sawaii as the chief point of emigration, without necessarily ex-

How Hawaii was Peopled

cluding accretions from other groups of Polynesia. The recurrence of Samoan geographical names in Hawaii is an argument in favour of the legends. If we may judge by the frequent mention which they make of Tahiti and the Marquesas, the main route seems to have led over these islands.

It seems probable that some twenty generations after the first immigration—*i.e.*, about the eleventh century—a new wave of nations touched Hawaii, produced by a general movement in the island worlds of the South Sea, which, again, was due to the expulsion of Polynesian immigrants from the Fiji Islands. Into this period, therefore, fall, according to legend, the journeys of famous chiefs and priests to distant isles, rendered possible by the greater enterprise of the ancient races and the higher perfection of navigation at that time. The first and only attempt at oversea expansion gave way to a fresh period of isolation, which lasted at least into the sixteenth century, probably down to the date of Cook's landing. During this long period the Hawaiian people developed all its peculiar characteristics; then it was that those numerous states and societies were founded, which were mutually hostile.

Coming of the Europeans

The waves of war surged high in the fourteenth century, when King Kalaunuiohua tried for the first time to unite all the islands under his sceptre. The first intercourse with Europeans dates from the sixteenth century. In 1527 one of the three vessels of Don Alvarado de Saavedra is said to have been wrecked on the cliffs of South Kona, and in 1555 the Spanish navigator Juan Gaëtano is supposed to have discovered the Hawaiian Islands. This intercourse, even if it is based on fact, produced no results on the external and internal history of the country.

James Cook, on his landing (1778), found three states—Hawaii and Maui, both of which were governed by one ruler (Taraiopu, or Terriobu), since the ruler of Hawaii had married the queen-widow of Maui; and, thirdly, Oahu, to which Kauai and Niihau belonged. Not only were Oahu and Hawaii at war with each other, but all these states were riddled with internal dissensions. The task of reducing this chaos to order was reserved for Kamehameha I., or Tamea-Mea (1789–1819), who not only won more foreign successes than any other Polynesian ruler, but in intellectual gifts towered above the average of his race. He had distinguished himself in war as a young man, and national bards prophesied of him that he would one day unite the people. A few years after Cook's murder (February 14th, 1779) he began to put into practice his bold plans, on Hawaii at first, and afterwards on Maui (1781) and the other islands. Partly by his personal valour, partly with an army disciplined by the help of Europeans—to which after 1804 a fleet of twenty-one ships was joined—he attained

his object in 1795. After storming the fort "Pali" on Oahu, to which island Kamehameha is said to have crossed with 16,000 men, he proclaimed himself sole monarch of the Hawaiian Isles. The two northwest islands, Kauai and Niihau, then voluntarily submitted.

SANDWICH ISLANDER WITH MASK

Like the Zulu king, Tchaka, and the Wanyamwesi leader, Mirambo, Kamehameha has been compared to great rulers of the Mediterranean sphere of civilisation. Turnbull places him by the side of Philip of Macedon, and Jarves calls him the Napoleon of the South Sea; to others he has suggested Peter the Great. He must have been a powerful personality. Adalbert de Chamisso was proud of the fact that he had shaken hands not only with General Marquis de Lafayette and Sir Joseph Banks, but also with the great Hawaiian. Kamehameha I. was great not merely in intellectual capacity, he was still greater by his moral strength and the power and purity of his will. If we take into account also his majestic bearing, which commanded respect, the vastness of his influence is at once accounted for.

The course of Kamehameha's reign, after he had united his kingdom, was peaceful. It was for the Hawaiians an era of revolution in every field, though least so in that of social life. Kamehameha made no changes in the relations of the several classes of the people to each other and to the monarch. The lower class remained then, as formerly, in its strictly dependent and subservient condition, and he had further weakened the power of the nobility, which even before his time had been slight. A new feature was the external reputation gained by political union, and the growth of the people into a power unprecedented in the Pacific. This, at an early period for Oceania, had quickly turned the attention of the European Powers and of North America to the north of the Pacific Ocean, as is shown by the numerous British, Russian, American, and French expeditions.

DOUBLE CANOE OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS WITH MASKED ROWERS

Reproduced from an engraving accompanying the original edition of Captain Cook's "Voyages"

KING KAMEHAMEHA I. AND HAWAIIAN WARRIORS IN 1815

prosperity by transmarine commercial enterprise and a policy of tariffs; but at the same time their intimate relations with the natives were destined to destroy the old religion, the stronghold of Hawaiian nat onality.

As long as Kamehameha held the reigns of government with the strong hand, the crash was delayed. Kamehameha was all his life a firm supporter of paganism, for only through a strict observance of the traditional doctrines was it possible in those times of ferment to retain the respect of the people for the person and power of the godlike monarch. His death, which occurred on May 8th, 1819, changed the situation. Liholiho, his son, who mounted the throne as Kamehameha II., immediately sank to be a puppet in the hands of his nobles, and especially of his co-regent Kaahumanu, the favourite wife of the late king, and his aged chief counsellor, Kaleimoku, the "Pitt of the South Sea." By their advice he abolished the ancient and revered custom of Taboo, and compelled women to share a large public banquet and to eat

The changes in the domain of culture and economics involved more momentous consequences for the future of the Hawaiian people. Only the higher classes of the people were materially Europeanised; the masses had to continue for some time in the old paganism and the ancient Polynesian semi-culture. Nevertheless it could not be long before the whole nation was subject to this change. Kamehameha neither intended nor suspected that it should take the form of a complete disintegration of the old national life. This decline was mainly produced by the introduction of European immigrants, who made their way into all the influential posts, and produced a temporary economic

the pork which was forbidden them. The majority of the people gladly welcomed this step. The minority, who, under the lead of Kekuaokalani, a cousin of the king, remained true to paganism, were defeated in the sanguinary battle of Kuamoo; Kekuaokalani fell, together with his heroic wife, Manona. The destruction of the old temples and images, already initiated, was carried out with renewed zeal; nevertheless idolatry had many supporters in secret. The half-heartedness of the reforming policy was more unfortunate; the Hawaiians had been deprived of paganism, but nothing tangible was put into its place.

The visits of European and American

squadrons during this period induced the monarch to seek an alliance with Great Britain, particularly since Russia and the United States had already shown signs of establishing themselves permanently in the archipelago. Kamehameha I., in order to increase his dignity at home by the support of the great world power, had made over his kingdom to Britain in February, 1794, but his offer did not meet with any cordial response. In 1823, Liholiho and his consort, Kamamalo, went to London, in order in this way to anticipate the wishes of others. They both died in 1824 in England, but were buried in their native country. Liholiho's successor, his brother Keaukeauouli, was only nine when placed on the throne under the name of Kamehameha III. The regency during his minority was held by Kaahumanu and the old and tried Kaleimoku. Both found work enough in the succeeding years. It is true that Protestant missionaries had laboured since 1820 with good results; but all their efforts were stultified by a faction of morally and physically corrupt white immigrants, whose numbers grew from year to year. Drunkenness and immorality became so rampant that no improvement of the conditions could be hoped for except by legislation. Toward the end of the "twenties" the contest of the Christian missions for supremacy began on Hawaii. The Protestant mission was under the protection of the Americans; the Catholic gained ground only after threats from French warships. In the year 1837 the French extorted a declaration of universal religious liberty, which put an end to the violent persecutions often suffered by the Catholic Christians.

KING KAMEHAMEHA V. AND HAWAIIAN NOBLES IN 1870

The wise Kaleimoku died in 1827, and the death of the energetic queen-regent, Kaahumanu, followed in 1832. Kamehameha III. declared himself of full age in 1833, when he chose another woman, Kinau, for his co-regent, and nominated her son, Alexander Liholiho, heir to the throne.

The first newspapers printed in the Hawaiian language appeared in 1834. Churches and schools of every sort were erected in large numbers. At the same time the first sugar plantations were laid out, and silkworm breeding was introduced by the British. Soon cotton-growing was added as a new branch of industry. In October, 1840, the kingdom received its first constitution. It was drawn up by the American, Richards, and

presented a strange mixture of ancient feudalism and Anglo-American forms. The ministry consisted entirely of foreigners. Richards became Minister of Public Instruction; Wylie, a Scottish doctor, represented the Foreign Office. The finances were administered after 1842 by Dr. Judd, under whom the public revenue increased from 41,000 dollars in the year 1842, to 284,000 dollars in 1852.

Hawaii Under a Constitution

In spite of religious toleration the disputes between the Protestant and Catholic clergy continued until the year 1837. They were often exploited by the French Consul in order to put strong pressure on the Hawaiian Government in favour of the Catholic mission. At the same time the British Consul took steps which seemed to point to an annexation of the islands by Great Britain. This induced the Hawaiian Government to obtain a guarantee of the independence of the kingdom from the United States of America in December, 1842, from France at the beginning of 1843, and from England on July 26th, 1843. The action of Lord Paulet, commander of the frigate Carys, in taking possession of the island (February 25th, 1843), on his own responsibility, was not recognised by the British Government.

The constitution of 1840 was changed in 1852, 1864, and on July 6th, 1887; with every revision it resembled more and more the usual European constitutional forms, especially when, in 1864, the old institution of the queen-regent was abolished. A privy council, consisting of the Ministers and a number of members nominated by the king, stood next to the sovereign. The Cabinet contained first five, and later four, members; the Parliament was composed of a House of Nobles and a House of Representatives. The most important offices have always been filled by foreigners.

Kamehameha III. died in December, 1854. His successor, Alexander Liholiho—Kamehameha IV., married to Queen Emma—then aged twenty, lost no time in placing himself on better terms with France, which, in defiance of the independence guaranteed in 1843, had overwhelmed the kingdom with difficulties and had repeatedly humiliated it. A final treaty between the two countries was effected in 1858. On the death of Kamehameha IV. in 1864, his elder brother, who had something of Kamehameha I. in him, succeeded to the crown. The first act of Kamehameha V. was to alter the constitution of 1864. In the next year an immigration bureau was instituted as a check on the constant shrinkage in the population; 500 Chinese were brought into the country, to be followed by the first Japanese in 1868. Finally, measures were taken to check the leprosy which had been introduced from China in 1853, and had spread alarmingly.

Shrinkage in the Population

Kamehameha V. died suddenly in 1872, the last of his family. For some months Lunalilo, a kinsman of the Kamehamehas, held the sceptre. After his death, which occurred on February 3rd, 1874, Colonel David Kalakaua, born on November 16th, 1836, in Honolulu, was elected king. In spite of his somewhat frivolous nature, he was a far-sighted monarch; in 1875 he concluded a commercial treaty with the United States of North America, which secured for his kingdom the most favourable tariffs and greatly promoted the prosperity of the islands. The cultivation of sugar and rice, the two

H. C. White Co.

GENERAL VIEW OF HONOLULU, CAPITAL OF HAWAII, SANDWICH ISLANDS
Showing, in the inset, the former palace of Queen Liliuokalani, now the United States Executive Office.

King Kamehameha V. | King Kalakaua I. | Queen Liliuokalani.

Ellis & Walery

THE LAST THREE NOTABLE RULERS OF HAWAII

principal exports, increased enormously, and indeed there was a general increase both in exports and in imports. But this revival of trade benefited only the whites. Want of labourers made it once more necessary to introduce foreigners. In 1877 the first Portuguese came into the country from the Azores; in 1884 there were some 10,000. At the same time increasing streams of Chinese and Japanese flooded the land; in 1890 there were counted 15,301, and 17,360.

The numerical proportion of these ethnologically undesirable Mongols to the native population has, up to the beginning of the twentieth century, steadily increased. In moving forward to the conquest of the Pacific, the yellow races have found Hawaii the best point of attack. The growth of economic and political relations with America during the reign of Kalakaua (1874–1891) has been as rapid and continuous as the Mongol immigration.

Concession to the Americans

As long ago as the winter of 1873–1874, Pearl Harbour, near Honolulu, was offered by Lunalilo to the Americans by way of compensation for commercial concessions. When the treaty of 1875 required to be renewed in 1887, the United States of North America claimed this place as a permanent possession; further, Hawaii was not to venture to conclude treaties with any other foreign Power without their consent, while they claimed the right to land troops in Hawaii at all times. The influence of the British residents prevented Kalakaua from conceding these humiliating conditions. The refusal of the American proposals signified, from an economic aspect, the beginning of a financial crisis, by which the Hawaiian dynasty was ruined.

Kalakaua died on January 20th, 1891, at San Francisco. The seventeen years of his reign had been outwardly rich in "progress." He had a small standing army at his disposition; Hawaii had obtained lines of railroads and steamships; palaces and lighthouses had been built and Honolulu lighted by electricity. Waterworks and

Record of a Reign

telegraph lines had been constructed, and large stretches of barren country had been made cultivable by irrigation works. The stage of European civilisation began, it must be confessed, with an enormous load of debt, attributable to the frivolity and the extravagance of the popularly beloved king, who had been married since 1863 to Kapiolani, but had no issue.

He was succeeded by his sister, Lydia Kamakaeha Liliuokalani, a woman of fifty-two, who was proclaimed Queen on January 29th, 1891. Her short reign ended with the downfall of the Hawaiian monarchy and the annexation of the island by the United States. Under the dominion of the new American tariff laws, which secured considerable export bounties to native sugar producers, Hawaii could no longer compete in the world market; exports rapidly fell off, and the national prosperity flagged. The foreign section of the population, which was dependent chiefly on the American trade, found this a reasonable cause for supporting more

boldly the idea of close connection with the United States. The results were dissensions in the Government, an over-rapid change in the constitution, which was intended to weaken the influence of the foreigners, and a threatened *coup d'etat* on the queen's part. The end was the deposition of the queen and the proclamation of Hawaii as a republic on January 17th, 1893. The efforts of the victorious Americans of Honolulu toward a close connection with the United States were at first unsuccessful. President Harrison, shortly before the expiration of his term of office, which ended on March 4th, 1893, advocated annexation in a message to the Senate; but his successor, President Cleveland, was opposed to it. The kingdom thereupon was declared to be changed into the Republic of Hawaii on July 4th, 1894, and a constitution was framed, which provided a Legislative Assembly, a Senate, and a House of Representatives. The constitution, however, hardly lasted long enough to become an actuality; after President McKinley's entrance on office in the spring of 1897 the incorporation with the Union was effected without any difficulty. The constitutional position of the island group was settled on June 14th, 1900. Hawaii now forms a territory of the United States; the popular element in its government consists of a Senate with fifteen members and a House of Representatives with thirty members. The first election of a representative to Congress took place on November 6th, 1900. The Governor, a secretary, and the three Judges of the Supreme Court are nominated by the President of the United States, the other officials by the Governor.

Republic that was Still-born

The planting of the Stars and Stripes in the middle of the Northern Pacific Ocean is not the first step which American Imperialism has taken since 1898, but it is one of the most momentous. Tutuila in the Samoan group and Guam in the Marianne Islands are both like feelers which are stretched out far towards the south-west in the direction of Melanesia and Australia; the broad surfaces of the Philippines flank the important international trade route from Europe to the eastern margin of Asia. In the case of Hawaii a higher standard must be applied. When the Isthmus of Panama has been cut through, and the United States really becomes a power in the Pacific, then Hawaii, apart from its trade, will be indispensable as a strategic base commanding the northern half of the Pacific. It will be the only intermediate station on the long route from the Central American canal and from San Francisco to Eastern and Southern Asia. The annexation of Hawaii by America is a particularly hard blow for Japan, which had itself been forced to see a similar attempt fail.

Value of Hawaii to United States

Only remnants are now left of the native race, and only traces of the nationality of Hawaii. There has been an uninterrupted decline in the native population since the discovery of the islands. In 1778 there were estimated—though the calculation is certainly excessive—to be 400,000 souls; in 1832 the first actual census gave 130,313 natives. Four years later there were only 108,579; in 1860, 71,019; 1884, 40,014; 1896, 30,019. At the present day it is extremely difficult to fix the number of pure natives, on account of the numerous half-castes, whose numbers were put at 6,186 in 1890, and 8,485 in 1896, an increase of more than 33 per cent. in six years. At the same time the full-blooded Hawaiians have diminished by 10 per cent. We cannot make the Europeans entirely responsible for the alarmingly rapid retrogression of the Hawaiians. Besides the diseases introduced by the former, the original laxity of morals, the drunkenness, various epidemics, and more than all the traditional practice of infanticide, have been the chief causes. In place of the natives there will soon be only Chinese, Japanese, Europeans, and Americans in Hawaii.

The Death of a Nation

The Hawaiian islands are extremely fertile, and export sugar, rice, coffee, wool, hides, bananas, pineapples, and sisal. During the fiscal year 1912 the imports were of the value of over $31,268,800—three-quarters being from America, and therefore duty free—while the exports, mainly to the United States, and consisting nearly entirely of sugar, aggregated $57,723,550. So entirely is Hawaii imbued with the modern American spirit that Honolulu, the capital, is lighted by electricity, has its electric tramway, and nearly every family has a telephone installation, while the Marconi system of wireless telegraphy is in commercial use between the islands.

SAMOA & ITS SETTLEMENT BY THE POWERS

MORE labour has been devoted of recent times to the investigation of the history of Samoa than to that of all the other Polynesian island groups put together. The results obtained are hardly proportionate. The long list of proud genealogies with an infinity of names tells of the vigorous life of the petty states on the several islands and their divisions; tradition also records various invasions from Fiji and Tonga. But we do not obtain the slightest information about the date of the various events to which the legends refer. The investigations go to prove that the general condition of Samoa in the periods before its discovery by Europeans was hardly distinguished from that of other archipelagoes. Its political organisation, and to some degree its stage of social institutions, had alone been somewhat more fully developed. The vendettas and disputes between different influential families, which are also recorded, are of little importance to the world, although they have naturally been exaggerated to great events from the perspective of the Polynesians.

The traditions of Samoa do not run back very far; we need not assume more than 500 years for its inhabitants as a historical nation; how far before that date their immigration must be placed, it is impossible to calculate. The chief event of early history is the subjugation by the Tongans and the Samoan war of liberation which was connected with that—according to one authority about 1600 A.D., according to another about 1200 A.D. That was their heroic age. *Malie tau, molie toa* —"Well fought, brave warriors"—was, according to legend, the admiring shout of the Tongan king to two young chiefs as he pushed off from shore on his return journey. This title, which then passed to the elder of the two brothers, Savea, has been hereditary in his family down to the present day.

Heroic Age of Samoa

Samoa is the land of titles. Above the common people stand the nobles, at the head of whom are the village chief, Alii, and the district governor, Tui, while the highest chief, or king, bears the title of Tupu. Little inferior to him are the Tulafale, or orators, whose political position, generally, depends entirely on their personal abilities. Besides this, titles taken from certain districts or places, in commemoration of certain persons or events, are conferred as honourable distinctions, whose possession is a preliminary condition for the attainment of the political headship. The most famous of these titles is the above-mentioned "Malietoa," which the township of Malie, lying nine miles to the west of Apia, has the right to confer; a second and hardly less renowned is "Mataafa," which is bestowed by the village of Faleata. On the other hand, the claim to the sovereignty rests on the lawfully conferred right to four names, Tuiatua and Tuiaana, Gatoaitele and Tamasoalii, the last two of which are traced to the names of two princesses

Where Titles are Cheap

Shortly before Jean François Count Lapérouse landed on Samoa in 1787, Galumalemana, a chief of the Tupua family, had, after fierce civil wars, usurped the sovereignty of the whole island. On his death, about 1790, violent struggles broke out between the brothers entitled to the inheritance, from which at first Nofoasaefa, an ancestor of Tamasese, emerged victorious. He could not, however, permanently maintain his position, but retired to his ancestral home, Asau, on Savaii, and once more revived the cannibalism which had almost been forgotten in Samoa. Galumalemana's posthumous son, Jamafana, who even before his birth had been called by the dying father prophetically the uniter of the kingdom, finally inherited the throne. He was succeeded, after 1800, by Mataafa Filisounuu, who was at once involved in serious wars with the Malietoas. The victory rested with the Malietoa Vaiinupo, an ally of the ruler of Manono, who seized the power on the same day of August in the year 1830 on which John Williams set foot on Savaii as the first missionary. Malietoa assumed in consequence the title "Tupu," which has since been customary

in Samoa. He also was converted to Christianity, and received the name of Tavita, or David; he died on May 11, 1841.

The two decades after his death were in Samoa once more a war of all against all. Out of the number of claimants to the throne, Malietoa Laupepa and his uncle Pea, or Talavou, finally held the power jointly for some years. But, influenced by the foreigners in the country, the Samoans, in 1868, resolved to put only one chief at the head of affairs, and to assemble the estates of the realm no longer in Manono, but in Mulinuu, near Apia. Manono, jealous of its ancient precedence, declared Pea king, and conquered Malietoa Laupepa and his followers. Finally, in 1873, through the intervention of the foreign consuls, who had been appointed in the interval, a treaty was concluded by which the ruling power was put into the hands of the seven members of the Taimua, an Upper House, by the side of which the meetings of the district governors, the Fai Pule, or Lower House, still continued. But in 1875 disorders were renewed, and this time the impulse came from outside.

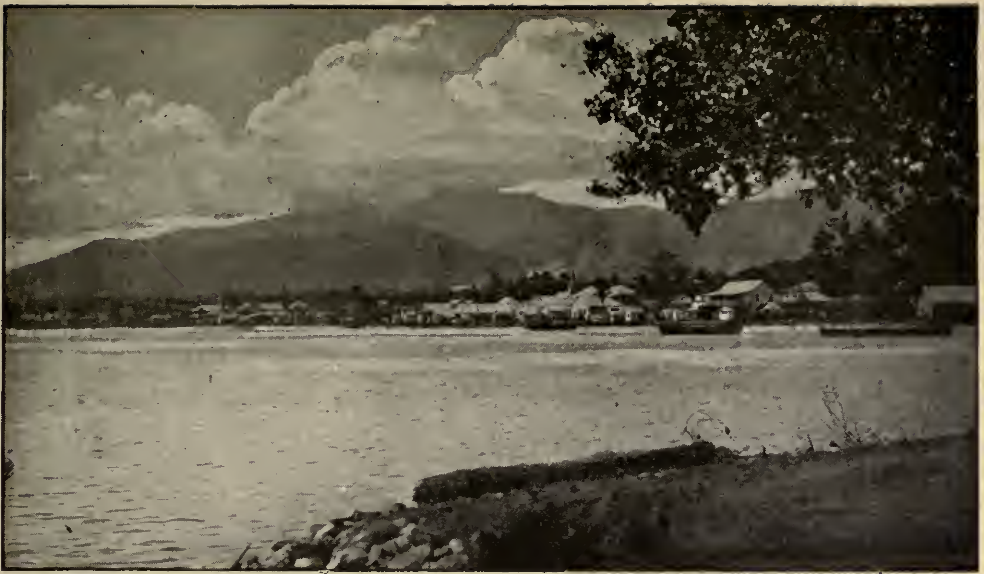
State of General Warfare

As far back as 1872 the enterprising New Zealanders had advocated a British annexation of Samoa, and had offered to equip a ship for that purpose. At the same time the United States had obtained, on February 17th, 1872, the concession of the harbour Pango-Pango on Tutuila, the best of the group. The annexation of all Tutuila, proclaimed by a sea captain on his own responsibility, was not sanctioned in Washington. About the middle of 1873, the American "Colonel" Steinberger, a German Jew by descent, appeared as a commissioner in Samoa, in order to study the resources of the island group. This cunning and ambitious man soon raised himself to the most influential position, and induced the natives to ask for a protectorate of the United States. Steinberger himself conveyed the petition to Washington; he returned on April 1st, 1875, to Samoa, but only with presents and a letter of introduction from the President, Ulysses S. Grant. Steinberger gave the country a simple constitution, appointed Malietoa Laupepa nominal king, while he himself modestly assumed the title of Prime Minister. He settled the succession, arranged the system of jurisdiction, and established order and peace throughout the land. But in December, 1875, at the instance of the jealous missionaries and the English population, he was carried off by an English man-of-war, after a bloody battle, and taken to New Zealand. He died in New York toward the end of the century.

Peace and a Constitution

The intentions of the United States toward Samoa were now more apparent. In 1887, the American Consul hoisted his flag, and only the energetic remonstrances of Germany and Great Britain hindered the

NATIVE HOUSE AT APIA IN THE SAMOAN ISLANDS Kerry, Sydney



GENERAL VIEW OF THE TOWN OF APIA, THE CAPITAL OF GERMAN SAMOA
The mountain in the middle distance is Vaëa, on the top of which Robert Louis Stevenson, the famous novelist, is buried.

Americans from firmly establishing themselves. In June of that year the German Government concluded a treaty with the Samoans, by which they were prevented from giving any foreign government special privileges to the prejudice of Germany. On January 17th, 1878, the Americans, for their part, entered into a treaty to secure friendly relations and promote trade with Malietoa Laupepa; at the same time the harbour of Pango-Pango was definitely given over to them.

On January 24, 1879, Germany was assigned the harbour of Saluafata, on Upolu, as a naval station; Great Britain also, by a treaty of August 28th, 1879, secured for herself the use of all these waters, and the right to choose a coaling station. On September 2nd, by a treaty between Germany, Great Britain, the United States, and Malietoa, the district of Apia was declared neutral territory, and placed under a municipal council to be appointed by the three Powers in turn. Finally, on December 23rd, on board the German ship Bismarck, Malietoa Talavou was elected, by numerous chiefs, to the dignity of king for life, with Laupepa as regent.

Since the middle of the 'fifties the Hamburg merchant house of Johann Cesar Godeffroy and Son had made the South Sea the chief sphere of its enterprises, and, a decade and a half later, had monopolised the trade with the central and eastern group of islands; it had also acquired large estates on the Carolines and the three large Samoan islands, Savaii, Upolu, and Tutuila. Misfortunes on the stock exchange placed the firm, toward the end of the 'seventies, in so precarious a position that, in view of the Anglo-Australian movement to occupy all the unappropriated South Sea Islands, Prince Bismarck abandoned his colonial policy of inaction, and, at the beginning of 1880, introduced the "Samoan proposition," by which the empire was to interfere and undertake to guarantee the small tribute due from the Godeffroys. But the German Reichstag rejected the proposition on the third reading on April 29th, 1880,

King Malietoa Talavou died on November 8th, 1880. His nephew, Malietoa Laupepa, was totally unable to check the renewed outbreak of civil war among the natives; in fact, at the beginning of 1886 one party chose the chief Tamasese as king. He found support from the Germans, because Laupepa, in November, 1885, had secretly offered the sovereignty to England. Continued injury to German interests, and insults and outrages inflicted by Laupepa's adherents on German civil servants, led, in August, 1887, to Laupepa being arrested by German marines, and taken first to the Cameroons and then to the Marshall Islands.

Tamasese's rule was also brief. On September 9th, 1888, the adherents of Malietoa Laupepa proclaimed the

renowned Mataafa king, and defeated Tamasese. When his people ventured on outrages against the Germans, the two German warships lying off Apia, at the request of the German Consul Knappe, landed their crews; but through treachery they fell into an ambush on December 18th, and were almost annihilated. Stronger German detachments were required before the rebels were repulsed. In addition to this, a hurricane, on March 19th, 1889, wrecked the two German gunboats, Eber and Adler, in the harbour of Apia, and ninety-five brave sailors lost their lives. The English ship, H.M.S. Calliope, escaped by steaming out, and the captain, Kane, displayed the greatest skill and seamanship. The Americans suffered nearly as heavily as the Germans.

RIVAL KINGS IN THE CIVIL WAR OF 1889

King Tamasese, the candidate chosen by the German officials.

King Mataafa, the candidate chosen by the Samoan people.

A settlement of Samoan affairs was the result of a conference held in Berlin during the summer of 1889, to which Germany, England and the United States sent representatives. In the final protocol of June 14th, the island group was declared independent and neutral under the joint protection of the three Powers. Tamasese and Mataafa were deposed, and Malietoa Laupepa, who had been brought back to Samoa in late autumn, was reinstated on the throne. Mataafa, however, was soon re-elected king by his party, but in 1893 was conquered on Manono and banished by the Powers who signed the treaty. Tamasese the Younger took his place, and the civil war continued. Malietoa Laupepa then died on August 22nd, 1898. Only two candidates for the succession were seriously to be considered—the banished but popular Mataafa, and Tanu Mafili, the son of Laupepa, aged sixteen, a protégé of the English mission, and thus of the British and American Governments. Tamasese the Younger was kept by the British in reserve merely as a substitute for Tanu.

KING OF SAMOA
Wearing his royal head-dress.

The subject of the drama, which was unfolded in the winter of 1898–1899 in the distant South Sea archipelago, was not merely the welfare of the few Samoans or the possession of the small islands. There were far weightier conflicting interests. No words need be wasted about the causes of the intense Anglo-Australian longing for the islands. The United States, who had obtained Hawaii and the Philippines immediately before this, thus possessed magnificent strategic and commercial bases for the northern part of the Pacific, but not for the south. The interests of Germany, finally, were based on economics. In production and trade it considerably surpassed both parties; and it was a point of honour with the German Government not to let the prize which had once been grasped escape in the end from their fingers.

The Samoans chose Mataafa by an overwhelming majority. At the same time the American Chief Justice Chambers, on December 21st, declared that the young Tanu was elected

with his approval, and that Mataafa could not come into the question, since he was excluded by the Berlin protocol, although a clause to that effect proposed by Prince Bismarck had not been adopted in the final version. The remonstrances of the German Consul Rose, and the German municipal councillor, Dr. Raffel, were disregarded. Mataafa then took the matter into his own hands and drove the supporters of Tanu out of Apia down to the sea and the ships of the allied Powers. After repeated bombardments of the coast villages by the British and American war vessels in the second half of March, a joint committee of inquiry was instituted in the spring of 1899 at the suggestion of Germany, and this, in July, transferred the rights of the abolished monarchy temporarily to the consuls of the three Powers. On November 14th, Germany and Britain came to an agreement, and in the Washington protocol of December 2nd the United States also gave their assent.

Withdrawal of Great Britain

Great Britian under this treaty entirely renounced all claim to the Samoan Islands. By the repeal of the Samoa Act, Upolu and Savaii, with the adjacent small islands, became the absolute property of Germany, while Tutuila and the other Samoan Islands east of 171° W. longitude fell to the United States. Germany in return renounced her claims to the Tonga Islands and Savage Island in favour of Britain, and ceded to the same Power the two Solomon Islands, Choiseul and Isabel. The German Reichstag approved the treaty on February 13th, 1900. On March 1st the newly nominated German governor, Solf, took formal possession of the islands. On August 14th, finally, the wisely conceded self-government of the natives came into force again. Mataafa bore, instead of the former title of king, that of high chief.

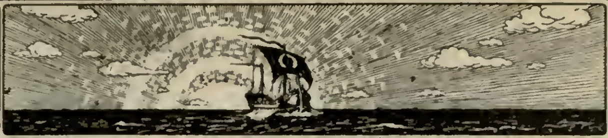
The German islands, Savaii and Upolu, have an area of 660 and 340 square miles respectively, with populations of 13,201 and 18,341. The white population is under 500, rather more than one-half being German. The exports are chiefly copra and cocoa beans. In 1911 the imports were of the value of $1,016,560 and the exports $1,097,495. The chief island in American Samoa is Tutuila, with an area of 54 square miles and a population of 3,800. Manua and the smaller islands under the Stars and Stripes have a total area of 25 square miles and 2,000 inhabitants. The harbour of Paga Paga, in Tutuila, is an American naval station, and is the only good harbour in the islands. The chief product is copra, in which commodity the natives usually pay their taxes. In 1911 the import trade was $94,190 and the export trade under $142,740

Resources of Samoan Islands

THE DISASTROUS HURRICANE AT APIA IN 1889
This memorable storm wrecked two German gunboats, and ninety-five German sailors were drowned. The British ship H.M.S. Calliope escaped only by a feat of seamanship by its captain, who steamed out to sea.

SURRENDER OF THE TONGA OR FRIENDLY ISLANDS

The arrival of the British Fleet at Tonga on May 19th, 1901, to receive from Germany formal possession of the islands under the treaty of 1899, whereby Germany abandoned all claims to the group in exchange for half of the island of Samoa.



TONGA: THE LAST SOUTH SEA KINGDOM

OF the islands in the central part of Oceania, only the Tonga Archipelago or Friendly Islands, in addition to Fiji and Samoa, has a noteworthy history. We know little of its course before the arrival of Captain Cook, with the exception of its social conditions.

At the head of the constitution stood the Tuitonga, monarch and god in one, with absolute power over persons and property. Of less importance in reputation and sanctity was the Tui Ardeo, said to be the descendant of a dethroned royal family, which had still retained a minor chieftancy. The Tuitonga had to show peculiar honours to the Tui Ardeo on different occasions. The king and his family composed the first class (Hau) of the nobility. The second (the Eiki or Egi, who also bore the title Tui, or lord) furnished the highest officials in the kingdom and the district governors, and was appointed by the king, although the dignity was hereditary. The first of the second class was in pre-European times the Tui Hatakalawa, the Minister of the Interior; in Mariner's time (1810) he came in precedence after the Tui Kanakabolo, or War Minister.

Since in the nineteenth century the Tuitonga was excluded from all share in the wars, the War Minister easily attained to greater influence than the monarch himself; indeed, the Minister has been taken by more than one traveller for the king.

Grades of Tonga Nobility

The last class of nobility, or Matabule, furnished councillors and servants of the Eiki and the Tuitonga, district governors, public teachers, and representatives of the most honourable crafts, such as shipbuilding and the making of weapons. The three classes of nobility were the sole possessors of the soil, as well as of the power of Taboo. The common people had no share in either; they possessed only personal freedom, and supported themselves merely by the cultivation of the lands of the nobles, by handicrafts, or by fishing. Among handicrafts those requiring superior skill were reserved for the higher class of the commons, the Mua, while agriculture and the profession of cooking were assigned to the lower class, or Tua.

Captain Cook, in 1773 and 1777, found that the Tubou nobles, had secured all the important offices of State. The kings apparently took their wives only from the family of Tubou. Toward the end of the eighteenth century this concentration of power had increased to the extent of denying the authority of the royal house. This roused other Eiki families to imitate the example of the Tubou.

The Little Wars of Tonga

The regents of Hapai and Vavau first revolted; those of Tongatabu followed. After long struggles the victory rested with Finau, the Eiki of Hapai, although he could no longer force the whole archipelago to obey his rule. At the beginning of the nineteenth century he shifted the political centre of gravity to Vavau. In 1830 Taufaahau, the lord of Hapai, and Tubou, the Eiki of Tongatabu, adopted Christianity; and when the Finau died out in 1833, Vavau fell to the former. In this way Taufaahau governed over the same kingdom as Finau I. had done thirty years earlier. In 1845 Tubou, or, as he was called after his conversion, Josiah of Tongatabu, died also. Taufaahau, as King George Tubou I., now united the whole archipelago into one kingdom. This state bore from the first the stamp of European influence. The Wesleyan mission had soon extended its activity to political and social matters. In 1839 George issued an edict for Hapai and Vavau, which established a court of justice of four members and a written code, and abolished the old customs, according to which each chief administered justice at his own discretion. The legislation of 1862 finally raised the existing serfs to the position of free farmers of the soil, from which they could not be ousted so long as they paid their rent. The taxes, 25s. a year, were uniformly imposed on all male inhabitants over sixteen years of age.

After 1838 on Tonga also there were quarrels between the Catholic and Protestant missions. In December, 1841,

threats of a French warship caused the ruler of Tongatabu to seek an English protectorate, which was not granted him. The Catholic missionaries, however, obtained admission. Their success in the religious field was never important; but in the political field they had, even in 1847, so great an influence over Tongatabu, that the chiefs of that part created opposition to the rule of George I., which was repressed in 1852 by the storming of the fortresses Houma and Bea, defended by French missionaries. Although the chiefs were reinstated in their former posts, and the missionaries received no injury to life or property, France felt herself aggrieved. She extorted in 1858 an official permission for the Catholic teaching, and put various Catholic chiefs in the place of Protestants.

KING OF THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS
Poulaho, of whom this portrait is given by Captain Cook, was the ruler of the Friendly Islands at the time of his visits in 1773 and 1777.

King George, notwithstanding, found time to make expeditions to other countries. The Tongans had at all times, owing to their great nautical skill, undertaken campaigns against Samoa and Nuka Hiwa, and had caused panic especially in the neighbouring archipelagoes. The people of Fiji had thus a strong tinge of the Polynesian in them. A few years after Cook's second visit (1777), a Tongan adventurer played a great part in the Fijian disorders. In 1854 King George appeared with a large fleet, avowedly to support Thakombau in his difficulties. George Tubou I. completed the internal reforms of his island kingdom by the constitution of November 4th, 1875. This was partly the creation of the king himself, partly that of his old and loyal councillor, the Wesleyan missionary Shirley Baker. Its contents kept closely to English forms; in its ultimate shape, as settled by the chambers and printed in the English language in 1877, it provided for a legislative assembly, which met every three years. Half of its members belonged to the hereditary nobility and were nominated by the king; the rest were elected by the people. The executive power lay in the hands of a ministry of four, who, together with the governors of the four provinces and the higher law officers, composed the Privy Council. The administration of justice was put on an independent footing, and comprised a supreme court, jury courts, and police courts. Education was superintended by the missionaries, who had erected well-attended schools on all the islands. An industrial school and a seminary, which was called Tubou College in honour of the king, were founded. The prohibition against the sale of land to foreigners, which was inserted in the constitution at Baker's advice—"the Tongans are not to be driven into the

A NIGHT DANCE BY TONGA WOMEN AT HAPAI IN THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS
Reproduced from a plate accompanying the original account of the voyages of Captain Cook.

sea"—was important for the economic future of the Tongans; even leases of land were allowed only after notice had been given to the Government.

In view of the increased interest which the European Powers in the 'seventies took in the South Sea Islands, Tonga, with its favourable situation, could not permanently be neglected. King George and his chancellor, Baker, were on terms of open friendship with Germany. On November 1st, 1876, this "good feeling" took the form of a commercial treaty, establishing friendly relations with the German Empire, according to which the harbour of Taulanga on Vavau was ceded as a coaling station. On November 29th, 1879, Tonga concluded a similar treaty of amity with Britain. By an agreement of April 6th, 1886, Germany and Britain decided that Tonga should remain neutral territory. On August 1st, 1888, a treaty was made with the United States.

KING GEORGE I. OF TONGA

In 1890 Shirley Baker had become so unpopular with the chiefs and people that the British High Commissioner removed him from the group, replacing him, at the king's request, with Mr. Basil Thomson, who was commissioned to reorganise the administration and finances, and to draft the penal code which became law in 1891.

King George Tubou I. died on February 18th, 1893, at his capital, Nukualofa, aged ninety-five years. He was succeeded by his great-grandson, George Tubou II., a timid youth of nineteen. English trade had been steadily displacing German trade in spite of a monthly subsidised service of the North German Lloyd to Tonga and Samoa, and when, in March, 1899, the German warship Falke appeared off Tongatabu, nominally with orders to occupy the harbour of Taulanga until Tongan debtors had paid the sum due of $100,000—according to another statement merely with orders to induce the king to open the Tongan courts to the recovery of debts to foreigners—an English warship from the Australian station sailed in on April 10, and paid George II. $125,000 on the sole condition that the king made no concessions whatever of landed rights to any foreign Power. In return for this Britain renewed her guarantee of independence for Tonga. Since that time the group of islands has been valuable to Germany only as the object of an exchange; in the treaty of November 8th, 1899, she abandoned all claims in exchange for half of Samoa. Thus Tonga and the adjoining Savage Island were, in spite of the protest of King George II., placed under a British protectorate on May 19th, 1900.

With the Tongan kingdom, the last of the native states of Oceania disappeared. It is true that the constitution, formulated on a European model, was in many details unadapted to the Polynesian nature. But Tonga preserved many other points which recalled the old nationality. These relics of an indigenous development are fated soon to die away.

LAST NATIVE SOVEREIGN IN OCEANIA
George Tubou II., King of Tonga.

The kingdom of Tonga consists of three island groups—Tonga, Hapai, and Vavau—with an area of 390 square miles, and a population of 22,767, of whom 240 are British or European. The chief articles of produce are copra, green fruit, and fungus, and the trade is chiefly with New Zealand and New South Wales. In 1912 the imports were of the value of $847,360, and the exports of the value of $1,082,555 Accounts are kept in dollars, shillings and pence, and the only legal tender is now British coin. The weights and measures used are as in the United Kingdom. There is regular steamer communication with Australia and New Zealand.

THE PICTURESQUE SCENERY OF NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand is rich in natural beauty; parts, such as the Milford Sound, seen in our first view, suggest the Norway Fiords, while falls such as those of Waitakerei, illustrated above, or the Waiau River, lower, recall scenes in the British Isles; but the geysers or hot springs, and the giant fern gullies, are peculiar to the country.

Photos by Valentine, Dundee, and H. C. White Co. London

NEW ZEALAND

THE BRITISH DOMINION FARTHEST SOUTH

NEW ZEALAND, which, on geographical and ethnological grounds, may be considered here rather than in connection with Australia, occupies a geographical position reminding one strongly of that of the neighbouring island continent. To the south and east of New Zealand the ocean is quite free from any considerable islands; only toward the north and west are relations possible with the habitable world—on the one side with Australia and Tasmania, on the other with New Caledonia, Fiji, Tonga, and the Cook Islands. New Zealand is situated as regards all these countries so that the lines of communication with it are almost radii of a circle, a fact important geographically and historically. It was merely a consequence of the inferior seamanship of the inhabitants of Australia, New Caledonia, and Fiji that the original immigration to New Zealand did not take place from these places.

Coming of the Maoris

New Zealand lies about twelve hundred and fifty miles from the islands just mentioned. This distance, in spite of their advanced nautical skill, was too far for the navigation of the Polynesians, and thus must have prevented any permanent and systematic expansion of the Maoris; their naval expeditions did not go beyond one or two voyages to the Hawaiki of legend, and the occupation of the neighbouring Chatham Islands, which was effected in 1834 with the help of a European captain.

The case was otherwise for the New Zealand of the Europeans. Two or three generations ago its proximity to Australia and Tasmania enabled a thorough and rapid scheme of colonisation to be carried out thence; at the present day, when it feels itself strong in the number of its inhabitants and its resources, it lies far enough off to be able to entertain the idea of an independent national existence by the side of the Australian Commonwealth. A feeling in favour of independence was discernible as early as 1860 or 1870, hardly a generation after the beginning of the colonisation proper. The interference of New Zealand in Samoan affairs in the year 1872 was followed by the annexation of the Kermadec Isles to New Zealand, in 1887, and of the Cook Islands and Manihikis in 1900; Fiji appears nearing the same destiny now. The influential circles of New Zealand are universally of opinion that all the island groups of Polynesia belong to it as naturally as, according to the idea of the Australians, the Western Pacific Ocean falls within their magic circle. Each of the two countries feels itself a leading power in the Southern Hemisphere; hence the grandiose phrase, "the position to which this land is entitled in the concert of the Powers," used in 1900 by Richard Seddon, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, who died on June 10, 1906.

Aspirations After National Independence

Although the population of New Zealand, according to the census of 1911, amounted to only 1,008,468 it would be unwise to ignore its pretensions. Apart from their advantageous position for the command of the Southern Pacific Ocean, the two islands possess a coastline so greatly indented that it surpasses Italy itself in the number of its bays. Besides this, it now produces gold and coal in considerable quantities, while copper, silver, iron-ore, sulphur, platinum, and antimony are also plentiful.

New Zealand, lying entirely within the temperate zone, possesses a further advantage in its climate, which, judging by the physical and intellectual qualities of the Maoris, must be credited with a considerable power of modifying racial types for the better, unless it be indeed the case, as is sometimes asserted, that it has a bad effect on the physique of Europeans.

Agriculture in New Zealand, as in Australia, is rapidly increasing; although the climate is temperate, there are cold nights in summer, making the produce of the harvests very variable. Nevertheless there are more than 14,000,000 acres of land under cultivation at present. According to rough calculations 40,000,000 acres — nearly 70,000 square miles, or two-thirds of the entire surface—are suitable for agriculture and grazing, though at present one-third of the country is covered with forests. The backbone of the industries of New Zealand, as of Tasmania, which in many respects enjoys the same climatic conditions, is the breeding of cattle and sheep. This industry is steadily growing, as cattle can remain out in the open and find sufficient food the whole year through. Of the exports for the year 1912, amounting to $108,852,905, nearly $75,000,000 came from animal products; gold produced $6,725,655, and agriculture, timber, etc., $28,205,980.

The area of New Zealand is nearly twice the size of Florida. The Dominion consists of three islands, of which the southernmost, Stewart Island, has an area of just over 630 square miles, and is sparsely settled. North Island is about the size of Pennsylvania; Middle Island is a little larger than the state of Illinois. New Zealand has for dependencies the Cook Islands, the Chathams, and several uninhabited islands, south or south-east of Stewart Island.

The original inhabitants of New Zealand, the Maoris, were benefited by the advantages of their country only to a certain degree; their physique indeed was improved there, but industrially they were unable to profit by the green fields or the splendid forests of Kauri pine. They made use of the native fauna only so long as there were creatures to hunt and eat; even yet the heroic ballads of the Maoris tell of conflicts with the gigantic moa, the first species of the fauna, which had lived on for thousands of years unmolested, to fall a victim to the intrusion of man.

The first Maoris immigrated into the two islands, then uninhabited, fully 500 years ago; in the course of time batches of fresh immigrants followed them, the last perhaps in the eighteenth century. The point from which the migration started was Hawaiki, the theme of so many legends, the Savaii of the Samoan Islands; the intermediate station, and for some Maoris the actual starting point, was Rarotonga.

According to the legend, the chief Ngahue, with 800 vassals in twelve ships, whose names are still kept

MAP OF THE DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND

A MAORI MIGRATION IN THE EARLY COLONIAL DAYS

The Maoris were formerly migratory, but are now settled and pursuing the peaceful paths of agricultural industry. The illustration shows a family on the march accompanied by all its worldly wealth—pigs, dogs, spears, and babies.

sacred, landed in the Bay of Plenty on North Island. When the British began to colonise, the population was estimated at 100,000 to 200,000 souls. Such an increase in a comparatively short time could be the result only of periods of undisturbed tranquillity. The beasts and birds—above all, the numerous gigantic species of moa, reaching thirteen feet in height—did not enjoy this peace. The inhabitants, accustomed to a flesh diet and ever increasing in numbers, looked for a substitute, and were driven in desperation to cannibalism. With this momentous step, the first crisis in the history of the Maoris, the prosperous time of peace was irrevocably past; the ensuing period was one of continuous murder and slaughter, tribe against tribe, man against man.

Beginning of Cannibalism

During the centuries immediately after the first immigration, all evidence points to the existence of large states, which occasionally were subject to one common head. There seems also to have been a religious centre. This was the period of the national prosperity of the Maoris, when their workmanship also attained its highest perfection. Europeans had only a passing knowledge of them in this advanced stage; Abel Tasman saw in 1642 large and splendid double canoes in use among them. Such canoes the Maoris of the eighteenth century were no longer able to build. The decadence was universal. The ancient kingdoms broke up into small communities of bold incendiaries and robbers, who recognised no political centre, but were engaged in fierce feuds one against another. The belief in the old gods gave way to a superstitious belief in guardian spirits, charms, and counter-charms. The national character, always inclined to pride and tyranny, ended by becoming more and more bloodthirsty, revengeful, and cruel.

The intercourse of the Maoris with the Europeans at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century rendered the incessant civil wars only more fierce by the introduction of firearms. In the year 1820 the chief Hongi, accompanied by the missionary Kendall, visited England, and was presented to King George IV., who received him with marked attention and showered presents upon him. Having soon learnt the political condition of Europe, and being

Intercourse with Europeans

dazzled by the still brilliant reputation of the victorious career of Napoleon, he exchanged most of his presents in Sydney for weapons and ammunition, armed his tribe, and filled the North Island until 1828 with all the horrors of war. Thousands of Maoris were shot or made slaves, and hundreds eaten. Hongi, having neglected to wear in some battle in 1827 the cuirass which the King of England had given him, received a shot in the lungs, from the effects of which he died fifteen months afterward.

A Maori Would-be Napoleon

The diminution of the native population owing to such protracted wars was an advantage to the whites already settled in the country. Ever since the year 1800, there had been a large number of "pioneers of culture"—runaway sailors, escaped convicts from New South Wales, and other adventurers. Their relations with the Maoris had at first been restricted to a barter of New Zealand flax and timber for rum, iron, and other European products; later, a trade in tattooed Maori heads sprang up, to which, even at the present day, European and American museums give testimony.

In 1814 the Anglican mission under Samuel Marsden began its labours in the Bay of Islands, and soon obtained such an influence among the natives that it seemed in 1820 as if the North Island would develop into a Christian Maori state. The horrors enacted on the island by Hongi stopped this movement only temporarily; after Marsden's death not only did the work of conversion proceed rapidly, but the idea of a Maori state under Anglican guidance was approaching its realisation. There was at that time in England little inclination to organise a state colonisation of New Zealand; Australia lay nearer and had a less dangerous population. But when, in 1831, a French warship anchored in the Bay of Islands the missionaries induced thirteen leading chiefs of that district to petition King William IV. for protection for New Zealand. The Government consented, and nominated, in 1833, James Busby, a colonist from New South Wales, as Resident, entrusting him with a jurisdiction over the British settlers which was backed up by no force at all. Busby's first act was to grant a national flag to New Zealand, which was officially recognised by Great Britain toward the end of 1834.

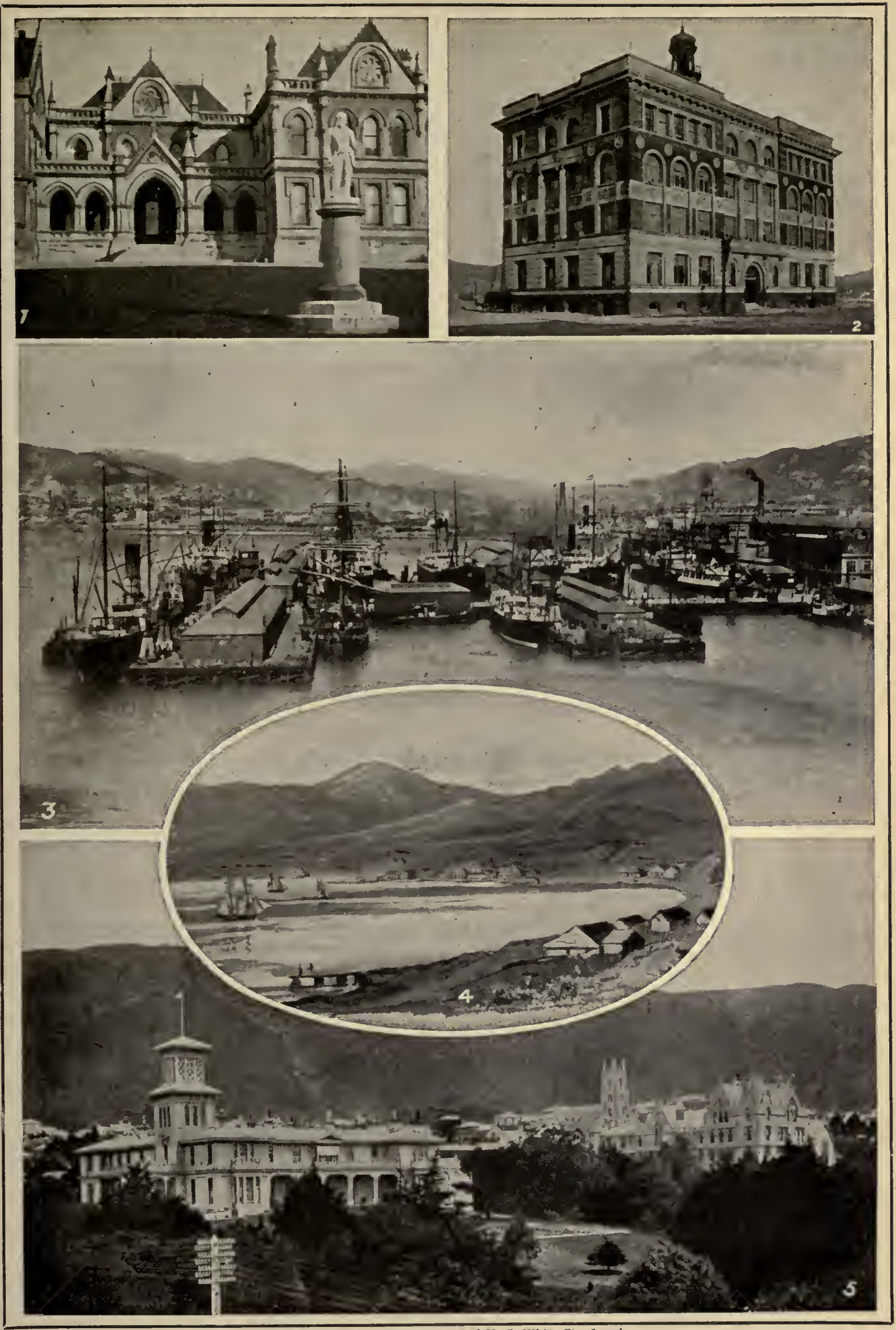
French and British Competition

The missionaries thus obtained the object for which they had so perseveringly striven, a Maori state apparently self-governing, but in reality dependent on them. At Busby's instigation, this state, represented by thirty-five chiefs of the North, was called, after the autumn of 1835, the United Tribes of New Zealand. At the same time the chiefs declared that they would annually hold an assembly, and there pass the necessary laws. Busby himself wished to conduct the Government with the help of a council consisting of natives, for which, after a definite interval, representatives were to be elected. The preliminary costs of this new constitution should, he proposed, be defrayed by Great Britain, which was to be petitioned not only for a loan, but also for the further protection of the whole scheme.

Busby's plan, which was ridiculed by all who were acquainted with the conditions of New Zealand, had been suggested by another fantastic undertaking, that of Baron Thierry. This adventurer had commissioned Kendall, the missionary, to obtain large tracts of land for him in New Zealand, and Kendall had bought, in 1822, 40,000 acres on the Hokianga, from three chiefs, whom he paid for them with thirty-six hatchets. But Thierry, without entering on his property, roamed about in South America, in order to become the "sovereign" of some people, even if it were the smallest Indian tribe. Later, he pursued the same aims on the South Sea Islands, and was finally chosen by the island of Nukahiwa in the Marquesas to be its head. As "Sovereign Chief in New Zealand and King of Nukahiwa," he announced to the British Resident in North New Zealand his speedy arrival from Tahiti (1835). The kings of Great Britain and France, he declared, as well as the President of the United States, had consented to the founding of an independent state on Hokianga Bay, and he was waiting only for the arrival of a suitably equipped warship sent from Panama to sail to the Bay of Islands.

40,000 Acres of Land for 36 Hatchets

Busby's counter-measure was the founding of the United Tribes of New Zealand. Strange to relate, this step was taken seriously in Great Britain, though not in Australia, and every protection was guaranteed to the chiefs. There was a strictly correct exchange of notes between Thierry and Busby, until Thierry, at the close of



Photos Edwards, Littlehampton, and H. C. White Co., London

1. Houses of Parliament, which were destroyed by fire in December, 1907; 2. Customs House; 3. Queen's Wharf; 4. The port in the year 1843; 5. General view of the town, showing Government House, Cathedral, and Houses of Parliament.

VIEWS OF WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND, PAST AND PRESENT

1837, accompanied by ninety-three European adventurers, appeared in person on the North Island. At first amicably received by some of the chiefs, he soon perceived that the British settlers, as well as the missionaries, were working against him. When it appeared that his announcement that hundreds of his subjects would soon follow him was idle talk, Thierry became the laughing-stock of whites and Maoris, was deserted by everyone, and thenceforward eked out a scanty existence as a pauper.

From King to Pauper

Thierry's French name, the founding of French companies for the colonisation of the east side of the South Island, and finally the settlement of the French missionary Pompallier in New Zealand—all this gradually aroused a keen interest in the two islands among private circles in Britain. Captain Cook, who had explored the islands in 1769-70, 1773-74, and 1777, had always advocated an occupation of the country, and even Benjamin Franklin had proposed to found a company for the colonisation of New Zealand, but both without results. It is true that in 1825 a New Zealand Company was formed, and some emigrants were sent to New Zealand, but the behaviour of the natives alarmed the new-comers so that, with the exception of the four most stout-hearted, who remained in the country, all returned to Australia or England. The attempt, which had swallowed up $50,000 was a failure. In 1837, the idea of colonisation was again taken up by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the founder of the Colony of South Australia, by Lord Durham, the leader of the attempt of 1825, and by other representatives of the British Parliament; but since the Association for the Colonisation of New Zealand could not break down the opposition of the missionary societies, of the Government, and of the two Houses of Parliament, it was broken up. At the end of 1838 the New Zealand Land Company, also founded by Wakefield and Lord Durham, took its place. This wished to acquire land from the Maoris, in order to resell it to English emigrants. The price was to be adjusted so that not only a surplus should be produced for the construction of roads, schools, and churches, but also an adequate profit for the shareholders. When the company, on June 1st, 1839, publicly put up to auction 110,000 acres of New Zealand land, so many bidders were forthcoming that very soon $500,000 was received.

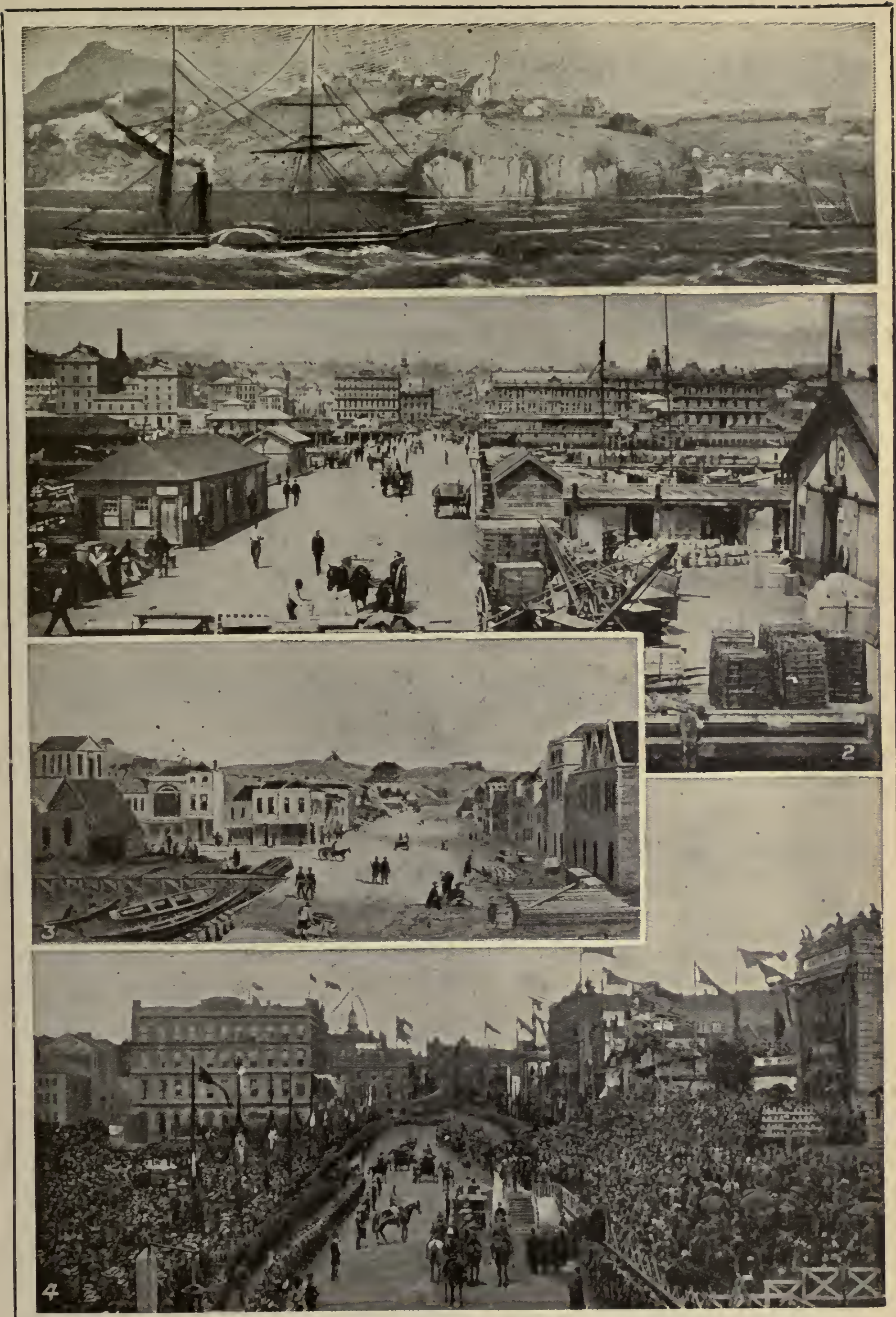
Attempts towards Colonisation

In view of the fact that a vigorous colonisation of New Zealand was unavoidable, the Colonial Minister, the Marquis of Normanby, now tried to anticipate the New Zealand Land Company and to secure for the Government the expected profits. Under the influence of the Wakefield agitators, Lord Glenelg, the predecessor of Normanby in office, had planned the appointment of a British consul to New Zealand and the annexation of districts already occupied by whites under the Government of New South Wales. On June 15th, 1839, Captain Hobson was nominated by Normanby consul for New Zealand, with a commission to induce the natives to recognise the sovereignty of the Queen of England. He was to administer the island group belonging to New South Wales, in the capacity of a deputy Governor. In order to nip the plans of the company in the bud, Hobson was further instructed to bind the Maori chiefs to sell land exclusively to the Crown, and to suppress the speculation in land which was raging in New Zealand, by requiring that all purchases of land effected by British subjects should be investigated by a special committee.

Action by the British Government

But the Government came forward too late with their measures. An expedition of the New Zealand Land Company, under the guidance of a brother of Wakefield, had already landed in Queen Charlotte's Sound on August 16th, 1839, had obtained an immense territory from the natives for a few articles of merchandise, in spite of all the efforts of the missionaries, and had lost no time in founding the town of Wellington on Port Nicholson. The capital of the "Britain of the South Sea" was thus created. One out of every eleven acres of the purchased land was to remain reserved for the natives as an inviolable possession.

Since also a French company was well on its way to secure a strong footing in New Zealand, Hobson, who had landed on the North Island on January 29th, 1840, concluded—with the support of the missionaries, who saw in a Crown



1. General view of the town in 1850; 2. Scene from the wharf to-day; 3. Heart of the town of Auckland fifty years ago; 4. The principal street of Auckland during the ceremonies on the occasion of the Duke of York's visit, 1891.

VIEWS OF AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND, PAST AND PRESENT

Colony the smaller evil—the Treaty of Waitangi with a number of the more important chiefs, in which they absolutely and for ever resigned the sovereignty of their land to the Crown of England. The Crown in return guaranteed to the Maoris the royal protection, all the privileges of British subjects, and all their rights to land and property, but reserved the right of pre-emption of every district which the natives should be willing to sell. The few dozens who first signed were soon joined by other chiefs, so that the number of signatures shortly before the middle of the year 1840 reached 512. In June, therefore, the British sovereignty could also be proclaimed over the South Island and Stewart Island "on the basis of the right of Cook's discovery." On September 19th, Hobson hoisted the British flag in Auckland. Finally, on November 6th, 1840, New Zealand was declared a Crown Colony. Hobson was nominated Governor, and Auckland became temporarily the seat of government.

Treaty with the Maoris

The Treaty of Waitangi is in various respects an event of historical importance. For the first time a European nation laid down the fundamental principle that the natives, even of an uncultivated country, have full possessory rights over their own land. We may contrast with this the conduct adopted by the Government and the settlers toward the neighbouring Australians and Tasmanians! Now, for the first time, "savages" were officially put on a level with colonists—that is to say, were treated as men.

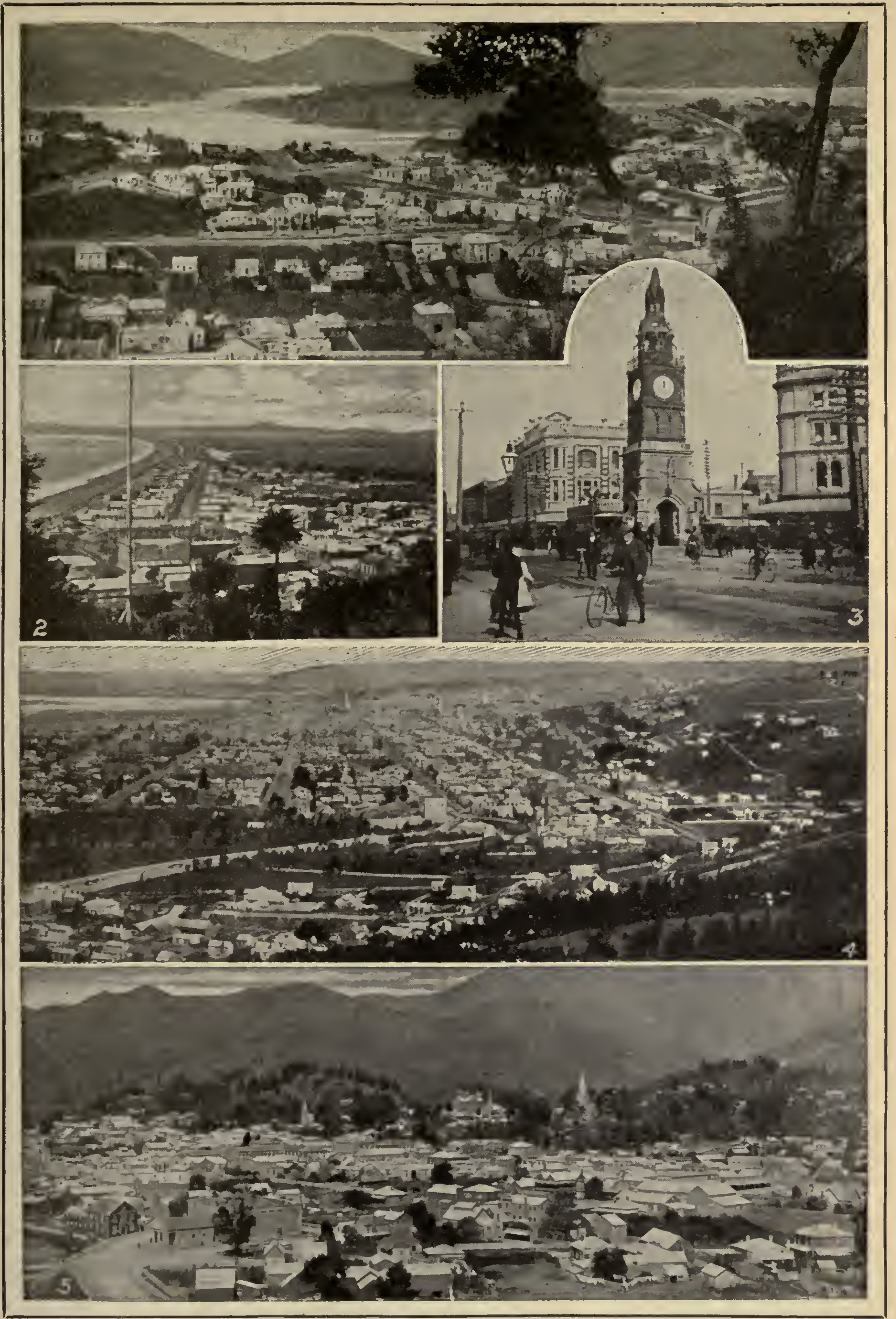
NEW ZEALAND'S FIRST GOVERNOR
Captain Hobson, who was appointed Governor of New Zealand in 1839, and who executed the Treaty of Waitangi with the Maori chiefs.

The treaty is also important politically. Great Britain, by firmly establishing herself in front of the broad expanse of the Pacific Ocean, secured a commanding position in the entire Central and Southern Oceanic world. This was an exceptionally hard blow for France, since, after the total failure of her Australian and Tasmanian schemes of colonisation, there was no other considerable tract of territory to be found which could serve as a strong base within her widely distributed colonial empire in the South Pacific. The French ships which arrived off New Zealand in July, 1840, were compelled to return without having effected their purpose.

Who will prove victorious in the fight for the supremacy in the Pacific Ocean? The answer is difficult. At the present day the Pacific is a stage trodden by many actors; in a possibly not distant future it may become the theatre of war for the United States, Russia, Great Britain, and possibly Japan. In any case, New Zealand will possess great value, owing to her geographical position. Strategically she forms a splendid flanking outpost for Australia, which is otherwise exposed defenceless to every attack from north or east; and as far as industries go she is at least as well dowered as her larger neighbour. Inferiority of size is compensated by more favourable climatic conditions.

The Treaty of Waitangi soon involved momentous consequences for the colony itself. The British Government, which had never recognised the New Zealand Land Company, reduced its claims—20,000,000 of the 46,000,000 acres of land "bought" by Europeans—first to 997,000, and after a more exact investigation in 1843, to 282,000 acres. To the Englishmen who claimed the remaining 26,000,000 acres, only 100,000 were awarded; to the London Mission only 66,000 instead of 216,000 acres. The rest in all cases, instead of being given back to the natives, was declared to be Crown land and bought by the Government. From that time the natives had quite a different notion of the value of their land, which they had hitherto unsuspectingly sold for muskets, rum, tobacco, blankets, and toys. They began more and more frequently to dispute the old bargains, first by complaints and protests, then by blows, and finally by war and murder. After the Maoris had murdered several Europeans in 1843, and repeatedly torn down the

Beginning of Maori Discontent



1. Port Chalmers, Otago; 2. Napier, "the Garden City of New Zealand"; 3. High Street of Christchurch; 4. Dunedin from North-east Valley: 5. Nelson from Britannia Height.

SOME OF THE PROSPEROUS CITIES IN THE DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND

Photos H. C. White Co., Edwards, and Underwood & Underwood, London

British flag, Britain was obliged to consider herself at war with the islanders. The successor of Hobson, who died in 1842, was Robert Fitzroy, known as the commander of the Beagle, which had carried Charles Darwin on his voyage round the world. Fitzroy was, however, incompetent for his post, and by all sorts of concessions, such as remissions of entrance-tolls and restitution of land sold by the Maoris to the immigrants, he prompted the natives to make renewed demands. His measures with this view rapidly emptied the colonial coffers. The New Zealand Land Company, in consequence of the perpetual disturbances, also fell into difficulties and temporarily suspended its operations. Besides this, the British forces, from want of artillery, did very little against the brave Maori warriors.

A too Supine Governor

In November 1845, Sir George Grey, who had won his spurs as the first Governor of South Australia, arrived in New Zealand. Since the attempt to quiet the insurgents by peaceful methods was unsuccessful, the Governor prohibited the importation of arms and ammunition, and rapidly defeated the chiefs Heki and Kawiri. He was able to conclude peace by the end of January, 1846. Isolated subsequent outbreaks were suppressed with equal promptness. Grey's next object was to prevent the recurrence of civil wars by a system of suitable reforms. Besides the above mentioned reduction of the landed property of the missions, he put an officer into the native secretaryship, which had been hitherto administered by a missionary, and settled the land question in the interests of the natives.

SIR GEORGE GREY
One of Britain's great Colonial administrators. He rescued South Australia from panic and pacified New Zealand by his vigorous policy.

The new constitution, recommended by the British Government, which gave the colony complete self government, appeared premature to him, and was not therefore put into force; he contented himself by dividing the colony into two provinces. In order to revive immigration, which had almost ceased, steps were taken to advance to the New Zealand Company in 1846 and 1847 a sum of $1,180,000 free of interest, and the Crown lands of the district of New Munster were assigned to it until July, 1850. The minimum price for an acre was fixed at 5 dollars. With the company's co-operation, the Free Church of Scotland founded the Colony of Otago on the South Island in 1847, and the Church of England settled Canterbury in 1849. These were the last acts of the company, whose directors were compelled to suspend the business finally in 1850 from want of funds, a fortunate turn for the development of the Colony of New Zealand, which had suffered only from the juxtaposition of the company and Government. For this reason the Government remitted the payment by the company of the sum advanced, and assigned to the shareholders, in 1852, 1,340,000 dollars as compensation for their landed rights.

Sir George Grey's term of office ended on December 31st, 1853; after a short furlough at home he was transferred to Cape Colony. But, in 1852, before leaving, he had obtained for the two islands that same privilege of self-government which had been granted by the mother country to the Australian colonies—that is, a responsible government. The constitution, which was largely due to Grey himself, provided for six provinces with separate administration under a separate council and an elected superintendent. The provinces composed a Federal State with a Parliament, which, consisting of an elected lower house of representatives and a nominated legislative council, met for the first time in 1854 at Auckland, the seat of the Governor and of the central Government. Simultaneously with the final settlement of the Australian constitutional question in general, the forms of responsible government were extended to New Zealand in all its parts. In the matter of the native question alone the Home Government reserved the right of interference until 1862. The colonial

The First New Zealand Parliament

Scene on a North Island stock farm.

Freezing works in Canterbury district.

New Zealand's chief industry—Loading wool for export.

Sheep fair at Ohaupo, in North Island, an important stock centre.

NEW ZEALAND'S GREAT LIVESTOCK INDUSTRY

COMMANDING OFFICER'S HUT DURING THE MAORI RISING OF 1846

Cabinet included a native Minister, but his powers were slight; all matters relating to the natives and their lands were really settled by the Governor and an Imperial official known as the native secretary.

The departure of Sir George Grey was followed by a cycle of years of external tranquillity, and of visible prosperity for the colony. Nevertheless they contained the germ of fresh troubles. From fear lest the chambers, in which they were not represented, should weaken the power of the central Government, which had been greeted with confidence, the natives of the North Island, in 1856, combined into the "Land League," which was intended to check completely the further sale of land to the Government. In 1857 matters culminated in a national combination, which was intended to block the growth of the foreign element. The centre of the movement lay on the shores of Lake Taupo in North Island, a region in which the natives still kept their lands. South Island had by this time passed completely into European hands, and therefore did not come within the sphere of war. The lead in the struggle was taken by the chiefs of the Waikato Valley, who proclaimed the old chief Potatau as their king. But Potatau was of a conciliating temper, and the leading spirit of the whole agitation was the young and vigorous Wocemu Kingi, or William Thompson, of the tribe of the Ngatiawa, called the king-maker, who had the support of the younger chiefs. As long as the "King of Peace," Potatau I., lived, the Maoris kept quiet.

SCENE OF THE MAORI TROUBLE IN 1845

A view of the town of Korarika, better known to-day as Russell, in the Bay of Islands, North Island. It was partially destroyed by the Maoris in March, 1845.

Under his successor, Potatau II., hostilities to the whites broke out in 1860, and soon assumed such proportions that the British Government sent out Sir George Grey to New Zealand for the second time. In spite of all the respect which the natives entertained for him, and of the constitution which he gave them, he was unable to procure more than a brief suspension of hostilities. The question now to be answered was which race should remain in the country. The great Maori war lasted fully ten years, if several interruptions owing to the exhaustion of both sides are included. The Maoris showed a courage and endurance which places them in the first rank of all primitive peoples; on the other hand, the British operations were hampered by continual friction between the Colonial

TOMB OF POTATAU, THE FIRST MAORI KING

Potatau was elected king of the confederated Maori tribes in 1857, and died in 1860 at his capital, Nagaruwahia, where he is buried. He was a lover of peace.

THE EARLIEST GOLD DISCOVERY IN NEW ZEALAND
Conference between Lieut.-Governor Wynyard and Maori Chiefs at Coromandel in 1853, concerning gold discoveries.

Government, the Governor, and the commanders of the military forces sent from home. These dissensions were not the less disastrous because the blame for them lay rather with the system of dual control itself than with the individuals who were fated to work it.

One defeat of the British followed another; troops after troops were sent across from England and Australia as time went on. At length, in 1866, William Thompson, the chief of the Waikato confederacy, made his submission; a last effort on the part of his more irreconcilable supporters was crushed in 1868 and 1869 by the colonial troops, the British regiments having left the island. Practically the war was at an end by 1867. In that year an agreement was made that the Maoris should have four seats in the Lower House. In 1870 peace was completely restored. The war had cost the colony and the mother country a large sum of money, had imposed a heavy burden of debt, of which the effect was to be felt for the next fifteen years, and had sacrificed the lives of a considerable proportion of the colonists.

MAORI PEACE-MAKER
The peace-maker was formerly an honoured institution. His sole occupation was to carry messages between hostile chiefs, and to bring about peace. His person was sacred.

The natives, their pride crushed, and they themselves deprived of all hope of maintaining their nationality or even their race, withdrew into Kingsland, a district some 1,600 square miles in size, to the north-west of Lake Taupo, where they were left unmolested for a time. The last three decades have not been entirely free from collisions with the whites; but, on the whole, the Maoris have resigned themselves to the situation. They have cultivated a considerable part of Kingsland on a sensible system, and they possess more than 3,000,000 sheep, 50,000 cattle, and 100,000 pigs. Almost all can speak and write English, and all have been baptised; they eagerly vote for Parliament, where they are represented by four members in the Lower House and two in the Upper House. It is true that here, too, the old nationality is gone irrevocably; the 45,000 Maoris—for such is the figure to which the nation numbering 150,000 in its palmy

days has shrunk—hardly resemble their ancestors in any one respect. They have not, for two generations, practised cannibalism, but, on the other hand, they have become addicted to drunkenness; and consumption, asthma, and scrofula have followed in the wake of this vice.

Almost a century had elapsed since Captain Cook had hoisted the flag of Great Britain on its shores, and there were not yet 100,000 European colonists in the country. The causes of this slow movement, as compared with the rapid development of New South Wales and Victoria, were not to be found in the nature of the country; the South Island, which was almost entirely spared from disturbances, developed during those first decades considerably faster than the North Island, where war was raging. The squatters and shepherds who immigrated from New South Wales and Tasmania, soon perceived that the South Island was very suitable for sheep farming, and a few years after the founding of the Church Colonies, Otago and Canterbury, almost the entire centre and east of the island were divided into pasture lands. In 1861 the island exported roughly 8,000,000 lb. of wool of the value of $2,500,000 dollars; in 1912 wool was by far the chief export of New Zealand, standing at $35,527,415.

AN EPISODE IN THE MAORI WAR OF 1863
The 57th Regiment taking a redoubt on the Katikara River

The South Island also gained much from the discovery of gold. The finds at Coromandel on the North Island and at Nelson on the South Island in 1852 remained solitary instances until, in 1861, the discovery of the rich alluvial deposits at Otago produced a veritable gold fever. After they were exhausted, the productive fields on the west coast were worked. Otago exported in 1863 gold to the value of more than $10,000,000, the west coast, in 1866, rather more. Toward the end of the 'sixties the production and export from the North Island increased. Owing to this the confidence of the Mother Country in the future of New Zealand was immensely strengthened; the London money market shows a long list of loans made during the last thirty years for the development of the resources of the country. New Zealand at the present day has the largest public debt per head of population of any country in the world. On March 31st, 1913, it was 450,303,815 dollars, equivalent to $420.25 per head.

The administration has undergone very few alterations in the course of the last half-century. At the beginning of the 'sixties it was certain that the union of the provinces, which in course of time had increased by three and were working independently side by side, was only a question of time. After Wellington, which lies in the centre and on Cook Strait, had been chosen for the federal capital, the privileges of the provinces were abolished in 1875. Since then New Zealand has consisted of eighty-one counties, which send their representatives to Parliament at Wellington. On the question of foreign policy, and the decision regarding federation with the Australian Commonwealth, the reader can refer to another part of this work.

Decentralisation is the striking feature of contrast between New Zealand and

FRIENDLY NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE NATIVES

A large conference between settlers and Maoris held near Napier, Hawkes Bay, in 1863.

Australia. There is no overshadowing city, such as Sydney or Melbourne. Auckland, Christchurch, Dunedin, and Wellington are the four chief towns. Auckland, the largest, has 102,676 inhabitants; Dunedin, the smallest, 64,237 None of them exercises any special political influence, the reasons being in part geographical, in part historical. The means of communication in New Zealand were, until recently, by sea, and Auckland was a four-days' voyage from Dunedin. The North and South Islands were also parted by a wide and stormy strait. Naturally, under such circumstances, intercourse between the coastal towns was difficult. Each city, too, except Auckland, which is more of a trading centre, owed its existence to the pastures of its hinterland. Their spheres of influence were rather from east to west than from north to south. The historical reason for this comparative isolation is to be found in the character of the early settlements. The South, or rather the Middle Island of New Zealand was colonised systematically by settlers who were connected with each other by the strong ties of religion or race. Christchurch was settled by a company, in which shares could be held only by members of the Church of England. Dunedin in the same way was the home of a Scotch settlement. Until 1864 the Home Government recognised the character of New Zealand settlement by giving each province an independent constitution. The provincial governments were abolished in 1864, and a centralised Government established at Wellington. Living in the happy islands of New Zealand is probably the easiest in the world. The climate is singularly favourable to agriculture, and the surface of the earth is broken into numberless hills and vales, giving a variety to New Zealand scenery which is wanting on the Australian plains. The Government has resumed land freely for closer settlement, so that the rent of a holding is very low; Government departments grade the farmer's wheat, freeze lambs, and generally tend to smooth difficulties from the path of agriculture. The result is a community without great inequalities of wealth. New Zealand has no millionaires, but she need have no paupers. The line of life is similar to that of a town to which parents have been attracted by a great school, where all have about the same income and the same interests.

A MAORI HOUSE OR "WHARE"

NEW ZEALAND'S TIMBER INDUSTRY

Woodmen felling a Kauri tree in North Island. These trees often grow 160 feet high and up to 15 feet thick.

But if it were necessary to sum up in one word the dominant love of New Zealand life, "wholesomeness" would be the word of choice. There is something in the climate, soil, and water of New Zealand which gives physical vigour to man and beast. The sheep and lambs of the far-famed Canterbury plains are without any question the best in the world. Trout, introduced from Europe into the rivers and lakes of New Zealand, without losing any of their gameness, reach a size and weight which would be regarded as impossible in their native haunts. Indeed, many anglers now visit New Zealand instead of Norway, attracted also, no doubt, by the prospect of deer-stalking in the South Island. The hot springs are found in both North and Middle Island, but the world-famed hot spring of Rotorua have given the North Island a special distinction in this respect. The curative effect of these springs, and the healthiness of the climate in their vicinity, is best indicated by the attraction the district possessed for the Maoris.

New Zealand, after some hesitation, has decided to hold aloof from the Commonwealth of Australia. As one of their statesmen said: "The 1,200 miles of sea between Auckland and Sydney furnishes us with 1,200 reasons for keeping to ourselves." In effect, as the High Commissioner points out, New Zealanders are insular and self-contained. Like all islanders, "they have a special objection to interference by outsiders in their own affairs, and absorption in these, with entire indifference to the politics of other countries, and an excellent conceit of themselves. Nine-tenths of them know almost as little about ordinary Australian politics as do Englishmen. They have no animosity towards, or jealousy of, the big island continent; but their interest, their pride, their hopes, are centred in their own islands."

Federation, indeed, held out to them a practical inducement—namely, that they should be included within the ring fence of the Australian tariff. But this was not sufficient; for the eyes of New Zealanders look eastward, and their dream is to be the head of a Pacific Federation, which leaves them

ONE OF THE GREAT SAW MILLS ON THE WAIROA RIVER

The Kauri pine yields a valuable gum which is employed in varnish manufacture, and the timber is used for ship masts, paving blocks, and other purposes.

indifferent to the Commonwealth in the West. For a generation at least New Zealand wil pursue her course alone, connected with England, in spite of the distance, more closely than with Australia —because the national spirit is not yet awakened and she is too weak to stand alone—she will always be the purest jewel in the Crown of Empire. Though Australia's future may be greater, New Zealand's, at any rate, will be great and bright enough for the people—so they think. It may be that the distinguishing title of "Dominion," bestowed on it in 1907, will tend to encourage this inclination to political separation.

New Zealand was the first British community to make a serious and systematic attempt at improving the lot of the people by means of legislation. The Land question first presented itself, and was met by a bold and, on the whole, successful series of measures to break up the big private estates and to give an opportunity for the closer settlement of the small farmer. In fact, the Land Law of New Zealand aims at preventing any but small or middling farmers from acquiring agricultural land from the Crown. The methods are a progressive land tax, an absentee tax, and the levying of rates upon unimproved values.

RICHARD SEDDON

He was born in Lancashire and went to New Zealand as a mechanical engineer. He entered politics, and by his force of character and intense national patriotism soon took a commanding position in New Zealand affairs.

Equal consideration was shown to the town workers. Beginning with the Industrial Arbitration Act—introduced by the Hon. Wm. Pember Reeves—it provided a tribunal with coercive powers to hear and determine every class of industrial dispute. It did not, however, like the New South Wales Act, make it a misdemeanour to lock-out or strike without submitting the dispute to this Court. There followed a whole code of labour laws providing for fair working conditions. not only in factories, workshops, and mines, but also in open-air industries. Encouragement was given to the formation of unions both of employer and of employed. Old Age Pensions were granted to the aged poor, and the State took upon itself the whole burden of public charity—outdoor relief, hospitals, and lunatic asylums. Of course, there are carpers at such free-handed largess from the State; but, on the whole, it appears that these measures have not produced the fatal consequences which should have followed such a daring violation of the "laws of political economy"! It is alleged that prices have risen; but there is nothing to show that the rise in New Zealand is greater than that which has occurred everywhere during the last few years. It will be safer to take Mr. Reeves' appreciation of these measures. "The notion that New Zealanders, as a people, have as an ideal some elaborate State Socialism may be dismissed . . They are not even—curiously—Fabian Socialists, but they find in practice that by collective actions they can do many things which they wish to do. They are, so far, satisfied with the chief experiments they have tried . . . The competent farmer, skilled mechanic, and able-bodied labourer, have usually a more hopeful life than in other countries. . . . The contentment of the man of small means is nowhere disturbed by the contrast of flaunting wealth."

Cribb

BATTLE CRUISER "NEW ZEALAND" PRESENTED BY THE COLONY TO THE BRITISH ADMIRALTY IN 1912

LATER EVENTS IN NEW ZEALAND

COMPULSORY military training for all male citizens between the ages of 12 and 25 was established in New Zealand in 1910. As in Australia, boys from 12 to 18 are enrolled in the Cadet Corps, and from 18 to 25 in the Territorial Force, with short periods of training in the field. The peace effective stood at 30,000 in 1913. Although some opposition has been made by the peace societies to the compulsory military training of boys, the New Zealand Government has declared itself satisfied that the system is now firmly established, and that the character and physique of the youth of the Dominion are benefited by it. Eighteen British officers are now serving the Dominion, and the Dominion forces are commanded by Major-General A. J. Godley, C.B.

In the matter of naval defence, the Dominion presented a super-Dreadnought battle cruiser, the New Zealand, 18,800 tons, to the British Admiralty in 1912, and this vessel is now stationed in the home waters. In his speech in the Dominion Parliament in September, 1913, The Prime Minister, Hon. W. F. Massey, declared that New Zealand had not the slightest intention of going into partnership with Australia in naval defence; and the Defence Minister, Hon. Colonel James Allen, insisted that New Zealand must be prepared to undertake further responsibilities in duty to itself and the Empire.

Next to military and naval defence, a further instalment of industrial legislation is notable in the recent history of the Dominion. The Industrial Arbitration Act of 1913 rendered the workman who is bound by an award, and who subsequently participates in an illegal strike, liable to a penalty of $50, and the employer, who is similarly bound, and who illegally locks out his workmen, liable to a fine of $2,500 A trade union was also made liable, if a majority of its members take part in an illegal strike, and power was given to the Court to cancel its registration. But even with this legislation, two serious strikes of export slaughtermen and waterside workers took place in New Zealand in 1913. The former were defeated by the registration of free labour unions, but the latter brought all shipping to a standstill for a time.

THE WESTERN POWERS IN THE SOUTH SEAS

OCEANIA, at the present day, is in its full extent colonial territory; the few land surfaces on which as yet no white power flies its flags are uninhabited or barren rocks and reefs. The New Hebrides alone are not yet disposed of. The value attached to Oceania by the Western Powers, which is expressed in its political annexation, dates from recent times. Apart from the Marianne Isles, on which the beginnings of Spanish colonisation go back to the sixteenth century, no group of islands found favour in the eyes of European governments before the close of the eighteenth century. The reason was the deficiency of Oceania in precious metals, valuable spices, and rich stuffs. This deficiency made the region valueless to the leading colonisers of early times, Spain and Portugal; the others, however, Holland, France, and England, had their hands full with the development of their Indian, African, and American colonial possessions.

The Modern Value of Oceania

The first steps toward the colonisation of Oceania in the nineteenth century were taken by the French. Since the conquest of Algeria was not enough to prop his tottering throne, Louis Philippe had, after the middle of the 'thirties, issued the programme of a Polynesian colonial empire. The plan succeeded only in East Polynesia, where a really compact region could be brought under French suzerainty; elsewhere France had already opponents of her schemes to contend against, and these were found not only in the ranks of the Protestant missionaries, but also in the Cabinets of London, Washington, and St. Petersburg. She was thus able to annex only the south-east wing of West Melanesia, New Caledonia, and its vicinity.

Great Britain has had to take over a large part of her present Oceanic possessions, even New Zealand, under compulsion, not from choice. In earlier times the constantly recurring fear of French rivalry was the moving cause. As German trade relations with the South Sea developed, there was the additional anxiety of German encroachment, and in this connection the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, now conscious of their place in history, had become the representatives of the British idea of colonisation. When the German Empire stepped on to the colonial world stage, the annexation of new territories to the British colonial empire ceased to be half-hearted and became the natural event. At the present day Great Britain regards Central Melanesia, Central Polynesia, and South-east Micronesia as her sphere of interests. The "free" New Hebrides, French New Caledonia, and German Samoa make little difference to this.

Germany has become a colonial Power in consequence of long-standing commercial relations. In this way it could partly occupy unclaimed countries; partly also, following the American example, it has entered upon the inheritance of the oldest Pacific Power, the Spaniards. At the present time Germany rules a compact territory, important both by its extent and wealth, which comprises a large part of Melanesia, and almost all Micronesia, but, like the French possessions, it suffers from its excessive remoteness from the mother country. Besides this, Germany has rivals, which are formidable both industrially and politically, in the new American colonies of Hawaii and the Philippines, and still more in Australia. Samoa, which lies in front, may prove more of a trouble than a blessing to the empire.

Germany's Portion of Oceania

The Power which has appeared last in order of time on the Pacific stage is the United States of America, whose right of entry has been bought by the expulsion of Spain. The firm footing of America on the Philippines, Hawaii, Mariannes, and Samoa (Tutuila)—that is, on four places distributed over the whole range

of islands—becomes important from the change in the political situation thus produced; America, which hitherto has turned its face merely toward the east, now looks to the Pacific. At the same time it has now cut through the only obstacle to the development of its power on the west, the Central-American isthmus.

The total effect of this American movement is that the possession of Oceania is valued more highly than before, and that the Pacific Ocean has become the focus of interest. Recent events on the east coast of Asia furnish the best proof of this. Oceania has room for colonisation only by the Great Powers. Spain has been compelled to leave it, since it has been blotted out from the list of living world Powers. Portugal, following the decisive sentence of a pope, has never set foot on it. Holland, at the most easterly extremity of its colonial kingdom, just touches the Pacific with Dutch New Guinea; but it has not yet been active there. Chili possesses Easter Island merely for show. Japan, finally, has found the doors closed to her on Hawaii. The whites acquired influence over the destinies of the Australians and Oceanians, as over the majority of primitive peoples, in two ways—by taking possession of their territory politically and exploiting its industries, and by introducing Christianity into the national paganism. It is a characteristic feature in Oceania that the impression produced by the missions far surpassed the other in permanence and to some degree in results. This is not the case with the Australian continent, where missionary attempts have always remained occasional and, in comparison with the gigantic area, of trifling extent; they were timidly begun and achieved no important results. Much indeed is told us of the achievements of native pupils in reading, writing, and arithmetic, but that says less for the general success of the mission than for the intellectual gifts of the race. The love of the Australian blackfellow for an irregular, hand-to-mouth, hunter's life has been ineradicable.

The Powers in the Pacific

Better prospects were open to the missionary in Oceania. In the first place, the confined area allowed a concentration of all available forces; and, in the next place, the national disunion of the Oceanians prepared the ground for the missionaries, as the conversions of Thakombau, Pomare, and Kamehameha II. show. The prospect of the political support of the white preachers of the Gospel was too alluring, and many availed themselves of the easy method of an almost always superficial change of faith. The real results of conversion are, nevertheless, generally unimportant. The very promising beginning made in Tahiti suffered a severe set-back after the interference of the missionaries in the disputes for the throne. In New Zealand the disorders under Hongi brought the work of conversion to a standstill for years, as was the case in Hawaii from the struggle of the Kamehameha dynasty for the political headship in the archipelago. It was only on Tonga that the conversion of the entire north was completed within ten years of missionary work, from 1830 to 1840. The kings Taufaahau and Tubou lent it valuable aid; and, besides that, the field was then left exclusively to the Protestant Church. From the moment when the French bishop Pompallier set foot on the soil of Tongatabu in 1841 we have presented to us that picture of denominational discord and intense jealousy among the disciples of the different schools of religion which only too easily poisoned other phases of national life.

Mission Work in the South Seas

This hostility between the denominations is one of the greatest hindrances to missionary work in Oceania, and prevents any disinterested feeling of joy being felt when a whole group of peoples is won for Christianity. It is difficult to decide on whom the chief blame rests, since the accounts of individual efforts, as well as of the combined result, vary according to the denominations. But in the great majority of cases the Catholic missions, which came too late, were the disturbing element. Since they enjoyed the protection of France everywhere, they made up for their tardiness by unscrupulous action, of which the events on Tahiti, the Marquesas, Tuamotu in Hawaii, and, above all, in the Loyalty Isles, supply us with examples. In the Loyalty Isles, the English missionary Murray had won over the greater part of three islands to Protestantism. In 1864 the group of islands was occupied by the French, at the instigation of Catholic missionaries, and Protestant were replaced by Catholic

Catholic versus Protestant

services. The French soldiers treated the natives so harshly that various Powers lodged protests with the Government of Napoleon III. But this interference became disastrous only in 1872, 1873, and 1880, when regular religious wars occurred between the members of the two Churches, in which even women and children were not spared. On the other hand, the Protestant missions must be made responsible to a large degree for having often combined the functions of missionary and trader. This practice, which had been adopted by John Williams, the apostle of the South Sea, has not been discontinued, in spite of frequent prohibitions by Great Britain. The co-operation of all whites, which is an essential condition for an effective mission of civilisation, was thus destroyed; the professional trader had no motive for supporting the Church whose labourers were obnoxious to him as competitors.

Religious Factions at War

There was also a second reason. While the Catholic missionary sharply defined the exterior boundaries of his community, and then devoted himself exclusively to it—the success of the Jesuits in building up large communities, upon which practice the increase of Catholics on Hawaii followed—the Protestant was distracted by reason of his business as a trader. Both Churches were equally open to the reproach of having interfered in the political affairs of the Oceanias as long as any territory was still to be obtained. It is true that the missionaries, working alone in the middle of turbulent tribes, were often forced to take one side or the other if they did not wish to risk both their lives and the success of their missions; but just as frequently we find no apparent cause. In New Zealand there had been an attempt to found a separate Maori kingdom under ecclesiastical rule, a counterpart of the Jesuit state in Paraguay.

Value of Missions in Oceania

What did missions do for the Oceanians? In the controversy as to the value of missions in the South Sea, many voices entirely condemned their line of action. Charles Darwin, on the other hand, has pointed out that, apart from other progress, missionary activity had the noteworthy result of creating a network of stations over the wide South Sea, before the value of that proceeding was realised by the Western Powers, and by so doing indisputably civilised the habits of the native. We have only to compare the little-visited Solomon islanders with the formerly savage and now quite peaceful Fijians. The credit of this does not belong entirely to the missions, however. So long as they alone represented Europeanism, there was, on the contrary, much bloodshed in Oceania. It was only when the strong hands of the Colonial Governments, which were more concerned with the undisturbed possession of the country than the welfare of the inhabitants, guided the helm that these improvements in culture were evident.

The mixture of good and evil in the achievements of the missionaries is visible in the domain of knowledge. It must not be forgotten with what zeal the more enlightened of them identified themselves from the first with the national feelings of the Oceanic peoples, and how much they collected which has been essential for our later comprehension of the subject. But it is none the less to be remembered that in the complete—although possibly inevitable—destruction of the national characteristics of Oceania, no persons took part more ignorantly than these very missionaries. They unscrupulously invaded every branch of the national life in order to adapt them to their own views. They even substituted, in many parts, the ugly calicoes of Europe for the time-honoured dress, at once tasteful and practical, of Oceania; they introduced fashions which were bound to jar on the native sense of beauty, and which, by their total disregard of hygienic laws, have promoted the increase of various chronic diseases.

Destruction of National Character

Now, when the island world of Oceania is divided, missions with their thoroughly successful enterprises have played their historical part. The history of mankind takes broader strides; its wide paths surround even the islands of the Pacific.

What can we say of the future of the Oceanic islands? Apportioned as they are among the Great Powers of the world, they will probably develop a history more industrial than political. In great measure they will become overrun by European and Asiatic immigrants. "Civilisation" has done for these natives its worst; education and scientific political systems hereafter may atone for what has gone before.

OCEANIA AND MALAYSIA IN OUR OWN TIME

BY BASIL THOMSON

BROADLY speaking, the inhabitants of all the scattered islands lying between the east point of New Guinea and the west coast of South America are divided between three races, called for convenience the Malayo-Polynesians, the Micronesians, and the Melanesians. The Polynesians inhabit all the large groups lying east of Fiji, including Hawaii, Tahiti, Rarotonga, Tonga, Samoa, and New Zealand; the Micronesians, the small atolls about the Equator which form the Gilbert and Ellice groups; and the Melanesians all the groups lying west of Fiji—namely, the Solomons, Loyalty, New Hebrides, New Britain, and New Ireland. Fiji is the meeting ground of the two great races. None of these are of unmixed blood. Throughout the Polynesian Islands there are individuals of almost negroid characteristics, and, as the prevailing wind blows from the south-east, Polynesians have for centuries drifted into the Melanesian groups and been cast away there. The latest suggestion—that of Dr. A. H. Keane and others—is that the substratum of the Polynesian race is Caucasian; that the islands were peopled by a stream of immigrants from Asia still in the Neolithic period of culture, whose progress is marked by Megalithic remains, such as are to be found in Western Europe and in the Malay Peninsula, and that after they had been settled in the islands for long ages, a stream of negroid marauders from the westward conquered them, taught them the masculine arts of war and navigation, intermarried with their women, and founded the present mixed race. Thus they would account for the backwardness of the feminine arts, such as pottery and weaving, and the comparatively advanced quality of the masculine arts of shipbuilding and fortification.

BASIL THOMSON

The writer of this chapter was for some years Prime Minister of Tonga, and is recognised as one of the foremost authorities on Oceania.

Almost all the Polynesian tribes speak of Bulotu, a place in the Far West, as the land of their origin and the place to which their spirits will return after death. Bulotu has been identified with various places in the Malay Archipelago, but such identifications must always be purely conjectural.

In physique the Polynesians are muscular, tall and well-proportioned; of an olive complexion, inclined to reddish-yellow, that may be best compared with café-au-lait. Their limbs are fleshy, though well-proportioned, and the chiefs of both sexes are prone to corpulency. Their hair is naturally wavy and black, but frequent smearing with lime dyes it a tawny brown, like sealskin. Their faces are generally open and pleasant, and sometimes even beautiful, especially in the men, who might be used as models by a sculptor.

The political institutions were generally governed by hereditary chiefs, subject to the checks which a powerful aristocracy might put upon their power. In some of the islands the hereditary chief was regarded as the incarnation of a deified ancestor, and sometimes

evolution of this idea had produced a dual monarchy, the one spiritual and the other temporal, like the Mikado and the Shōgun of Japan. Among no people in the world does noble birth carry so much prestige. In Tonga a plebeian had no soul, and nowhere in the islands could a man rise above the station to which he was born. In Hawaii, as in Siam and in ancient Egypt, the king sometimes married his half-sister in order that the royal blood might not be diluted. Rank derived from the mother counts for more than that inherited from the father; but this is less a relic of matriarchal institutions than an acknowledgment, in a race of dissolute habits, of the uncertain paternity of a child.

Prestige of Blue Blood

The religion of the Polynesians was remote ancestor worship; but there was no powerful priesthood, and in practice the religion was nothing but a regard for the *taboo* and the occasional propitiation of chiefs lately dead. Certain acts were permanently taboo, or forbidden. The Marquesan women must not enter a canoe, but must swim whenever they had to cross water. A taboo, or prohibition, was laid upon some article of food that was growing scarce, and until the ban was removed none could use it. Those who touched a corpse were taboo until they had cleansed themselves by expiation; and contact with a chief would in itself bring sickness unless it was removed by pressing his feet against the abdomen—a custom which became so irksome to the Tongan chiefs that one of them consecrated a vessel given him by Tasman to be a substitute for his feet.

The Polynesian picked his way through life in dread of infringing the taboo. It was in the air he breathed, in the things he touched and ate, and not until he was safe in the grave was he freed from its dangers. It was the fountain of the chief's power and his engine of government. The chief was believed to have a sort of spiritual exhalation, called *Mana*, that invested his every word and deed with power, and withered up the plebeian who incautiously approached him. The penalty for an infringement of the taboo was death by disease of the liver; and in Tonga it was a common practice to open the bodies of the slain to see whether they had been virtuous. Christianity has swept away all these beliefs, and the power of the chiefs has waned. Most of the Polynesian tribes are decreasing, but not very rapidly; and they have shown so much readiness to adopt European customs that it is probable that they will eventually be absorbed, and that the population of the islands in the distant future will be a hybrid race with a strong admixture of European blood.

Potency of the Taboo

The Melanesian varies a good deal in the different groups. As the name implies, his complexion is dark, inclined to be black, with a dull, sooty tinge under the skin. His hair is frizzy and matted. He is muscular, but shorter and more thickset than the Polynesian. His language, though derived from a common source, is split into an infinite number of dialects, varying so widely that they are almost unintelligible beyond the limits of the tribe.

In some parts of Melanesia there are hereditary chiefs, but their influence is small. There are no powerful confederations, and they govern through a council in which every warrior has a voice. In other parts each little tribal unit is a miniature republic, with manhood suffrage. They are more warlike and savage than the Polynesians, and infinitely more primitive. To go from Samoa to the New Hebrides is to travel back through the centuries; to pass from the society of men into the society of schoolboys. The Melanesians have little pride of birth, and whereas few Polynesians will indenture themselves as labourers for Europeans, Melanesians are always ready to leave the islands for the plantations of Fiji and Queensland. After working for three years and adopting European habits and dress, they come back to their islands, distribute their clothes, and revert to their original savagery. Familiarity with Europeans has not made intercourse with them easier. It is now unsafe to explore islands where Cook was received with friendliness. Outrages upon unarmed vessels, which have long been impossible in Polynesia, still occur occasionally in the western groups.

Differences between the Races

No argument as to the origin of these races can be founded upon their arts. Artistic skill seems to be sporadic and accidental. Whereas the Maoris have much decorative skill in sculpture and carving, other Polynesian tribes, such as

the Samoans and Tongans, have none at all. Decorative art is more developed in Melanesia, and in the island of New Georgia, in the Solomons, it rises to a very high pitch of excellence. The Melanesians are very industrious both as planters and artificers. They have got beyond the outrigger in canoe-building. Their women are more moral than the Polynesian women; their men show greater aptitude for acquiring foreign handicrafts, but they are decreasing even more rapidly than the Polynesians, partly from the former depopulation of their islands by the labour trade, partly from the European diseases introduced by returning labourers.

The population of the islands before the arrival of Europeans is difficult to estimate. The Marquesans and the Fijians were apparently decreasing when they first came under observation. Like the Aztecs at the time of the Spanish conquest, they seemed recently to have developed intertribal warfare to a pitch unknown before. As far as can be judged it seems probable that the inhabitants of all the islands, including Hawaii and New Zealand, never numbered more than two millions. They have shrunk now to something less than half a million. The Micronesians, on the other hand, are not decreasing. The islands lie so low that the water in the wells is always brackish, and the soil is so unproductive that fish and a certain kind of taro are the staple foods. Mindful of the danger of having a population too large for the food supply, the increase is artificially limited, and popular opinion does not permit a woman to have more than five children. Their physical type is distinct. The skin is light brown, like the Polynesians; the hair is coarse, black, and rather straight. The eyes are sometimes oblique, like the Mongolian's. The body is long and the legs short, thick, and muscular. At first sight one would take the Micronesian to be a hybrid between the Mongol and the Polynesian.

Estimates Regarding Population

All the Polynesian and many of the Melanesian tribes are now nominally Christian. Beginning with the voyage of the ship Duff, sent out by the London Missionary Society in 1797, mission enterprise has had an astonishing success. Hawaii went to the American missionaries, the eastern groups to the London society, disputed at various points by French Roman Catholics; Tonga and Fiji fell to the Wesleyans, who have since sent out emissaries to New Britain and the d'Entrecasteaux group; the Presbyterians and the Church of England divide Melanesia between them.

The tendency of the missions in some of the islands was to become political organisations. Great chiefs became Christian from political motives, and their people followed them like a flock of sheep. Often when professing Christianity, the natives do not at first believe their own gods to be false gods—rather that it is convenient to discontinue worshipping them for a season. How could they be false gods when they are their own ancestors, of whose existence upon earth there could be no shadow of doubt? Nevertheless, conversions continued to be rapid, and apostates rare. The Polynesians are born orators, and here was a field that permitted the meanest of them to declaim from the pulpit, though under the old order they had been born to silence. For this reason the Wesleyans, with their hierarchy of native ministers, catechists, and local preachers, have been more prosperous than the Roman Catholics, who may not delegate the functions of their priests. There are signs that the influence of the missionaries is now waning. From time to time there have been symptoms of a craving for a native Church, free from the trammels of a European priesthood, and it is impossible to foretell what form of religion the future may bring forth in Polynesia.

Political Work of Missions

Most of the South Sea Islands have now been appropriated. Tahiti, the Marquesas and New Caledonia belong to the French. Germany holds the Marshalls, most of Samoa, an island in the Solomons, New Britain, and a strip on the northern coast of New Guinea. The Americans have Hawaii and an island in Samoa. Fiji, the Ellice and Gilbert groups, Rarotonga, the remainder of the Solomons, South Eastern New Guinea, Norfolk Island, and a number of small islands, annexed with a view to future cable stations, belong to Britain, which also has a protectorate over Tonga. The New Hebrides are not yet actually appropriated owing to the opposition of the Australians to any French penal colony so near their shores.

Ownership of the Islands

There is now settled government throughout Polynesia, but in some of the Melanesian groups the protectorate is nominal. The European population of these islands can almost be counted on the fingers, and where there is no European settlement it is impossible to make the government self-supporting. Most of the Melanesian islands are malarious, whereas Fiji and the islands to the eastward are healthy; and though the climate is hotter than our average summer and the damp heat of the rainy season is trying, Europeans are able to do any kind of work except field labour. The future of the islands is bound up with that of Australasia. Every kind of tropical produce thrives luxuriantly, but the market is overstocked. Fiji and Hawaii, where enormous sums have been invested in the latest machinery for producing sugar, have been hampered by the necessity of importing labourers, the former from India, the latter from Japan. The second great staple, copra, or dried coco-nut, from which oil is pressed for soap and candle making, has to compete with plantations nearer the European market. Coffee has been nearly destroyed by the leaf disease. Tobacco and tea, though both are of excellent quality, have not yet become known to European buyers. When the population of Australia attains ten millions, the market difficulties will vanish.

Nature of the Climate

Great Britain is the only Power that as yet has succeeded in establishing a self-supporting colony in the South Seas, and in governing and training the natives of Fiji without a single soldier or ship of war in the islands. In the time to come it is probable that all the islands will be politically dependent upon Australasia.

For many generations perhaps the islands will be holiday resorts. Europeans will conduct the business of the towns and manage the plantations and the mines, and the country trade will be in the hands of coloured people, Indians, natives and Chinese. The labouring population will undergo great changes. Little by little the natives will disappear as a distinct race, and a mixed people, a blend between all the races that now inhabit the islands, will take their place. The process has already begun, and prosperity, attracting men of other races to the centres of commerce, will accelerate it enormously.

The Coming of Hybrid Races

Speaking geographically and ethnologically, the Philippines do not belong to the islands of the South Seas, though one of the three races inhabiting them, called for want of a better title, Indonesians, may be nearly related to the Polynesians. Probably the original inhabitants of this important group were the Negritos, a negroid people of low stature and dark skins, flat noses, thick lips, and woolly hair. They are a timid, nomadic people who seldom emerge from the forests on the mountain slopes of Luzon, Panay, Negros and Mindanao, where they live by hunting and on the wild fruits of the forest. The Indonesians are confined to the island of Mindanao. Physically they are not unlike the Malayo-Polynesians. All their tribes are pagan, and some of them are very warlike. But the great majority of the Filipinos are of Malayan origin, though the type has been modified by intermarriage with other peoples. Of the forty-seven Malayan tribes seven are Christian, seven Mohammedan, and the remainder pagan; but the Christians and Mohammedan tribes together form the bulk of the population. Among them is to be found every stage of social development, from the highly educated, Christianised native to the almost primitive savage. The total native population of the group is thought to exceed 7,000,000, but accurate figures of the nomad tribes are almost impossible to procure.

Filipinos of the Present Day

The Philippines contain enormous undeveloped wealth in copper, coal, and gold, and as the mines are developed by American capital and wealth pours into the islands, education and peaceful settlement will do something towards welding the diverse human material into a homogeneous whole. Even if public opinion in America should oppose colonial expansion, it is quite impossible for American government to relinquish the islands. The Filipinos would accept no other rulers, and for the time they are quite incapable of ruling themselves. It is not a country where Europeans can do outdoor labour, and for many generations will it be unsafe to place the balance of power in the hands of the natives. America has, in fact, blundered into Empire against her will, just as England had responsibilities forced upon her in the days when Empire was regarded as a burden.

BASIL THOMSON

GEORGE PHILIP & SON LTD

THE LONDON GEOGRAPHICAL INSTITUTE

MAP OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA, INCLUDING THE ISLAND OF TASMANIA
The heavy black lines indicate the mountain ranges.

AUSTRALIA

THE ONLY CONTINENT-STATE

THE NATURE OF THE COUNTRY

THE position of Australia, from the standpoint of the history of the world and of civilisation, is best described as terminal or marginal. In this respect it has many features in common with Africa, and especially with the southern half of Africa. Just as the African continent runs out toward the west into the narrow but almost landless Atlantic, and toward the south into the desolate and inhospitable Antarctic Ocean, so the mighty waste of waters of the Southern Indian and Southern Pacific Oceans spreads round the western and southern halves of Australia.

Australia is shut off from the open sea only upon the east; we there find large clusters of islands, which, on the map at least, produce the impression of a dense mass. But, in reality the area of these eastern islands is nothing in comparison with the expanse of ocean and the continent; and leaving New Zealand out of the question, they cannot, with their diminutive superficial size, be considered as having influenced Australia in the past.

Geographical Features of Australia

Australia is thus the most insular of all continents. It would appear completely free and detached from the other continental land masses were it not for the dense Malaysian group which lies to the north-west, and forms a connecting link with the south-east coast of Asia. This group contains larger islands than its Oceanic continuation; it is also more densely packed, so that it seems admirably adapted as a bridge for migrations. And it has undoubtedly served such purpose. In the case of certain plants and animals, the migration from Asia to Australia can be proved, and it is extremely probable that the ancestors of the Australian native tribes crossed the Indonesian bridge.

If we consider Australia, under these circumstances, as part of the Old World, we are certainly treating the question rightly; only, this conclusion is less frequently based by historians on the facts of geography, zoölogy, and botany than upon the evidence of native culture and institutions, which are entirely borrowed from the civilisation of the Old World. But the first argument is more interesting and historically more far-reaching, since it brings into our field of view not only Australia, but also all Oceania, which is, much more obviously than Australia, connected with the Asiatic continent. The path from Asia to both regions is almost precisely the same.

Australia an Old World Country

The marginal situation of Australia has produced on its aboriginal inhabitants all the effects which we find in every primitive nation in the same or a similar position. The whole development of their culture bears the stamp of isolation. The

disadvantageous position of the continent is by no means balanced by variety of internal conformation. The coast line compares favourably in extent with those of South America and Africa when the greater superficial area of these two continents is taken into account. So with the number of its peninsulas, Australia fares better than those two continents. But what profit could the natives derive from these very slight advantages if the islands and peninsulas are as sterile, inaccessible, and desolate as most of the coast districts, and the greater part of the interior itself?

Desolate Coast Districts

The Australian continent, according to its vertical configuration, is a vast plateau, rising in the east, and sinking in the west, which slopes away from north to south. This tableland is only fringed by mountain ranges on its edges. A chain of mountains runs along the east coast from the southern extremity, and follows the coast line at a varying though never great distance, until it ends in Cape York. From this great watershed the land gradually slopes away in a south-westerly direction to the Indian Ocean, seamed by a few detached ranges and mountains, which rise to a considerable height in isolated masses.

The western coast range is not so high as the eastern; but, in contrast to the latter, it is prolonged into the interior as a tableland, which, abounding in mineral wealth and furnishing good pasture, stretches far into the centre of the country. On the south and north there is no such high ground bordering the coast and turning inwards. Some half century ago, this non-existent high ground played an important part in the current theories as to the interior; since its existence was assumed, necessitating the belief that the interior was an enormous basin, in which the rivers from all sides united their waters in a large inland sea. We know now that the north rises so gradually from the sea to the interior that the rivers, in consequence of their gentle and uniform fall, overflow their banks far and wide after every heavy downpour of tropical rain. There is still less difference of height observable between the interior and the south coast. The lake district, which runs in a long line from Spencer Gulf to the north and north-west, lies almost on the level of the sea.

The Myth of an Inland Sea

Except in the south-eastern district of New South Wales, where the Murray rises, none of the Australian mountains is high enough to form among perpetual snows a reservoir for the constant supply of the rivers; but the principal, and, from its position, the most important, range—that of the east coast—is high enough to divert the atmospheric moisture from the remaining parts of the continent. The existing conditions are precisely similar to those in South Africa, which, geographically and ethnographically, has many points of affinity with Australia. Just as the curving ranges of the east coast of Africa collect on their wild and rugged flanks all the aqueous vapour of the south-east trade-winds blowing from the Indian Ocean, so the moisture contained by the Pacific south-east trade-winds does not go beyond the limits of the high grounds of East Australia.

As a result of this restricted area of rainfall, there is no river system of importance, except that of the Murray and its tributary the Darling, on the east of the continent. This testifies to the absence of any watershed in the interior, in so far as its sources comprise the whole western slopes of the East Australian coast range from New South Wales to Queensland. We are concerned, therefore, only in its eastern, northern and western parts with measurements such as Europe can show. The real value both of these rivers and of most of the others in Australia, whether rapid or stagnant, lies in the facilities they offer for navigation and irrigation by the free use of dams, locks and weirs. The Darling is by far the longer but shallower arm, which, even without artificial works, becomes navigable after floods, and can then be ascended by steamers of small

Australia's Lack of Water

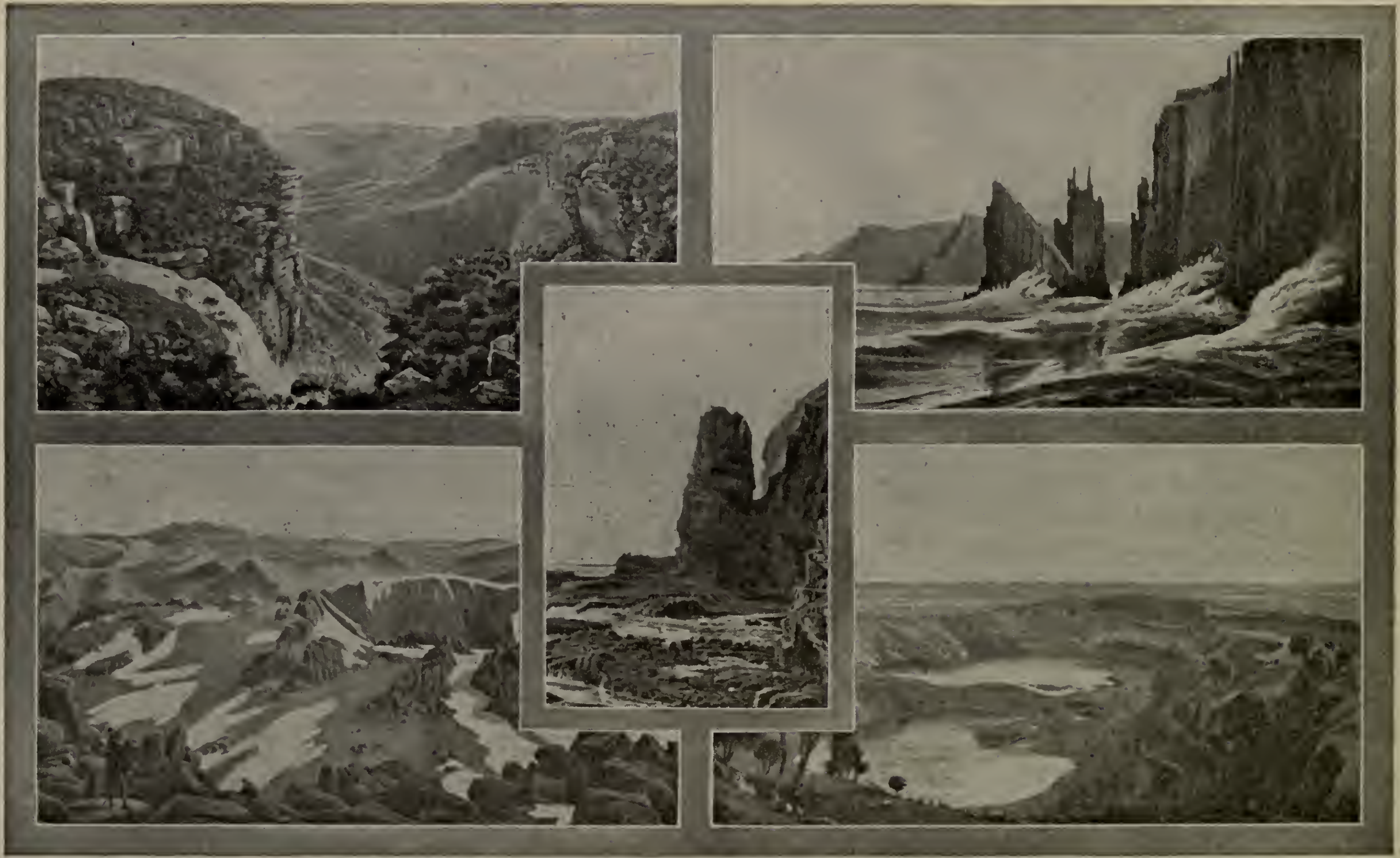
BRITAIN CONTRASTED WITH AUSTRALIA
Area of Great Britain, 88,729; that of Australia, 2,946,358 square miles.

MAP OF SOUTH-EAST AUSTRALIA, INDICATING PRODUCTS OF THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS

draught as far as the point where it cuts the thirtieth degree of southern latitude. The Murrumbidgee, the right tributary of the Murray, is open to navigation for six months in the year. The Murray is now available at all times for the objects of commerce.

In the north and north-east, owing to the heavier rainfall, there is less scarcity of water. We find there numerous watercourses of considerable breadth, of which quite a number are navigable for a short distance inland. They open up the interior of the country up to the foot of the coastal ranges. Only the still little known streams of the northern territory, the Roper, the Daly, and the Victoria can be ascended by large vessels for a very considerable distance.

In the west and the south, and in the interior, during the greater part of the year the channels of the rivers either lie quite dry, or consist of a chain of broad ponds, which are divided by banks and never connected after their formation. These beds, however, become real watercourses at the time of the summer rains, when they swell to such a size that their overflow fertilises huge tracts of apparently barren country. Even the water which disappears in the ever-thirsty ground forms great underground reservoirs, which are tapped by artesian bores. The south coast, again, as far as the mouth of the Murray, is entirely devoid of any river worth mentioning. It is sufficiently obvious that such a lack of uniformity in the water supply of the continent must have the most far-reaching effects on all its



THE SCENERY OF AUSTRALIA: BY MOUNTAIN, LAKE, AND SEA-SHORE

The two upper pictures represent Weatherboard Falls, N. S. W., and the south end of Tasman's Island; the lower two subjects show the north-east view from Mount Kosciusko, N. S. W., and the crater of Mount Gambier, South Australia; the centre picture is Castle Rock, Cape Schanck.

THE SCENERY OF AUSTRALIA: GLIMPSES OF ITS WONDERFUL FOREST LANDS

The first two illustrations show the forest of the Cape Otway Range, and Fern Tree Gully, in the Dandenong Range, Victoria; the lower pictures are of Cabbage Tree Forest, American Creek, N. S. W., and the junction of the Buchan and Snowy Rivers, Gippsland; the centre showing one of the famous "bottle" or baobab trees.

phenomena of life. Ethnographically, the uncertainty of the rainfall in the interior has compelled the natives to be continually migrating if they wish to find sufficient food; it is one reason why these unsettled migratory bands can never attain any size, if, indeed, the scanty supplies of the soil are to be enough to feed them.

Native Races of Australia

This, however, will not suffice to explain the splitting up of the aborigines into a number of small tribes, which do not cohere, since this feature of their polity is similarly characteristic of the races in the coast districts, where food and water are plentiful. It may rank, no doubt, as a contributory cause; their gradual disappearance without leaving any mark on history is a necessary sequel. This main feature of the hydrography of Australia is not limited in its effects to the natives only; it has, on the contrary, exercised a marked influence on the density of colonisation by the whites. In the parts of the country remote from the coast, the colonist, precisely as in sub-tropical South Africa, required ample room, and it is no mere coincidence that the colonies of Australia were everywhere founded in the more fertile coast districts.

The characteristic feature of the climate of the interior of Australia is its dryness. The country, from its position between the tenth and fortieth degrees of southern latitude, is for the most part, and throughout its whole length, included in the region of the southern trade-winds. In addition to this there is the disadvantage which we have already mentioned, that the highest ranges of mountains are found on the weather side of the continent, the result of which is that the main portion of the country is sheltered from wind and rain. Under these circumstances, there is in the interior excessive heating of the soil, which also receives the tropical rains of the north coast. The former produces, especially in

Climatic Conditions of Australia

summer, an extensive Central Australian zone of low pressure, which gives rise to a rain-bringing north-west monsoon, and draws it far into the continent, sometimes even to the south coast. Unfortunately this wind, in the extent of the regions over which it passes and in its effect on the climate, is far inferior to the south-east trade-wind, under the dominion of which many tracts are for months without any rain whatever. The west, which it reaches after all moisture has been deposited, suffers peculiarly from this drawback. It must always, however, be remembered that the arid portion occupies a comparatively small portion of the continent, and that every year lands which were considered desert are found to be suitable for cattle and sheep.

The conditions of the rainfall in Australia go by extremes. "It never rains but it pours" aptly characterises the manner in which the water pours down from the clouds; in Sydney, on one occasion, ten inches of rain—a quarter, that is to say, of the annual rainfall—fell in two hours and a half. The vegetation of the country is nowhere sufficient to store up such volumes of water, but every year of settlement sees an increasing portion of this precious surplus stored by artificial means.

Except on the coast, where there is a sub-tropical richness of vegetable growth, the vegetation of his native soil greatly assists the Australian in his struggle for existence. The Australian flora of the interior, like that of all steppe regions, is rich in varieties, of which it affords, for example, more than

Nature of the Vegetation

Europe; but in its general characteristics of dryness, stiffness, and want of sap, it is quite in keeping with the pervading nature of the country. Australia is, however, productive of a variety of grasses and salt-bush, which furnish nutritive food for sheep and cattle. The characteristic of stiffness and dryness is found in every blade of the notorious Australian spinifex or porcupine-grass plains with their dry, sharp-edged grasses; and we find it most conspicuously in those districts seamed with sandhills, salt plains, and stony tracts, where the steppe becomes a desert, and where only the extraordinary abundance of certain grasses and thorns succeeds in keeping the soil from being absolutely bare. These features, however, are found only in a small area and not at all in the inhabited portion of the continent, which, except in the tropical jungle of the northern districts, presents few obstacles to a settler.

The forest, or, as it would be more correctly called, the Australian heath, with its tree trunks standing far apart and its want of underwood, has never interfered with the wanderings of the natives or the whites. On the contrary, with the vigorous growth of grass which has been able to spring up unchecked everywhere between the smooth, branchless

stems, it has formed a carpet over which the settler could march to the tempting pasture grounds of the hinterland. The economic centre of gravity of the continent lies, even at the present day, in these open forests and meadow-like districts, which are general in all parts of the interior.

COLONISTS HUNTING THE KANGAROO

For some time very successful attempts have been made to increase the value of the drier districts by a system of wells, and the labour expended has already repaid itself many times. With food plants of all kinds the native has not been so stingily provided by the continent as the older accounts seem to assert. The bulbs so characteristic of steppe countries are indeed insignificant in Australia; but in their place the native, who is certainly not fastidious, has at his disposal numerous other roots, various wild kinds of corn, mushrooms, berries, and blossoms, so that there can be no question of any actual lack of food.

The Australian has been most inadequately endowed with a native fauna. As one might expect from the general physical features of the continent, it is limited; so much so, that it has not provided the aborigines with a single domestic or useful animal. The few animals that might be thought of for such purposes are all considered too wild. The dingo, the only mammal available for domestication, was, in all probability, introduced in a domesticated state and has since become wild. In addition to this, hunting, owing to the fleetness of all animals of the chase, is a very difficult undertaking for the aborigine armed with inadequate weapons; none even of the numerous well-equipped European expeditions have ever been able to provide themselves with food by this means. The nocturnal habits of an unusually large number of animals greatly increase the difficulty of catching them. These difficulties, insuperable for the aborigines, the European has met in the best possible way by introducing European domestic animals. They have all succeeded admirably, have multiplied to an astounding degree, and now represent a most valuable part of the national property; in fact, together with the mineral output, sheepbreeding has contributed the largest share to the marvellously rapid development of the colonies. Even the mineral wealth of the country has entirely failed to affect the position of the native. He, like the Bushman of South Africa, has never gone so far as to employ any metal in its crude state, but meets the European as a fully

Fauna of the Continent

AUSTRALIAN NATIVES HUNTING WALLABIES

developed man of the Stone Age, or of a yet earlier stage. The whites have set about all the more vigorously to make use of the mineral treasures of Australia. The opening of the gold-fields about the middle of the nineteenth century certainly marks the

AUSTRALIAN BIRDS: THE EMU AND THE LYRE BIRD

most crucial chapter in the history of the Colonies. Even now, when the "gold fever" has long since given way to a normal temperature, the mining industry has all the greater importance for the development of Australia and its position in the great future which we may anticipate for the Pacific Ocean, because its wealth in other useful minerals, especially in coal and iron, is undisputed.

The natural features of Tasmania call for little remark. In the conformation of its surface, a direct continuation of the coast range of East Australia, it resembles in its flora and fauna also the south-east of the continent. On these and, above all, on geological grounds it cannot be separated from the mainland, in comparison with which, however, it is singularly favoured by climate. Tasmania has neither abrupt contrasts of heat and cold nor an uncertain supply of water; a large rainfall is distributed over the whole year, and the temperature has only the range of a genial and temperate maritime climate. There is an abundant and perpetual supply of water both running and stagnant, and Tasmanian vegetation is of a luxuriance such as on the mainland is found only in the more favoured parts of Victoria, or on the northern rivers of New South Wales and Queensland. Tasmania really deserves the name of "Australia Felix," which was formerly given to the south-eastern portion of the mainland.

It may appear at first sight astonishing that from such a favourable foundation the aborigine has not mounted to any higher stage of culture than the Australian, but the explanation is not far to seek. There appears to be no affinity of the Tasmanian and the Australian, yet the intellectual abilities of the two races are on a par. Even in the domain of ethnical psychology, the law of inertia holds good; the better conditions of life enjoyed by the Tasmanian are balanced by the greater isolation and seclusion of his country. The forest and the sea, which runs far inland in numerous creeks, have furnished the native with a more ample diet; but an opposite coast, which might be the transmitter or source of new achievements in culture, was more completely wanting there than even in the case of Australia. The coasts of the mainland were out of the question as promoters of culture; and the Tasmanian navigated the sea only to the most modest extent; longer voyages would merely have brought him to an unprofitable wilderness of water.

AUSTRALIAN ANIMALS: THE DINGO AND THE PLATYPUS

NATIVE PEOPLES OF AUSTRALIA

AND THE TRAGEDY OF THE TASMANIANS

WHAT, then, is the state of the inhabitants of these countries, whose external conditions have just been sketched as guides to the historical development, and what is the state of the makers of their history? What place do the primitive inhabitants take in the circle of mankind? Are they autochthonous in their land, or have they immigrated? Have they kinsmen, and, if so, where? And what, lastly, is the composition of the modern non-native population of the continent? We will endeavour to answer these questions.

A satisfactory consensus of opinion now prevails as to the anthropological position of the Australians. The similarity of their methods of life, the uniformity of their attainments in culture and of their habits, and to some degree the identity of the languages, might lead to the erroneous view that they are a homogeneous race, which cannot be grouped with the Malayan or Papuan. Anthropological investigation has now proved that this homogeneousness does not exist, and that the native population of Australia represents, on the contrary, a mixture of at least two very distinct elements. This view finds corroboration in the differences of the colour of the skin and the formation of the hair, and also of the shape of the face.

Types of Australian Aborigines

The colour of the skin varies from a true yellow to a velvety black with numerous intermediate degrees, among which the dark-brown tint is far the most common colouring. The hair, too, with a prevalent tendency to curl, ranges from the true straight-haired type to the complete woolly-haired type of the negro. The shape of the face and skull, finally, shows a multiplicity of differences, such as cannot be greater even in nations proved to have a large admixture of foreign blood. The flat negro nose, on the one side, and the typical Semitic nose on the other, form the extremes here. It is thus clearly established that a dark, woolly-haired race and a light, straight-haired race shared in the ancestry of the Australian. But where, then, was their original home? Both races obviously could not be autochthonous at the same time; indeed, the nature of the continent seems to exclude the possibility that it was the cradle even of one race.

Origin of the Natives

Whence, therefore, did the two elements of admixture come, and which is the earlier on the new soil? A key to this problem we find even at the present day on the north coast of Australia, in the still existing trade of the Malays with the north-west, and in the immediate vicinity of New Guinea with a Papuan population, which also has a predilection for crossing the group of islands of the Torres Straits to the south. For the migration of the Papuan-Melanesian, or, in more general terms, of the negroid element, no other path than that by New Guinea can be thought of. But two roads were open to the Malayan—the direct road from the Indian archipelago, which even at the present day maintains a connection with Australia, and the detour by Polynesia. We have no evidence that this second one was used; but we know now from the ethnography of New Guinea that its population had a distinct infusion of Malayan-Polynesian blood. But what in the case of New Guinea is demonstrable fact lies in the case of Australia within the range of probability, since the conditions of access to both countries from Polynesia are practically identical.

The question of priority sinks into the background compared with the solution of the main problem. An answer also is barely possible, since the migration from both sides to Australia must not be regarded as an isolated event but as a continuous or frequently recurring movement. A

certain coincidence of time is, under the circumstances, to be assumed.

From another standpoint also the question of priority gives way before that of the predominance of the one or the other element. The point, briefly put, is to ascertain clearly the causes of the wonderful inability of the modern Australian to navigate the sea—a peculiar defect, which has prevented him from settling not only on the more remote of the coasts which face Australia, but even on the neighbouring islands. When we see how the negroes and all the dusky remnants of nations on the southern margin of Africa feel the same dread of the sea, and when we reflect that the nature of his present home has induced the Melanesian to become a navigator, although he is far removed from being a true seaman, we must at once entertain the conjecture that it is the negroid blood in his veins that fetters the Australian so firmly to the sod. Up to a certain point this conjecture is doubtless correct, for the law of heredity holds good in the domain of ethnical psychology. It is impossible, however, to make Papuan ancestry alone responsible for this peculiarity; it has not hindered the Melanesians from arriving, under favourable circumstances, at a fair degree of proficiency in navigation. If the Australian has failed to do the same, it is partly because his circumstances have made him unfamiliar with the sea.

Native Dread of the Sea

The full force of this second cause is apparent when we consider the nature of the country, and the extent to which the economic basis of the Australian native's life is narrowed by the poverty and inhospitable character of his surroundings. He who must devote every moment in the day to the task of providing food and drink for his body, and is forced to roam unceasingly as he follows his fleeting quarry from place to place, has neither the time nor the inclination to retain or to develop an accomplishment like navigation, which requires constant practice, and which does not at first seem necessary in a new country. And even if the ancestral Malayan blood had transmitted to the young race any nautical skill, such as we admire to-day among the Polynesians and western Malays, the Australian continent would have put an end to it, for it has always been the country of material anxiety, and, as a consequence, the country of continual decadence.

The Primal Struggle for Subsistence

The loss of seamanship is in reality only a sign of this. The aloofness from the outer world engendered thereby was the first step toward that complete disappearance of Australia from history throughout the millenniums that have elapsed since its first colonisation. But other completely remote races have developed a history and a civilisation. It was not only the absolute seclusion from the rest of the world and the unbroken quiet in which Australia reposed, as the corner pillar of the Old World between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, that the entire absence of any historical development of its own was due, but also to the total impossibility of creating a true national life on its niggard soil. The attempts to do so, which the Europeans found on their arrival, can at best be termed a caricature of political organisation.

The Tasmanian has also not progressed far in the field of political development. Since the nature of his country is richer in resources than Australia, economic considerations must be excluded from the list of possible causes. The same remark applies to the small proficiency in navigation, which we noticed also in Australia. The explanation can be found only in that close affinity of the Tasmanian to the Melanesian ethnical group, upon which all observers have insisted. This is primarily shown in the physical characteristics; but, secondarily, it appears in the inability of the Papuan to rise higher than the stage of village communities. New Guinea offers the closest parallel.

Political Backwardness of Aborigines

The whites do not belong to the continent, but have made it commercially subject to them, and have thus, in contrast to the aborigines, who have never succeeded in breaking the strong fetters of nature, become the true makers of its history. This history even now looks back on barely a century, a period of time that hardly counts in the life of a people. Yet it has already been full of vicissitudes, even if, in this respect, it has been greatly surpassed by the outwardly similar history of the United States of America.

In contrast with America, which for centuries has been a crucible for almost all the races and peoples of the globe, the immigrant population of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand is unusually

AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES: YOUNG MEN

YOUNG AND OLD AUSTRALIAN NATIVES

homogeneous. It is composed almost exclusively of Britons, by the side of whom the members of other nationalities practically disappear. Even the hundred thousand Germans who have settled there hardly affect the result, especially since their absorption into the rest of the population is merely a question of time. The Chinese, since they never make their home in the country, may be disregarded as factors in the growth of national life.

The ethnical unity of the white population of Australia is of extreme importance for the British Empire. England's dominant position on the Indian Ocean may appear most favourable; but in view of the efforts made by the colonial Powers of continental Europe to strengthen their recently acquired possessions in those parts and to increase their influence generally, this position may grow less tenable. The same turn of fortune is in prospect for England, and all other European colonial Powers, on the Pacific. There it is the cutting of the Central American isthmus which is to the advantage, both strategically and economically, of the United States, above all other Powers, and threatens to give them in the South Seas a great superiority over all rivals. The interests of England are, from the position of affairs, most at stake. It is for this reason a great stroke of good fortune for her that the corner pillar, which both supports the dominions on the Indian Ocean, and is, on the other side, the chief agent of British interests in the Pacific Ocean, is, as it were, a part of England itself. In thought and action, customs and habits, mother and daughter exactly resemble each other. Even in the matter of dress the daughter country has not found it necessary to consider the change of climate.

YOUNG NATIVE WOMAN

This feeling of complete sympathy gives ground for great confidence in the future. The similarity between Australia and Great Britain justifies the assumption that the same community of feeling must reign in every other department of life. This feeling is so strong that even the latest and boldest of all the political steps of the Australian Colonies, their union into the Commonwealth of Australia, which was proclaimed on September

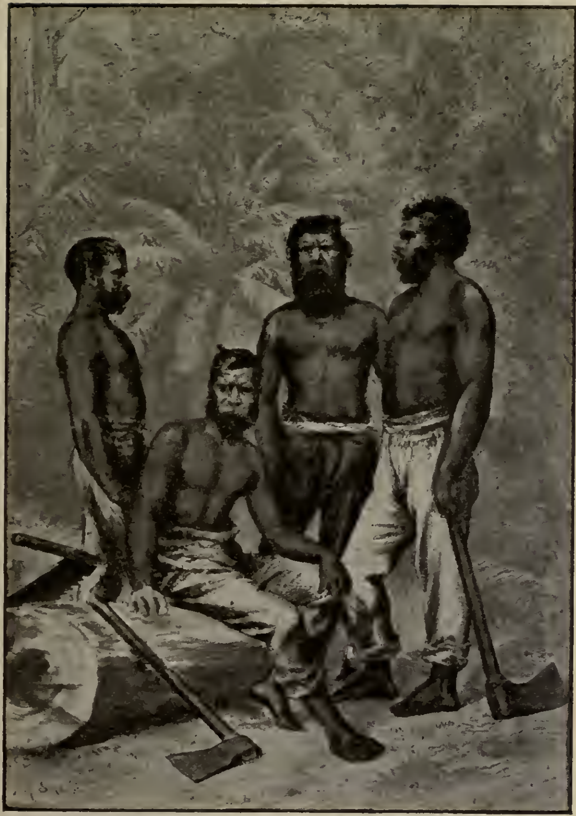
17th, 1900, is regarded in England and Australia alike as taken entirely in the interests of union. Indeed, as the newest conception of the British Empire—as an alliance of self-governing nations united by the ties of kinship—tends to replace the old ideas of headship and subordination, the cohesion of all the parts becomes greater as each independently develops its own resources.

One of the greatest achievements of the nineteenth century in the field of ethnology, the art of reconstructing from prehistoric finds the natural history of long-past years, which lie beyond all tradition and written record, fails in Australia.

This does not imply that discoveries of the kind might not be made; quite the reverse. The continent has its *mirnjongs*, or ash-heaps, measuring sometimes ten feet in height, and often several hundred yards in circumference, and containing pieces of bone and stone axes; these are very common in South Australia and Victoria, particularly on Lake Connewarren, and form an exact counterpart of the "kitchen middens" of Denmark. Great heaps of mussel-shells are also found in the vicinity of the sea-shore; there is even one really artistic erection dating from prehistoric times. This ancient monument, as we may fairly call it, is the stone labyrinth of Brewarrina on the upper Darling, some sixty miles above Bourke. It consists of a stone weir a hundred yards or so long, which, built on a rocky foundation, stretches diagonally through the river. From this transverse dam a labyrinth of stone walls reaching some ninety yards up stream has been constructed, which is intended to facilitate the catching of the fish which swim up or down stream. The walls form for this purpose circular basins of from 2 ft. to 4 ft. in diameter; some are connected together by intricate passages, while others possess only one entrance. These walls are so firmly built of ponderous masses of rock that the mighty floods, which sometimes poured down with a depth of 20 ft., were able at best only to dislodge the topmost layers of the stones.

The conclusions which we can draw from the existence of the mirnjongs and the shell mounds, but especially from the Brewarrina Labyrinth, throw some little light on the ancient Australians. Each of the three constructions presupposes in the first place that the population, at least in the south-east, was considerably denser in early times than at the time of the landing of the Europeans; otherwise the piling up of the refuse mounds would imply periods of whose length we could form no conception. The building of the labyrinth also can be explained only by the employment of large masses of men, especially since the materials had to be brought from a considerable distance. But, besides this, it can have been erected only by an organised population.

GROUP OF FEMALE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES


CIVILISED AUSTRALIAN NATIVES

Australian hordes of the present day would be incapable of such combined efforts.

Another circumstance confirms our assumption of the retrogression of the Australians both in numbers and in culture. The boats, whether they consist of nothing better than a piece of bark tied together at both ends, and kept apart in the middle by pieces of inserted wood, or appear in the shape of simple rafts, carry in the middle on a little pile of clay a fire, the modern object of which is merely the immediate cooking of the fish that are caught; but its invariable presence there suggests the thought that it is a survival from former regular sea voyages, when the custom was justified.

This proof by probability that the Australians have retrograded in numbers and in civilisation is all that can be derived from the evidence of the country and the national life. This is no great achievement; but it shows how completely unfavourable natural conditions have overwhelmed the energies and capabilities of the natives. It is, for the time being, impossible to judge the length of the periods with which we have to reckon, or to determine whether a deterioration of the climate has contributed to this decline; such a contingency is not impossible.

After all, we can follow the history of the Australians and Tasmanians only from the moment of their intercourse with the white men. There is no question here of a true development, such as can be traced in all nations except a few border nations in the north and south of the globe. The expression "history" really connotes too much in this case; for all the European civilisation and the white men brought to them tended to one and the same result ultimately—the slow but sure extinction of the whole race. The methods of extermination may differ, but the end is always the same.

In physical geography the expression "geographical homologies" is constantly employed. It is borrowed from comparative anatomy and signifies the recurrence of the same configuration, whether in the horizontal outlines or in the elevation of the surface, which we find in the countries of our globe. The best known of these homologies is the striking similarity in the contours of South America, Africa, and Australia, which, in the words of Oskar Peschel, display as great a uniformity of shape as if they had been constructed after a model. It is not our intention to examine this similarity closely; but we must consider for a few moments that exact correspondence of the southern extremities of those continents, which goes far beyond a mere linear resemblance.

The tapering away into a wedge-like point, facing the Antarctic, which is a feature peculiar to the three continents—if the island of Tasmania is reckoned as part of Australia—is, so far as its shape goes, an excrescence breaking through the general scheme on which their outlines are modelled. The meaning and cause of this precise contour have remained a mystery to men like Humboldt and Peschel. But there is no doubt as to the influence which these vast and lonely promontories, tapering away into the

ocean, have exercised on physical geography and the distribution of culture.

From the first point of view, their position and shape determine the course of the entire circulation of the seas of the Southern Hemisphere. The character of the climatic conditions is influenced by them, and the greater or less degree to which the land masses of the Southern Hemisphere can be inhabited is in the last resort decided by them. On civilisation the effect of this wedge-like shape is exclusively negative. It places the inhabitant of those promontories on the remote, southern edge of the habitable world, cuts him off to the north from the centres of civilisation, and confines him to regions which are continually narrowing. Still more momentous are the consequences on the art of navigation. The vast ocean, limitless and islandless, surrounds each of the three extremities. How, then, should primitive people venture on the high seas when even a highly developed navigation cannot flourish without some opposite coast which can be reached?

The Southern Promontories of the World

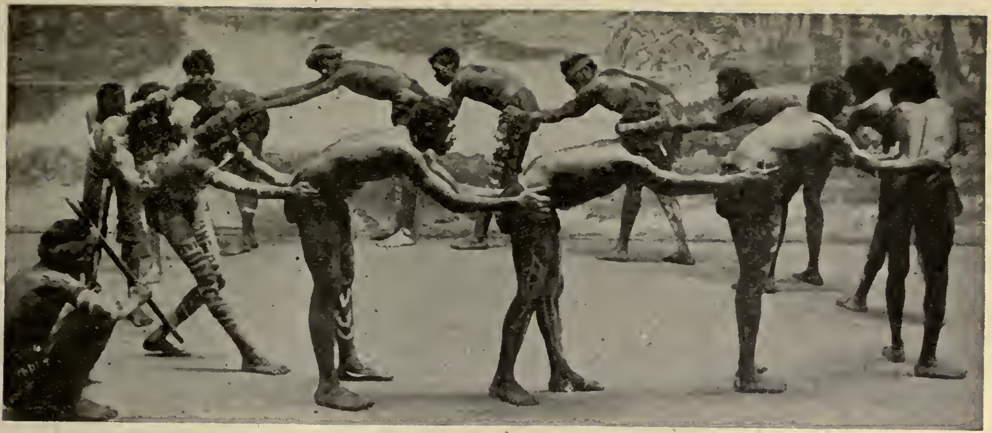
But the homology goes still further for Africa and Australia in a large degree, and in a more restricted degree for South America. It shows itself this time in the destiny of the natives during intercourse with the whites. The Bushmen, the Hottentots, and the Australian aborigines at the present time can hardly be called even the fragments of a nation. The aborigine of southern South America has hitherto fared better. Neither Patagonians nor Araucos have, it is true, emerged unscathed from intercourse with the white intruders; but they have been able to retain the characteristics of their race, and have remained free and independent. No careful observer will imagine that this is a consequence of creole courage; what has preserved the Indian hitherto from destruction is merely the political immaturity of his opponents and the insufficiency of their numbers to people the vast territory of South America. The Australians and Tasmanians did not fare so well as the Indians. The Tasmanians have been for a quarter of a century blotted out from the list of living peoples; the same fate impends upon the Australians, and is, to all appearance, inevitable. The Tasmanian tragedy is not only the most gloomy from its dénouement, but has a sad pre-eminence for the large number of sensational details. It opens on May 4th, 1804, when the natives, on approaching the new settlement of Hobart in a friendly spirit, were, through an unfortunate misunderstanding of their intentions, greeted by the English garrison with a volley of bullets; or we can, if we prefer, take the date June 13th, 1803, when the first batch of English convicts landed on the spot where the present capital of the country, Hobart, stands. This year saw the birth of the Tasmanian woman, Trukanini, or Lalla Rookh, who was destined to survive all her tribesfolk. She died in London in 1876. The death struggle of the whole people had thus lasted precisely a lifetime.

Contrast with South America

The destruction of the Tasmanians was not accomplished without vigorous resistance on their part. By natural disposition peaceable, harmless, and contented, they had endured for many years the ill-treatment of the transported convicts and the colonists without transgressing the laws of self-defence. It was only after 1826 that, driven to frantic desperation, they amply revenged the treatment they had suffered, and murdered all their tormentors who fell into their hands. The twenty-two years that had intervened do not add fresh laurels to the history of English colonisation, or redound to the honour of mankind generally. In the very first years of the settlement, the hostilities, which, according to the official admission, were always begun by the whites, assumed such proportions, and the oppression of the natives was so harsh, that in 1810 a special law had to be passed which proposed to punish the murder of an aborigine as an actual crime. This remained a dead letter, since it was impossible to obtain legal evidence in the case of blacks, who were despised and possessed no rights. The relation between whites and natives resolved itself into a perpetual series of outrages and reprisals.

The Tragedy of the Tasmanians

It was not only by these persecutions that the growth of the Engish colony exercised an adverse influence on the fortunes of the natives. Until the landing of the whites, the sea, with its inexhaustible store of fish, molluscs, and other living creatures, had supplied all their food; but in proportion as the colony increased, with the growth and prosperity of the towns, the advance of the colonists, and



AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES DANCING AT A CORROBOREE OR NATIVE GATHERING

the multiplication and extension of their pasture grounds, the region where the natives could live was curtailed; above all, they were driven away from the coast. But this was a vital question for the Tasmanians, since the rough and wild interior was absolutely wanting in all the means of life. We now understand how these originally timid natives became veritable heroes from desperation, and waged unceasing war upon the whites when and how they could.

The victory of the English was not lightly won. The natives, driven by force into the interior, soon acquired so accurate a knowledge of the country, covered with dense forest and intersected by ravines, that it was difficult to get at them. As Charles Darwin tells us, they often escaped their pursuers by throwing themselves flat upon the black ground, or by standing rigidly still, when, even at a short distance, they were indistinguishable from a dead tree trunk. Unable to control the natives while they lived at large, the English finally resorted to other measures. By a proclamation they forbade the natives to cross a certain boundary. They then, in 1828, offered them also a reservation where the persecuted and pursued might collect and live in peace. Both measures proved futile. The first would never have

NIGHT SCENE OF NATIVE AUSTRALIAN LIFE NEAR SYDNEY A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

Reproduced from an engraving of the year 1804

been really understood by the people, even if they had grasped the sense of the words. For the second, the time was already past: the natives were no longer susceptible to a fair treatment, and the Europeans were not disposed to maintain a pacific attitude. The old order of things continued. Finally, the Governor, Colonel Arthur, endeavoured to sweep the natives into one district by drawing a cordon across the island. The attempt failed ignominiously. An expenditure of $150,000 resulted in the capture of two natives!

Native versus Colonist

With the failure of this last attempt at suppression, the tragedy of the Tasmanians enters on another phase. This was free from bloodshed, but was not less disastrous than the former, and is inseparably connected with the name of George Augustus Robinson. This extraordinary man, by trade a simple carpenter at Hobart, and unable to write English correctly, offered, when all warlike measures were ineffective against the natives, to induce them by peaceful overtures to emigrate. We know how thoroughly he accomplished his self-imposed task. Unarmed and single-handed, he attained by pacific negotiations a result which a whole populous colony had failed to achieve in decades of bloody warfare.

Through the mediation of Robinson, one tribe was assigned to Swan Island, three others to Gun Carriage Island. Later, in 1843, all the natives were united on Flinders Island. These "tribes" were by this time not very numerous: powder and shot, smallpox, and other diseases had caused too great ravages during the last forty years. In 1804 the native population was put at 8,000 souls roughly; in 1815 some 5,000 were still estimated to exist. Their number in 1830 reached some 700, and in 1835 had dwindled to 250. In 1845, when the survivors were taken across to Oyster Cove in the D'Entrecasteaux Channel, only 45, and in 1861 only 18, were left. The last male Tasmanian, King Billy, or William Lanne, died in 1869 at Hobart, aged thirty-four, and in 1876 the race of the Tasmanians became entirely extinct on the death of Trukanini—the fate that awaits all primitive races from intercourse with civilisation.

Extinction of the Tasmanian

It is idle at the present day to load the parties concerned with reproaches. No nation, vigorously engaged in colonisation, has yet been destined to keep the shield of humanity spotless and pure. It must also be admitted that in later years earnest attempts were made to atone for the wrongs done to the natives in the earlier period. That the wrong methods were chosen is another consideration, which does not do away with the crime, but may be pleaded as an extenuating circumstance.

The knell of the Australians has not yet sounded. The restless race still roams the vast steppes, still hunts here and there the nimble kangaroo, and throws with strength and skill the spear and the boomerang. But how cooped in its once wide domain! The whole of the east, fairly rich in resources even for the rude savage, the north-east and south-east, have long been taken by the white man. Now, in most recent times, the latter is making vast strides from the west into the interior, and the north is being more and more encroached upon. The aborigine is faced by the alternatives of retiring into the desert-like interior, or of being forced to capitulate to civilisation and become the servant of the European. Neither alternative is calculated to perpetuate either him or his peculiar nature. The tragic history of the Australians is distinguished from that of the Tasmanians in two respects: it was of longer duration, and covered an incomparably larger area. Anyone who knows that the political organisation of ancient Australia found practically its only expression in the claim of each single tribe to one definite territory—within the tribe itself the land was at times divided between the various families—will also understand that the rude encroachments of the first Europeans, whether convicts or free colonists, could not fail to provoke grave disputes. Among the natives themselves violation of territory ranked as the most flagrant breach of the peace.

Australian Aborigines at Bay

Next to this the class of human beings who were first brought to those shores greatly influenced the form which subsequent conditions assumed. There may be a division of opinions about the value of transportation as a means of punishment or as a measure for colonisation, but there can be no doubt that it has been ruinous to native races, whose fine qualities might have been turned to good account. Tasmania, to give an example in our

own field, has proved this; so, too, New Caledonia and South-west Africa under German rule in the twentieth century; and it was patent in Australia. That shiploads of convicts were disembarked without precautions, and were still more carelessly looked after, is admitted even by the official reports of the time; in 1803 complaints were made that the number of guards was insufficient. Under the circumstances it was very easy for the prisoners to escape into the bush, and they did not fail to use the opportunity.

The consequences for the unfortunate blacks were soon apparent. The first gifts to them consisted of smallpox and liver diseases, brandy and tobacco; and they soon learned to be immoral, foul-mouthed, beggars and thieves. And while the natives were at first peaceable and friendly, the coarseness and brutality of the convicts soon led to their becoming more and more hostile, until they, on their part, began that guerilla warfare which has lingered on for over a century. There has, however, been no lack of good intentions on the Australian continent. The energies of the Government have been more than once directed toward the object of gaining over the natives; the term of office of the first governor, Phillip, was full of such praiseworthy efforts; but there could be no idea of any success unless all the immigrants radically changed their behaviour towards the natives, and the settlers, whose immigration began in 1790, did their honest best to fill the cup to overflowing.

Influence of the Convict

English Governments, however, have always endeavoured to mitigate the inevitable cruelties and misunderstandings which result from a collision between settlers and aborigines in a new country. Nor was this spirit of humanity lacking even in the convict settlement of New South Wales. In 1839 a voluntary society was founded for the protection of the aborigines, and by its influence a law was passed which provided for the appointment of commissioners who should be responsible for the care of the natives. And now in all the states blacks and half-castes within the settled districts are fed, clothed, housed and taught at the public expense. They also have the privilege of travelling without charge on the Government railways.

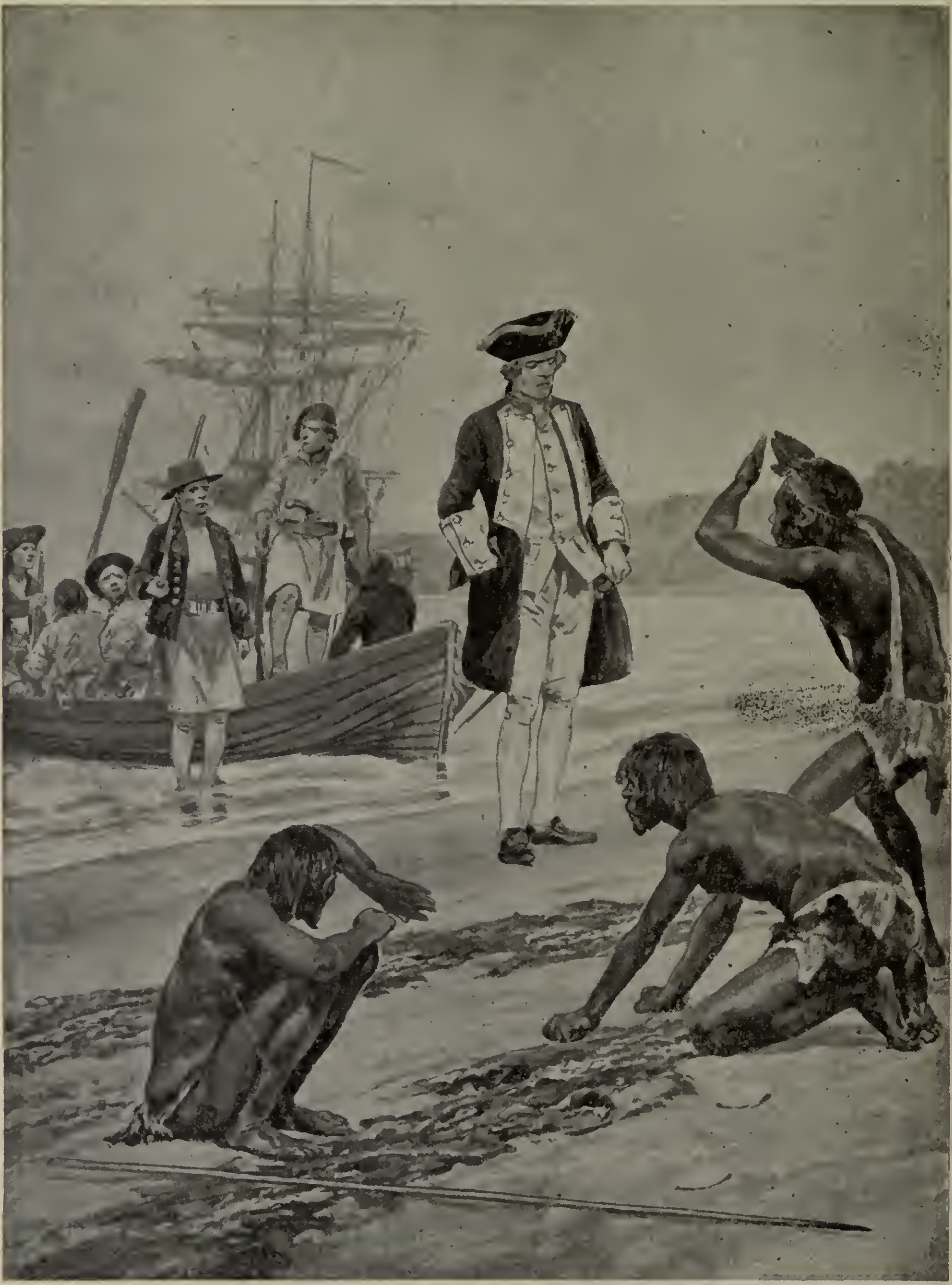
Beattie, Hobart

LAST TWO MEMBERS OF A VANISHED RACE

King Billy, or William Lanne, the last male Tasmanian aborigine, who died in 1869, and Trukanini, the last native woman, who died in 1876.

The number of the Australian natives has never been actually determined. The highest estimate allows for more than 1,100,000 Australians at the beginning of the European immigration. This figure is certainly far too high, and is universally rejected. Other calculations range from 100,000 to 200,000 for the pre-European period. Beyond doubt the continent was sparsely peopled. So far as aborigines are concerned, it is incomparably more so now; 50,000 is certainly too high an estimate. The diminution of the native population has therefore proceeded at an alarmingly rapid rate. In Victoria in 1836 they were counted to be some 5,000 souls; in 1881 they had sunk to 770. The shrinkage has not been so great in all districts, but it is universal. The birth rate among the natives is nowhere equal to the death rate. According to the latest census the total number of aborigines on the continent was 20,758, the distribution throughout the various states being as follows: New South Wales, 4,287; Victoria 652; Queensland, 6,670; South Australia, 3,888; West Australia, 5,261. The number would be considerably higher if the half-castes were included.

Decline of Australian Aborigines



CAPTAIN COOK LANDING AT ADVENTURE BAY, VAN DIEMEN'S LAND, IN 1777
A graphic representation of the reception of the famous navigator by the Tasmanian aborigines, who regarded the white men with mingled dread and veneration. The last native Tasmanian died several decades ago, chiefly as a result of the convict settlement of the island, and the race is now quite extinct.

THE BRITISH IN AUSTRALIA

AND THE FOUNDING OF NEW SOUTH WALES

THE efforts of the Europeans of Australasia in the field of economics and politics have been crowned with great success. From a corner of the world which Europe during a whole century and a half, from its discovery by Abel Tasman in 1642 to the landing of Phillip in Botany Bay in 1788, had not deemed worthy of any notice, they have conjured forth a state which at the present day needs only a sufficient period of development, independence, and a more considerable population in order to be reckoned as one of the important factors in the making of the history of mankind. These deficiences are such as will repair themselves in course of time.

Discovery of the Island Continent

The history of the discovery of Australia is deeply interesting, both as regards the history of civilisation and of international trade, because its effects have been parallel in many ways to those produced by the discovery of America—both continents required to be twice discovered by the civilised world before it appreciated their value and occupied them permanently. This similarity is expressed even in the intervals of time between the old and new discoveries, which are to some extent proportional to the size of the two land masses. In the case of America, the period that elapsed between the voyage of the Northmen and the voyage of Columbus was 500 years; in the case of Australia little more than a century and a half elapsed between the voyage of Quiros in 1606 through the Torres Strait and the discovery of the east coast by James Cook in 1770. If we consider Abel Tasman's voyages in 1642 and 1644 as the first proper discovery, the interval is considerably diminished.

The abandonment of the first discovery was no accident in the case of the two continents; no necessity then existed for bringing the new worlds into the sphere of civilised activity. At the period of the first finding of America, as in the centuries preceding, the centre of gravity of Europe inclined one way—toward the East, which had long supplied all its needs, both material and spiritual. Europe therefore neither understood nor valued the new discovery, and let it sink into complete oblivion.

A Parallel from America

At the second and final revealing of America the position of affairs was quite altered; in fact, it may be said that the discovery itself was a consequence of the very alteration. Europe, after the year 1000, had gravitated strongly to the East as the Crusades and the prosperity of the city-states of the Mediterranean prove; but since the appearance of the Ottoman Turks the centre of gravity had been considerably shifted, and men felt more and more urgently the necessity of freeing themselves at least from the necessity of trading through Egypt, Syria, and Pontus, and of securing the communication with the south and east coast of Asia by a direct route. There was no cause to abandon this goal, which was at first supposed to have been reached in the voyages of Columbus and his contemporaries, even after it was recognised that the lands reached were a new world.

Such important economic considerations do not concern the first visits to and subsequent neglect of Australia. The whole story of its discovery comes rather under the head of the search for the great unknown southern continent, which lasted 2,000 years. The search originated with an assumption that the great continents of the Northern Hemisphere must be balanced by similar masses of land in the south. The hypothetical southern continent always excited an interest which was purely theoretic; and herein lies

the explanation why in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that age of practical tendencies, so little attention was paid to the problem. The explorers of the southern seas hoped to demonstrate the existence of this country; but the idea of making full use of it crossed no one's mind. Australia, after the first glimpses of her shores, was allowed to relapse into oblivion. Tasman's first voyage had proved that the ocean was landless for many degrees of southern latitude—that is to say, the presumed continent did not exist in that region. Although Dutch ships had touched or sighted points of the west and north coast of Australia several times since 1606, no one guessed that in this winding course Tasman had circumnavigated a continent. Scientific curiosity was satisfied with the negative conclusions established by his voyage.

ABEL TASMAN
The famous Dutch navigator, who, in seeking for the supposed circumpolar continent of the Southern Hemisphere, unwittingly sailed round the continent of Australia.

First Impressions of Australia

It is not easy for those who know the great natural wealth of Australia and the beauty of its landscape to realise the disappointment of those navigators who first landed on its shores. It was, indeed, a marvellous misfortune for the continent that the majority of the numerous navigators who set foot on the shore before James Cook were fated to land on spots which were especially bleak, sterile, and inhospitable. This was the case of the Dutchman, Dirk Hartog, who landed on the shores of Shark Bay in 1616; and such were the experiences of the numerous other Dutchmen who in the first half of the seventeenth century set foot on the west, north, and south coasts, Abel Tasman among their number.

The opinion of the Englishman, William Dampier, was, however, fraught with consequences for the continent. This navigator, as successful in piracy as exploration, who, with a mind full of the discoveries of Cortes and Pizarro, in two voyages (1689–1699) at the end of the seventeenth century surveyed a considerable part of the west coast, penetrated to some distance into the interior in search of the rich cities of an antique civilisation. His verdict was crushing enough; according to him the country was the poorest in the world, far inferior to the coast of Portuguese South Africa. No corn grew there, no roots, no pod fruits or vegetables from which food could be got. The miserable aborigines had neither clothing nor houses, and were the most wretched creatures in the world. Compared with these blacks the very Hottentots seemed gentlemen. The results of this report by Dampier, which was unfortunately—as to the part which he visited—only too much based on fact, show themselves in the entire cessation of voyages of discovery to Australia for more than two-thirds of a century, apart from some attempts at colonisation in the country, such as had already been made by the Dutch in 1628.

Even the final and lasting discovery of Australia by James Cook in 1770 did not immediately lead to the exploration of the continent. That far-sighted explorer certainly had such a goal before his eyes when he took possession of the whole east coast, from the thirty-eighth degree of southern latitude as far as Cape York, in the name of his king, for England; certainly the glowing accounts which his companion Banks, the botanist, brought back of the magnificent scenery and the splendid climate were calculated to attract the attention of governments to the possibility of colonising this new earthly paradise. But the political situation was not favourable to such plans. England stood on the eve of her tedious war with the united colonies of North America; she required to guard her position on the near Atlantic, and could not possibly think of following out any plans in a remote corner of the southern seas. And yet the birth of the Australian Colonies dates from the War of Independence in America.

Birth of the Colonies

England had, since 1600, transported a large number of her criminals to the Atlantic colonies, where their hard labour was welcome. The convicts were bought by the colonists at sums ranging from $40 upwards, and they became a source of considerable profit to the Government at home. The War of Independence brought this arrangement to an abrupt end in 1779, and England, whose prisons were

soon overcrowded, was compelled to look round for some other locality. Of the districts proposed in Parliament in 1783—namely, Gibraltar, the Gambia territory, and the region of Botany Bay in New South Wales, only the last, from reasons easy to explain, could be seriously considered. Gibraltar did not offer room enough, the transportation to Gambia would have simply meant "the execution of capital punishment by malaria," as the phrase in the Parliamentary report ran. The objections to Australia were only the enormous distance and the difficulties attending the transport of such numbers. In any case the decision of Parliament, in spite of the Royal assent, was not put into action soon enough to anticipate the plan of a certain Mr. Matra, subsequently English Consul in Tangiers. He proposed to settle in New South Wales the numerous families who had been expelled from North America on account of their support of the mother country, and at the same time to improve appreciably the position of England in the trade of Europe by the increase in production which might be looked for. Matra also failed to carry his plan then. The Secretary of State, Lord Sydney, certainly favoured the scheme in 1784, but he finally recurred to the idea of transportation.

System of Penal Colonies

In August, 1786, Lord Sydney submitted a memorandum to the Admiralty requesting that arrangements should be made for the transport and convoy of "at least seven or eight hundred convicts." The new settlement was intended to be something more than a prison. It was hoped that it would supply flax, hemp, and timber for naval purposes, and that it would grow a sufficient quantity of "Asiatic products" as "may render our recourse to our European neighbours unnecessary." One ship was to be set apart for women, and a tender was to be employed in conveying to the new settlement a large number of women from the Friendly Islands, New Caledonia, and other parts which are contiguous thereto, where any number might be procured without difficulty.

Hopes Regarding Botany Bay

The text of this memorandum, together with the protests and criticisms of Captain Arthur Phillip, R.N., who was appointed the first Governor, and to whose foresight, energy, and humanity Australia owes a deep debt, are printed in the series of historical records published by the Government of New South Wales. Had Phillip's advice been followed and a shipload of free mechanics and agriculturists sent out six months in advance of the main expedition, most of the difficulties which beset the early settlement would have been avoided. But then, as now, the demands of the "man on the spot" were ignored by a British Government; and only the heroism and patience of Governor Phillip extricated the young colony from the starvation and other evils which he had predicted before leaving England as a necessary consequence of faulty arrangements. And even Phillip would have failed had he not left behind him a powerful and devoted believer in the future of Australia — Sir Joseph Banks,

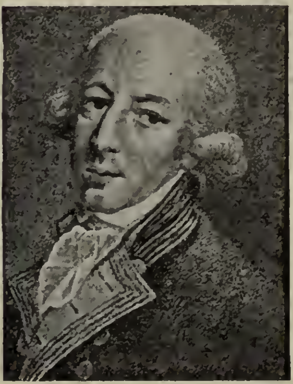
DAMPIER'S FIRST SIGHT OF THE BOOMERANG
One of the exploits of William Dampier, seaman and buccaneer, was the exploration of part of Australia. He afterwards rescued Alexander Selkirk, "Robinson Crusoe," from his island prison.

President of the Royal Society, who had sailed with Cook on his voyage and given the name to Botany Bay on account of its varied flora. Next to Phillip, Sir Joseph Banks is the man to whom Australia owes most.

First landing at Sydney Harbour

A frigate and a tender of the Royal Navy, six transports, and three store ships, having on board, all told, 1,163 souls, of whom 443 were free, sailed from England on May 13th, 1787. They arrived in Botany Bay between January 18th and 20th, 1788. As, however, the anchorage was bad, and water scarce, Phillip did not disembark his convoy—in fact, no convict ever landed at Botany Bay—but pushed along the coast in search of a better site. His seaman's instinct led him to select Port Jackson, where, as he writes to Lord Sydney, " I had the satisfaction of finding the finest harbour in the world, in which a thousand sail of the line may ride in the most perfect security." Sydney Cove was selected as most suitable for landing, and on January 26th this was occupied as the site of the new colony. It was none too soon. Two days after the arrival of the fleet at Botany Bay, and during Phillip's absence, two sail were announced off Botany Heads, and standing for the entrance to the bay. They turned out to be the Boussole and Astrolabe, under Admiral la Perouse. Thus narrowly did the French miss becoming owners of Australia !

In February, 1788, the Governor removed a small number of convicts, under the superintendence of Lieutenant King and some soldiers, to Norfolk Island, which lies almost halfway between NewZealand and New Caledonia. The duty of this minor colony was to manufacture the flax which Cook had found there in large quantities, in order to supply the main colony cheaply and conveniently with material for clothing. King set to work with zeal, planted corn and vegetables, and devoted himself to the manufacture of flax.



TWO GREAT FIGURES IN AUSTRALIA'S EARLY HISTORY
Sir Joseph Banks—on the left—accompanied Captain Cook, and afterwards, from his knowledge of Australia, he was able to support in England the policy of Governor Arthur Phillip—on the right—in the latter's heroic efforts on behalf of the settlement of the new colony.

But in spite of all efforts it was not possible either here or on the mainland to feed the colony from its own products. The need for some help in the way of provisions was most urgently felt by both countries during the early years. The same need had been felt by some of the early colonists on different parts of the east coast of America, in Virginia and Carolina ; and this was the cause of the failure of the great French scheme of colonisation in Cayenne in 1763. Virgin soil is not at once in a condition to feed large masses of inhabitants, especially when it is treated with as little technical knowledge as was shown by the settlers of Phillip and King, no one of whom understood anything of agriculture ; besides, the soil of Sydney is not fertile.

Difficulties of Early Settlement

Again, the criminals, who preponderated in numbers, felt little desire to work. According to Phillip, twenty-three men did more than a thousand convicts. The leading thought of the whole of Phillip's term of office was to increase the number of free settlers and to bring over skilled agriculturists. But when Phillip voluntarily resigned his post in December, 1792, through shattered health, the number of free immigrants was still insignificant. The bulk of private holdings were in the hands of " emancipists," or time-expired convicts, who were hardly more industrious than the convicts themselves.

Under the prevailing circumstances, the internal conditions of the colony were terribly disorganised during the first years. The want of provisions, which was felt soon after landing, became so acute in 1790 that for months only half rations or less could be distributed ; the cattle that had been brought with the settlers escaped or died, and the first fields which were sown produced nothing. In

addition to this, scurvy broke out from want of fresh meat. The soldiers were disobedient and mutinous, and drunkenness became a besetting vice. Robbery, murder and arson were daily occurrences. In February, 1790, the distress became so acute that the Governor found himself compelled to send 200 prisoners to the Norfolk Islands, although there was anything but a superabundance of food there. Meanwhile, fresh transports kept arriving from England with prisoners, masses of poor wretches crowded together, more than half of whom frequently died on the long voyage. The survivors were then often so weak that, half dead, they had to be unloaded at Port Jackson in slings like bales of merchandise. On the other hand, provisions, seed corn, and cattle did not arrive.

A SCENE FROM SYDNEY'S EARLY DAYS
Inspection of the convicts, upon their landing at Sydney, by Governor Phillip, the first and greatest Governor of the penal settlement.

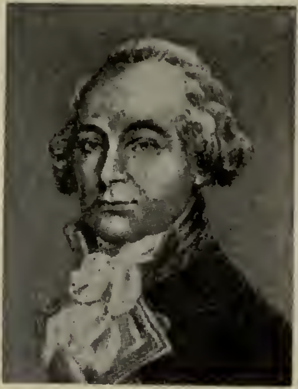
Governor Phillip, in the midst of all this misery, which often forced him to live on half rations like the convicts, never lost heart for an instant. With prophetic instinct, he declared in the colony's darkest hour, "This country will prove the most valuable acquisition Great Britain ever made." Amid the mass of duties which devolved on him in the way of constructing houses, laying out gardens and fields, and continually battling with famine and mutiny, he found the time to interest himself in the exploration of the interior; he was desirous of forming amicable relations also with the natives. One thing alone was calculated to fill this patient, dogged man with distaste for his post, and that was the opposition, passive indeed, but all the more obstinate, which his own troops showed to all his measures. As a matter of fact, up to the end of 1790, the Marines, and then the New South Wales Corps, a regiment specially organised for Australia, thwarted every one of his regulations. The soldiers disregarded the Acts of Parliament, in virtue of which Phillip exercised his office, and submitted to military laws only.

The Man Who Made Australia

A successor to Governor Phillip was finally appointed at the end of 1795 in the person of Hunter, also a sailor, who had accompanied the expedition of 1787. The interval of nearly three years was filled by the government of two officers of the New South Wales Corps, Major Grose and Captain Paterson. The administration of both is conspicuous for the enormous growth of the abuses against which Phillip had vainly contended. Above all, the general vice of drunkenness had assumed most dangerous dimensions, being chiefly encouraged by the increased trade in spirits, which the soldiers of the militia as well as their officers made their chief business, from want of military duties. The name "Rum Corps" that was soon given to these troops has perpetuated this strange conception of military service. For the colony itself, it clearly involved great losses. The convicts, instead of being educated to be peaceable and industrious families of farmers, were being ruined by the vilest alcohol. As a result, the coarsest immorality, blood-curdling outrages, and inhuman cruelty were the order of the day.

A Period of Vice and Outrage

Captain Hunter, the second Governor, was unable to check these evils during the term of his office, which he held from September, 1795, to 1800. He certainly put an end to the tyranny of the military, and re-established the civil courts which had long been in abeyance. He also, as far as possible, suppressed the distilling of spirits in the colony, and checked the general immorality. But the evils were by this time too deeply rooted to be eradicated so quickly by a somewhat imprudent man like Hunter. Drunkenness therefore continued rife, as did the ordinary quarrels of the whites among themselves and with the natives. Even the enormous tracts of country which Hunter's predecessors had distributed to civil servants and military officers remained in their possession, as well as the excessive number of convicts, whom they ruled despotically like slaves.



THE SECOND GOVERNOR
Captain Hunter, who tried, with some success, to reduce the early convict colony to law and order.

It would, however, be unjust if we judged Hunter's administration by this one side of it; on the contrary, it distinctly promoted the development of the colony in more than one department. The cultivation of large tracts, which was compulsorily enforced by the owners, did much to relieve the scarcity of food—the chief misfortune of the colony up to the nineteenth century; but, on the other hand, it placed the monopoly of all economic advantages in the hands of a few. These were indeed the two objects that Major Grose had contemplated when he made similar regulations in his time.

ORIGINATOR OF SHEEP-FARMING
John MacArthur, who established Australia's chief industry.

The two new achievements by which Hunter's term of office was honourably distinguished are more partial, but not less important in results. Firstly, under him the knowledge of the geography of the continent was widened. This was due to the voyage of Mr. Bass, a naval surgeon, which proved clearly that Van Diemen's Land was an island; to the first exploration of the Blue Mountains; and to the discovery of coal seams near Point Solander. It was also found that the cattle which had run away in the early days of the colonisation had begun to multiply into large herds of half-wild animals; and in this way it was proved that the supposed impossibility of acclimatising cattle did not in fact exist.

The introduction of systematic sheep farming with a view to the wool, which is now one of the most important branches of industry on the continent, is inseparably connected with the name of John MacArthur. During the whole of the unedifying struggle between the Governor and the military, this officer had been the most vigorous representative of the movement in favour of making and selling spirits. He was altogether a shrewd and practical man, to whom among other things the Australian wine trade owes its origin. In 1794 MacArthur procured sixty Bengal sheep from Calcutta, to which he shortly added some Irish sheep. By crossing, he created a breed whose fleeces were a mixture of hair and wool. In 1797, in order to produce a finer wool, he obtained, through the agency of some friendly naval officers, a few sheep from Cape Town. These were, as it happened, fine merinos, a God-send to the continent, for these few animals, and some ordinary Cape sheep, which were subsequently added, were the progenitors of immense flocks, and the foundation of the present wealth of Australia.

The results of MacArthur's breeding were prodigious. When in 1801, in consequence of a duel with a fellow officer, he was ordered to England, he took back specimens of the wool he had grown himself and put them before experts in London. Their verdict was most favourable. MacArthur's proposal, that land and convicts should be assigned him in Australia with the definite object of

providing the English woollen industry with Australian material on a wholesale scale, was favourably answered in October, 1804. Lord Camden, the new Secretary of State, instructed the Governor of New South Wales to concede to MacArthur 5,000 acres in perpetuity for grazing purposes, to give him convicts as shepherds, and to afford him generally every possible assistance. The Governor thereupon issued a proclamation, in which the concession of tracts for sheep farming or cattle breeding was publicly announced. MacArthur himself received the land he selected in the best part of the colony, on Mount Taurus in the cow pasture district, where the half-wild herds of cattle had been found in 1795. There with his original flock, augmented by purchases in England and Australia, he established his breeding farm, which he called Camden Estate, in honour of the Secretary of State. This became the centre of the new and rapidly flourishing wool-growing industry.

State Help to Encourage Sheep-farming

Since 1800 the Governor had been Philip Gidley King, a man who seemed more qualified than anyone else to rescue from the quicksands the misdirected fortunes of the Australian colonisation. King is the same man whom we have already met with as Vice-governor of Norfolk Island, where he had displayed excellent qualities in his ten years' struggle against the deficiencies of Nature and the insubordination of his charges. The inheritance to which he succeeded was not hopeful. The New South Wales Corps was more powerful than ever in the country, and had just given a proof of its influence in London by effecting the recall of his predecessor. As might be expected, the brandy trade was in full swing; not less than 20,000 gallons were stored in Sydney alone. Even of other wares the civil and military officers had a practical monopoly, which was exceedingly remunerative to them, though it did not bring in the 1,200 per cent. which the spirits paid. King's first step was to check this abuse. Empowered by the Government in London to make the landing of spirits in Port Jackson dependent on his consent, he prohibited, in the autumn of 1800, their importation and sale without a special permission. All that came by ship in defiance of this order was either sent back again—in one year, according to Zimmerman, no less than 32,000 gallons of spirits and 22,000 gallons of wine, although the number of adults in the colony was only 4,200—or was bought by King and sold again at a cheap price. The cheapness ensured only that the usurious trading profits ceased. It is easy to conceive the reception which the measures of King found among the members of the New South Wales Corps, especially when we consider what a strong backing they had in London. Owing to the perpetual European wars the import of Spanish wool to London had come to a standstill, so that the proposals of MacArthur to provide the industry with raw material from Australia

Energetic Suppression of Abuses

PORT JACKSON, THE HARBOUR OF SYDNEY, IN 1860
One of the finest natural ports in the world, the first Governor, Phillip, having truthfully reported that in it "a thousand sail of the line may ride in the most perfect security."

were thankfully adopted. MacArthur himself obtained a splendid position at home through it, as did the entire New South Wales Corps, whose most influential member he was. Notwithstanding the exasperation of the corps, things did not go so far as open hostility to the Governor. The corps certainly made the Governor's life as unpleasant as possible through the infringement of his regulations in a thousand ways, while King retaliated by limiting the authority of the regiment to purely military affairs. But this did not prevent the Governor from honourably and honestly helping MacArthur in his efforts in wool-growing. Nevertheless the perpetual friction was quite enough to induce King to resign his responsible post in July, 1805. He retired without expecting or receiving thanks from the Home Government, which had always listened to his opponents more attentively than to him. He might, however, take the consciousness with him that he had done good service to the colony. The survey of the western part of the south and east coasts between Cape Stephens (33° S.) and Cape Palmerston (22° S.) which was carried out during King's term of office, as well as the exploration of the Gulf of Carpentaria by Matthew Flinders, were valuable additions to geography, and important for later colonisation. The formal annexation of the continent by means of extensive schemes of settlement was his work. This step was necessitated by the unceasing efforts of the French to gain a firm footing in Australia. King, indeed, impressed upon the French explorers the prescriptive rights of England, but at the same time he thought it expedient to make these rights patent to all by an immediate colonisation of different places. In 1803 Van Diemen's Land was occupied, while, simultaneously with the removal of the convicts, who constituted a common danger, two settlements were founded at Restdown, or Risdon, on the left bank, and Hobart Town on the right bank, of the Derwent. At the same time the first, but unsuccessful, attempt at colonisation from London was made at Port Phillip, the great bay on which Melbourne now lies; and, lastly, the foundations were laid of Launceston, on the north coast of Van Diemen's Land, and of Newcastle, now the second harbour of New South Wales.

Suppressing Military Monopolies

GOVERNOR KING
One of the capable early Governors of the penal colony, whose tenure of office was beset with difficulties.

King might also be satisfied with the results of national industries at the end of his career. On the departure of Phillip in 1792, about 1,700 acres were under permanent cultivation, and the number of domestic animals could hardly be reckoned in dozens. In 1796, a year after Hunter's arrival, the number of such animals had reached 5,000, and there were 5,400 acres under the plough. In August, 1798, the figures were 6,000 acres and 10,000 head of cattle; for August, 1799, 8,000 acres and 11,000 head. The white population had amounted to 4,000 souls when Hunter entered on office. On his retirement in 1800, their number was, according to Mossman, 6,000. Under King's five years of government this inheritance had developed into the following dimensions. In 1806, according to Zimmerman, 165,882 acres had been given

RESIDENCE OF GOVERNOR KING IN 1804
The Governor's house was situated on Rose Hill in the township of Parramatta. In the foreground on the right of the picture the stocks may be seen.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE TOWN OF SYDNEY AS IT WAS IN THE YEAR 1800

away in estates or reserved for the Crown; of these, 20,000 acres were cleared; 6,000 acres were planted with wheat, 4,000 with maize, 1,000 with barley, 185 with potatoes, 433 served as garden ground. Of the districts allotted, 15,620 acres were held by civil officials, 20,697 by officers; 18,666 acres were the property of 405 "emancipists." There were 112 free settlers; in addition, there were 80 discharged sailors and soldiers, and 13 persons born in the colony. The number of stock was as follows: 566 horses, 4,790 cattle, 23,110 sheep, 2,283 goats, 7,019 pigs; altogether, 37,768 head. The white population amounted to 9,462 persons in 1806. Of these there were 5,172 men, 1,701 women, and 2,589 children.

Captain of the Bounty

The successor of King, nominated in 1805, was William Bligh, long well known in geographical circles for the wonderful voyage in the course of which he traversed in an open boat large portions of the Pacific and Indian oceans. Being commissioned, as captain of the ship Bounty, to transplant the bread-fruit tree from Tahiti to the West Indies, he had caused such discontent among the crew by his terrible severity that in the middle of the voyage they placed him with eighteen companions in a boat, in which he eventually reached Batavia, while the rest of the crew either returned to Tahiti or founded on Pitcairn Island the small community which has been so often described.

Tyranny of the Governor

Bligh's marvellous rescue had not deprived his character of any of its original roughness. As commander of a man-of-war he had provoked a mutiny of the crew by his tyranny, and in New South Wales, also, where he arrived in the middle of August, 1806, he contrived to make himself unpopular from the first by his inhuman severity. He was not, indeed, deficient in an honourable intention of promoting the interests of the colony, which now showed such promise; but he lacked a proper comprehension of his duties. Caprice of every sort, brutal floggings even of free settlers, the razing of houses of which the position dissatisfied him, the compulsory removal of colonists in 1807 from Norfolk Island to Van Diemen's Land—all these were measures which made the new Governor hated. He also by such acts repelled the better class of people, so that he was surrounded with persons of ill-repute in their place.

The episode which brought the ill-feeling to a head is, as Mr. Jenks expresses it in his "History of the Australasian Colonies," "the most picturesque incident in the early history of the colony." In accordance with his instructions, which required him to continue the measures directed by King against the excessive power of the New South Wales Corps, and, above all, to proceed against the still flourishing brandy trade, Bligh had issued an edict in February, 1807, which absolutely

prohibited the making and sale of spirits, and forbade the erection of distilling apparatus on private property.

Now, MacArthur had ordered some distilling apparatus from England, in connection with his attempts at vine culture. This was taken from him and sent back by the orders of the Governor. The strained relations thus produced between the two men were aggravated by Bligh's accusation that MacArthur had received his 5,000 acres of pasture land by supplying false information. MacArthur's self-justification by reference to the order of the Privy Council was finally answered by Bligh with a command to appear in court, because a convict had fled to one of the breeder's ships. MacArthur refused to pay the fine, and the Governor seized his schooner. MacArthur desisted from supplying the crew with food. The unfortunate sailors therefore landed in defiance of a port regulation. This was enough for Bligh, who at once arrested the crew, and MacArthur for "causing them to commit an illegal act." Even if Bligh had law upon his side, yet his sharp procedure was unwise in view of MacArthur's honourable position.

Historic Australian Quarrel

The indignation of the New South Wales Corps at once vented itself in action. At the instigation of the officers, Major Johnston liberated the prisoner on January 26th, 1808, occupied Government House, and, agreeably to the wish of MacArthur and other prominent colonists, declared the Governor deposed, and sent him as a prisoner on board a ship lying in the harbour. All the executive officials who had supported the Governor were dismissed or arrested, the colony was put under martial law, and, for almost two years, until the arrival of the new Governor on December 31st, 1809, was administered by Johnston and the members of his corps. MacArthur himself, on a fresh hearing of the case, was unanimously acquitted.

GOVERNOR BLIGH
The captain of the Bounty and the most tyrannous governor of the early Australian settlements.

The attitude of the British Government toward the unpleasant incident was long in making itself known. The tidings of what had happened had reached England by the end of the year, but there everyone was so occupied with the Napoleonic wars that another year elapsed before any steps against the rebels were decided upon. Lachlan Macquarie was entrusted with the mission. Johnston was brought back to England under strict arrest on a charge of mutiny. All the appointments and assignments of land which had been made after Bligh's arrest were declared null and void, and all the old officials were reinstated. Bligh, who was still living on his ship in Australia, was recognised as Governor, but immediately recalled and replaced by Macquarie. MacArthur was finally expelled from the country. He thus had the hardest lot; keenly interested in its industrial welfare, he was compelled to remain for years far away from the country and his undertakings. It was not until 1817 that he was allowed to return to his Camden Estate. Johnston fared better, since, thanks to the representations made by Macquarie to the proper quarters as to Bligh's character and method of governing, he was merely cashiered. Honours were finally showered upon Bligh himself in England. He became Vice-admiral of the Blue, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. He died on December 7th, 1817.

Macquarie had not come across from England alone. On the contrary, he brought a whole line regiment of soldiers with him. This meant nothing less than a complete change of system. The New South Wales Corps was incorporated into the English Army and withdrawn from Australia for ever; the Governor henceforth had at his disposal disciplined Regulars instead of a corps which had been ruined by twenty years' sojourn in a penal colony. Macquarie had generally a much easier position than any of his predecessors. Twenty years of work had produced valuable results, notwithstanding all hindrances and cessations, and after King's careful tenure of office the colony had made great advances in prosperity. In 1810 there were already 11,590 white colonists; 7,615 acres were under the plough; the number of cattle reached 12,442, that of

Military Problem Solved

sheep 25,888; the taxes brought in nearly £8,000 annually.

Under these favourable conditions the energy of Macquarie could be principally devoted to matters of a positive and executive nature, as was most in keeping with his disposition. In this respect he was the direct opposite of Bligh, whose abilities were merely directed toward the repression of abuses, while he displayed no sort of talent for organisation. Macquarie's first care was to establish well-regulated conditions in Sydney. He nearly rebuilt the town; the construction of new streets, the organisation of police, the erection of public buildings, especially schools and churches, the laying out of promenades—all this is his work. In 1816 the first bank was set up, followed three years later by a savings bank. He made it his object to construct good roads in the vicinity of the town, as well as to regulate the courses of the rivers. He especially encouraged the cultivation of the soil in every direction, and not least so by extreme liberality in grants of land. This liberality, coupled with the extensive demands for public—that is to say, home—assistance for his reforms, exposed him even then to much censure, both in England and Australia.

GOVERNOR MACQUARIE
One of the wisest Governors of the early colony and the maker and organiser of Sydney as a town.

Macquarie's efforts to extend the range of colonisation were not less meritorious than his attempts to raise the moral tone and develop the industries within the colony itself. His four predecessors had all been sailors, whose interest in geography was exhausted by voyages of discovery along the coast. The contour and shape of the Australian continent had, it is true, been definitely ascertained by them, but for a full quarter of a century after the landing in Botany Bay nothing more was known of the interior than the narrow strip of land between the coast and the Blue Mountains looming in the west, which had always been considered impassable.

Exploration of the Interior

Macquarie urged the colonists to new efforts, and finally, in 1813, Wentworth, Blaxland, and Lawson discovered a way through the mountains, and found beyond them immense plains of fertile country. Macquarie, in spite of the hundreds of miles of most difficult ground between Sydney and the new territory, at once set about constructing a road, which was ready to be opened in 1815. At the same time the town of Bathurst was founded as the centre of the newly opened up country, which soon became the seat of a brisk wheat-growing industry and the source of the rapid prosperity of the colony.

Swelling Tide of Prosperity

New South Wales owed this renewed prosperity largely to the favourable period at which its discovery and exploitation had taken place. With the close of the Napoleonic wars, England's hands were untied; even private persons revived their interest in the oversea possessions. New South Wales now became the goal of a continuously swelling stream of emigration, which added to the existing settlers a large percentage of free colonists, who were either time-expired soldiers or discharged convicts.

Macquarie himself was by no means friendly to the newcomers. From the very first he supported the view "Australia for the convict," and tried by every means to check the influx of free immigrants. In 1818 he actually carried a measure by which these latter were deprived of the free passage which had been customary since the founding of the colony. The results turned out quite otherwise from what Macquarie expected. The small man indeed kept away, but not the man of means. The latter, however, could at once set to work on a large scale. He required only to buy sheep, the Government supplied him with land and with convicts as shepherds. Thus he became a large landed proprietor; but the convict was not the least helped by Macquarie's measures. In spite of all his popularity, the obvious favour which he showed to the emancipists provoked a feeling against him among the free settlers.

A special commissioner, Mr. Bigge, was sent from England in 1818 to make an inquiry into the condition of the colony and the administration of the government, and on the receipt of his report in 1821—

which still remains the best authority for the condition of the colony since the departure of Governor Bligh—Governor Macquarie was recalled. The unfavourable attitude of the Government towards him was intensified by the outcry of the great landed proprietors. These claimed wide tracts of land for their grazing farms; but the Governor was pledged to support the small proprietors who had been convicts previously. This was sufficient incentive to the now powerful wool industry to advocate the recall of Macquarie, which took place in 1821.

Recall of a Governor

Macquarie had still more reason to be satisfied with his results than King. Even the statistics presented a quite different aspect. In 1821 the white population of the colony was estimated roughly at 39,000 souls; 32,267 acres were under cultivation; there were 103,000 head of cattle, 4,564 horses, and more than 250,000 sheep. The annual revenue of the community was 150,000 dollars. Besides this, internal affairs were splendidly organised, and there was confident hope that the stream of immigration would not dry up. In short, the departing Governor might fairly feel that it was his own diligent activity for eleven years that had extricated Australia from her seemingly hopeless position in the swamp of corruption.

Macquarie's entrance into office had brought with it a change of system in the administration, and a similar change signalised his departure. The former had substituted the civil administration for the military; the latter put the beginnings of a constitution in the place of the autocracy. All the governors of the colony had been hitherto practically despotic; they had marked out the methods of colonisation according to their own judgment, and embodied in themselves the legislative power; they were indeed the ultimate court of appeal. They were, it is true, responsible to the British Secretary of State for War and the Colonies; but London was far away, and the political situation in Europe guaranteed sufficiently that too much notice would not be taken of Australia. Bligh's motto, "My will is the law," is characteristic of this view. So long as the majority of the population consisted of convicts or was descended from them, unlimited authority might be concentrated in one hand; but as soon as the free population predominated, this situation was impossible. Even in 1812 the creation of a board of assessors, composed of officials and colonists, had been suggested, but Macquarie had considered that such an institution, which had proved its value in all other English colonies, was unsuitable for Australia.

Beginning of a Constitution

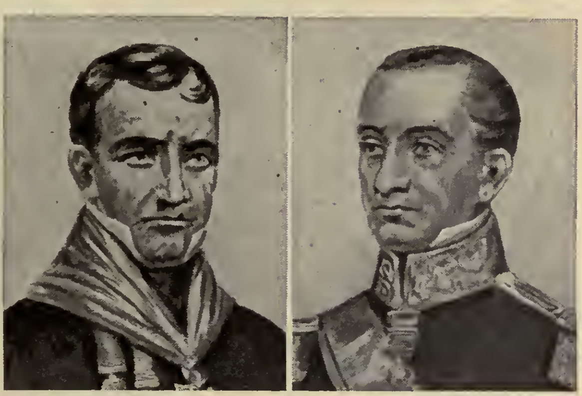
After his departure, the limitation of the power of the Governor was an accomplished fact. The New South Wales Judiciary Act, which received the Royal Assent on July 19th, 1823, adopted most of the recommendations of Bigge's report. A Legislative Council of not more than seven or less than five members, nominated by the Governor, was created, but its functions were purely advisory, although the Governor's power to impose taxes was limited to taxes for local purposes. If the Council disapproved of the Governor's action, its objections were submitted to England, where the Colonial Office gave a final decision. In the one case of a rebellion the Governor had dictatorial power.

On the legal side, the reforms were also extensive. Hitherto the Governor had been the highest court of appeal in all questions of law; now these were absolutely withdrawn from his decision in favour of a supreme court of judicature on the English model, and the jury system was introduced. The only right retained by the Governor was the remission of sentences on criminals, subject to the approval of the English Government. The first Governor who ruled under these new forms was Sir Thomas Brisbane (1821–1825), but that they were strictly adhered to and achieved the results intended was entirely due to the accident which caused the appointment to the first Chief Justiceship to be in favour of a sound and fearless constitutional lawyer. To Francis Forbes is due the subordination of the executive to the law, and the firm application of the British legal principle that a wrongdoer cannot plead in justification the command of a superior officer. Thanks to Forbes, the administration of Sir Thomas Brisbane kept strictly within the limits imposed on the Governor; but, in compensation, he devoted his chief attention to the further exploration and opening up of the country. The course of the Murray and Murrumbidgee was now traced; the country was traversed diagonally as far as the south coast in the vicinity of modern Melbourne, the shores of

Legal Reforms Introduced

Queensland and North Australia were explored, and the continent secured from the renewed designs of the French by settlements on various outlying points. The first observatory on Australian soil was constructed by Brisbane at Parramatta.

Brisbane gave the perpetually increasing number of free immigrants the land for grazing purposes free, and conceded to the Australian Agricultural Company, founded in England in 1824 with a capital of $5,000,000 not less than 1,000,000 acres of land near Port Stephens and in the Liverpool Plains. He encouraged production and trade in every way; in 1825 there were 45,514 acres under cultivation; more than 4,000 cwt. of wool was exported, and some thirty Australian ships were engaged in fishery and commerce. The incomings (over 350,000 dollars) had more than doubled since 1821.



TWO OF AUSTRALIA'S PROMINENT GOVERNORS
Sir T. Makdougall Brisbane—on the left—pursued the unwise policy of encouraging indiscriminate immigration, and his successor, Sir Ralph Darling—on the right—fought against the freedom of the Press.

Two other important and essentially different events fall into the term of Brisbane's office: the separation of the island of Van Diemen's Land from New South Wales, and the official declaration of the freedom of the Press. The former was decreed in 1823, and took effect in 1825; the latter was announced in 1824, but its actual application was postponed until the administration of Bourke.

Brisbane's successor was another military officer, Sir Ralph Darling, who ruled the destinies of the colony from 1825–1831. His lot was not cast in easy times. As a legacy from his predecessor he inherited a difficulty with the colonial Press, which was unrestrained in its attacks upon the measures of Government, and exercised a dangerous influence upon the convicts. By the Constitution of 1823 it was provided that no Bill should become law without the certificate of the Chief Justice that it was not repugnant to the laws of England. Immediately upon his arrival Governor Darling, acting upon instructions from England, carried a measure imposing an annual licence upon newspapers. Forbes, who sympathised with the views of the paper principally aimed at by the measure in favour of an extension of popular government, refused his certificate. Darling retaliated by a measure imposing penalties for the publication of seditious or blasphemous matter and another putting a duty upon newspapers. Forbes again refused his certificate. The dispute was ended by the new Constitution of 1828, which gave wider legislative powers to the Council established in 1823 and increased its numbers to fifteen. The necessity for the Chief Justice's certificate was abolished. Darling at once reintroduced a Newspaper Bill, the harsher provisions of which were subsequently modified at the instance of the British Government. The new Council also dealt with the jury question and a law passed excluding emancipists from serving on criminal juries. By a Rule of Court of the same year the professions of barrister and attorney were formally divided, and regulations drawn up governing admission to them. This Constitution Act also abolished the Grand Jury and substituted in its place the Attorney-General, "in whose name all offenders should be prosecuted by information."

This system continues to the present day. Darling's recall was due to an unfounded attack upon him, engineered by the Press. The charges were investigated in Sydney and by a Parliamentary Committee in London, and Darling was absolutely acquitted of all wrongdoing. But before his character was thus cleared he had quitted Australia.

THE DAWN OF A NATION
AND DEVELOPMENT OF NEW SOUTH WALES

THE period 1831–43 marks a transition from the old to the new in the history of the colony. The abuses of officialdom are curbed. Free settlers are already more numerous than bond. The country is settling into the normal conditions of English life. Capital in abundance has flowed into the country; and merchants share with pastoralists the responsibility for public affairs which is felt instinctively by the leaders of society in any British community. Consequently we read less of squabbles with the Governor, and more of movements and policies.

The first sign of national self-consciousness was a demand to control the public lands. Previously to 1824 lands had been practically given away at the Governor's will, the only incumbrance being an insignificant quit rent and the obligation to employ one convict to every hundred acres. Governor Brisbane had made these conditions more stringent and had abolished free grants. But the demand for land increased, as Bigge's report made the favourable conditions of Colonial life more widely known. In 1824 the Colonial Office directed that $1.25 per acre should be the upset price of land and that no one person should be allowed to purchase more than 9,600 acres.

The Land Question

The object of this limitation was to suppress the speculation in land which was then rampant. The land was to be reserved for bonâ fide settlers, and, further, only so much was to be cultivated as the needs of the colony required. The object finally was to look to the future with its growing claims for land. The results did not correspond to the unwearying solicitude of the Government. On Darling's departure, the area of the land sold or leased amounted to 3,422,000 acres, which obviously could not be kept entirely under cultivation by the 51,155 white colonists. In the short period from 1831 to 1835, this number increased by no less than 585,000 acres, which had been purchased by auction. The Government had realised by this sale the sum of $1,013,000; but it could not fail to see that only the smaller part of these estates had been bought with the immediate object of cultivation; the vast majority were merely bought as a speculation. This applied to the 1,548,700 acres, which had been publicly sold in the years 1836 to 1840.

The area expressed by these figures was far too gigantic to be required by the real demand for land, notwithstanding the brisk immigration of those years. Nevertheless these figures testify to the enormous impetus which was then given to the prosperity of the colony, a prosperity which was indeed interrupted at the opening of the "forties" by a disastrous industrial crisis. Its beginnings were foreshadowed in the figures for the years 1839 and 1840: 1836, 389,500; 1837, 368,600; 1838, 315,300; 1839, 285,900; 1840, 189,400 acres.

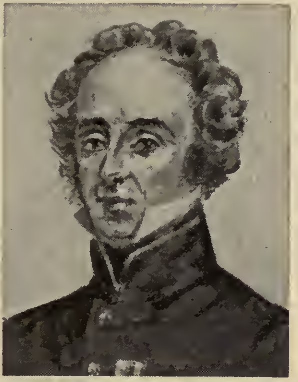
Hardly less than the trouble caused by the speculative purchaser of land was that which arose from the common practice of "squatting." This is a word which originally came from North America; but the practice designated by the word proved more important for the development of Australia than for the history of the United States. This process of squatting was extremely simple; sheep or cattle breeders, on their own responsibility, without any authorisation, and without payment of purchase money or quit-rent, took possession of tracts of country for grazing purposes, and thus withdrew them from any possibility of being legally divided among later candidates.

Evils of Squatting on the Land

It was in the first place essential for the squatter's trade of stock breeding that the "run" which he appropriated should cover a large extent of country.

Moreover, if endless quarrels and disputes were to be prevented among the owners of the herds, no other expedient was left for them except that of all pastoral societies under simple conditions, indeed of all primitive farming generally; that is to say, since the country offered no natural boundaries, and there was no inclination, time or means to erect artificial boundaries, a clear demarcation was obtained by leaving broad tracts unused between the separate estates. There was in fact a reversion to the most primitive type of boundary; that which consists of a strip or border of land. It is a type still to be found in the case of African village communities, which are often surrounded by zones of wilderness or forest; it was prevalent in Europe of the Dark Ages, and some German villages had boundaries of this kind down to the time of the Hohenstaufen dynasty.

The most complicated difficulties were thus produced for the Government. It had declared in England that the whole continent was its property, and all land belonged to the Crown. In this way it possessed the incontestable right to dispose of the land at pleasure; but, on the other hand, the equally incontestable obligation was imposed on it of directing its distribution in such a way that all who shared in the most important duty of developing the colony—mother country, Colonial Government, and settlers alike—might have their rights secured. This was, however, no easy task, owing to the conflict of interests between large landed proprietors and small farmers, between cattle breeding and agriculture, which had rapidly been produced under the squatter system.



SIR RICHARD BOURKE

This Governor's unfortunate attempt to solve the land question contributed to the grant of a constitution in 1842.

Attempt to Settle the Land Question

The "squatting" difficulty presented itself to Sir Richard Bourke (1831–1838) as that which pressed most urgently for a solution. Unwitting that Australia had not reached that stage in her development when small holdings were desirable, and that the carrying capacity of unimproved land for sheep—which had now become the mainstay of the colony—was not more than a sheep to five acres, he endeavoured to discourage the holding of large "runs." Undoubtedly the system had led to abuses; but in the absence of a plentiful supply of labour pastoral occupation is practicable only over large tracts. As a beginning to clear his path the Governor issued a decree declaring that no one could acquire or had acquired any title to Crown Lands by mere occupancy; and, in 1837, made the right to squat dependent on the payment of a fee of $50 annually. Whoever paid it had a right to settle on any unoccupied lands. This was resented by the party of self-government as being arbitrary taxation, and was one of the causes which led to the Constitution of 1842.

An Unwise Decree

One of the measures adopted by Sir Richard Bourke, on the recommendation of his Council, had a disastrous effect in encouraging speculation in land. Possessed of the Old World idea that men would not go far to occupy land if they could own a freehold nearer the capital, the Governor was persuaded that the upset price of $1.25 per acre was too high and induced squatting. He was, therefore, empowered to reduce this to any lower minimum he thought fit.

As might be expected, even these arrangements did not remove all the deficiencies which are connected with a young pastoral industry. Stock, indeed, flourished, and their profits were enormous. In 1839 there were reckoned to be a quarter of a million of cattle and more than a million sheep. The revenue of the colony was also materially increased by the grazing tax, then fixed at $50 annually, to which were added payments of two cents for every sheep, six cents for every ox, and twelve cents for every horse; and the enterprising spirit of the sheep farmers alone had made the colony economically independent. Of the export trade, which had risen in 1840 to 25,000,000 dollars by far the greater part was due to the wool industry.

But two drawbacks of the system are incontestable: firstly, the uniformity of the tax brought great grievances with it; and, secondly, pastoral enterprise on a large

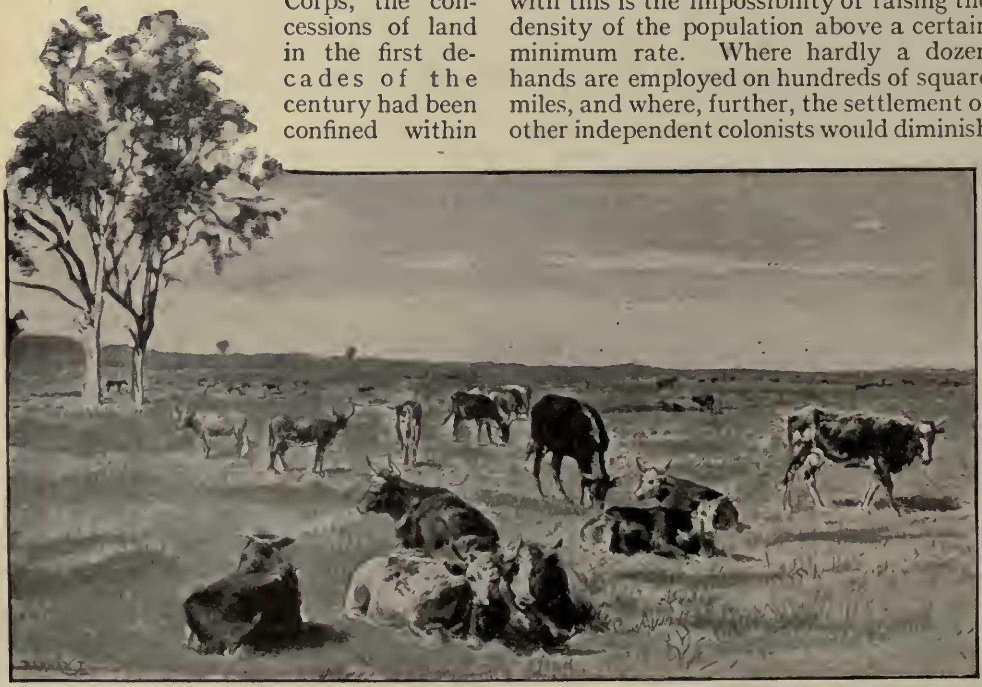
scale, the form of industry which alone was encouraged by it, exercised a far-reaching, but not beneficial influence on the entire social development of the white population of the continent. The right to occupy land thus depended on the payment of the fee, but after that the choice of locality as well as the quantity of land were entirely in the discretion of the colonist. Under these circumstances, most of the estates were far larger than was required to graze the stock of the owner, even if full weight is given to the often pleaded excuse of the growth of the herds; and properties as large as a German principality were not uncommon. This mattered little, so long as free land was available and to spare. But when the supply grew limited these enormous estates were felt to be hindrances on colonisation, and the more oppressively so since the gross disproportion between the holdings was now obvious to all.

Enormous Land Holdings

A few instances show for what the proclamation of 1837 is responsible in this respect. Apart from the inconsiderately large assignment of land to the Australian Agricultural Company—one million acres—and the gifts to the officers and the officials of the New South Wales Corps, the concessions of land in the first decades of the century had been confined within very modest limits. Even the most wealthy man could not call more than a few hundred acres his own. How different was the position of the pastoral kings of the 'forties and 'fifties! When Governor Gipps, in 1845, made a searching inquiry into the property of some colonists, he ascertained that in one district eight persons with eight licences occupied 1,747,000 acres, while in the same part nine others with nine licences had only (!) 311,000 acres. The four largest stock breeders of the colony were masters of a territory covering approximately seven million seven hundred and fifty thousand acres.

The colossal size of such tracts of property could not but be harmful to the community. The pastoral industry requires, on the one hand, immense tracts; on the other, and especially under the favourable climatic conditions of Australia, it has no use for a large supply of labour; even the largest sheep farmers retain very few hands in permanent employment. The immediate result is a twofold loss to the entire population. The wool clip brings large sums of money into the country, which, instead of circulating, remain in the hands of a few, and thus encourages capitalism. Closely connected with this is the impossibility of raising the density of the population above a certain minimum rate. Where hardly a dozen hands are employed on hundreds of square miles, and where, further, the settlement of other independent colonists would diminish

Australian Economic Conditions



CHARACTERISTIC SCENE ON THE PASTURE LANDS OF NEW SOUTH WALES

THE HOME OF AN EARLY SQUATTER

the profits of the sheep owner, it is impossible for the population to become dense. As a matter of fact, even at the present day, the rural population of the interior is trifling in comparison with that of the towns on the coast.

Still more serious, however, than all these defects in the Regulations of 1837 was the immunity of the greater part of the land to which claim was laid from the payment of the grazing tax, since it inevitably jarred upon the popular idea of justice. A man who was fortunate, or sufficiently unscrupulous, could acquire a kingdom for his $50, while his neighbour could call only a few clods his own. As a matter of fact, the owner of the above-mentioned gigantic tracts had not paid a cent more than any other colonist who had obtained land after the promulgation of the regulations. Sir George Gipps, who had been at the head of affairs in Sydney since 1838, attempted to check the extension of squatting, and issued a proclamation with retrospective force, by which every squatter was bound, for the purpose of maintaining his existing title to his property, to buy at least 320 acres of land by auction; any improvement to the land would be taken into consideration. If he did not do this, he exposed himself to the risk of being ousted from his position by any other squatter who had conformed to the prescribed conditions.

LATER STYLE OF SQUATTER'S RESIDENCE

This proclamation met with the worst possible reception from the people. Three hundred and twenty acres, which form a large farm elsewhere, could not in most parts of Australia support a single family at a time when there was no labour for intension culture. The only result was to stimulate the purchase of land, in which too much of the colony's capital was already locked up. Sir George Gipps, however, carried the day. He impressed upon the Home Government that the continuance of the practice which had hitherto obtained would soon deprive the Crown of all available land; and by this argument, and by proving that the greatest outcry was made by the largest landed proprietors, he succeeded in upholding his enactments; only in small points was any consideration shown to the squatters. In 1842, a new law was promulgated which fixed the minimum price for an acre at 5 dollars. The sales of land fell off still more. In 1843, 4,800 acres, and in 1844 only 4,200 acres, were sold. It was only when the crisis ended that these figures improved once more to 7,200 acres in 1845, and 7,000 acres in 1846.

The change for the better coincides with the fall of the Ministry of Peel on June 26th, 1846. The new Colonial Secretary, Earl Grey, at once returned to the old paths and allowed the concession of pasturage rights for fourteen years, with the right of pre-emption. At the same time the regulations as to the recovery of the quit-rent were considerably modified. The land legislation in the succeeding year went still farther in this direction, since, on March 9, 1847, the Governor of New South Wales received authority to let, in the uncolonised districts, tracts of 16,000 or 32,000 acres for eight or

fourteen years. Each lessee received with his contract the right to acquire 640 acres at the fixed price of 3,200 dollars as a homestead, and to have the lease renewed after the expiration of the fourteen years for a further term of five years. The rent was based on the number of the head of stock; a run which was large enough for 4,000 sheep was to cost 50 dollars. The lease at the same time gave the lessee the right of pre-emption. The land question in New South Wales thus obtained its definite settlement for a decade and a half. On the whole, it cannot be denied that the proclamation of 1844 was bound to injure the colony if we reflect on the bad economic conditions of Australia. This was intimately connected with another question, the difficulty of obtaining labour.

Conditions of Land Acquisition

During the first four decades of Australian history the demand for labour was adequately satisfied by the assignment of convicts to settlers. But in 1822, in consequence of the publication of Bigge's Report, the immigration of freemen began to assume large proportions; but the increased demand for land more than absorbed the additional supply. Wages, which had been a matter for Government regulation, began to be determined by the market rate. The distance from Europe had acted as a protective duty, and led to the establishment of manufacturing of woollen cloth, hats, earthenware, pipes, salt, candles, soap, beer, leather, and many other articles in common use, so that Wentworth, writing in 1819, and not foreseeing the cheapening of freights, anticipated that the time was near when the necessity of importing manufactured goods from England would cease. Mr. Tregarthen, who writes upon this subject with special knowledge, estimates that "previous to 1836 the average daily wage of mechanics in building trades was almost $1.50., and farm and other labourers, taking one year with another, were paid at the rate of about $90 per annum, with food and lodging."

SIR GEORGE GIPPS
This Governor's efforts to settle the question of land tenure were ill-advised and caused great discontent.

During the years following 1836, larger numbers of free immigrants came to Australia. bringing with them a higher standard of living, and consequently a desire for better wage than that previously paid. Competition with convict labour had hitherto so degraded the free workers that, as a rule, they were willing to live upon a wage so small as compared with the current prices of commodities as to render it impossible for them to maintain even a semblance of decency, to say nothing of comfort, and even after the class of assigned servants had been largely diluted by free immigration, the convicts, emancipated or bond, comprised one-third of the total population, and had a proportionate influence on the labour market. But as the colony grew, and the demands of the settlers for assigned servants became far in excess of the supply, the influence of the convict element was to a great extent removed. Wages rapidly rose, and about four years after the arrival of the first assisted settlers the prospects of the working classes greatly improved.

The commercial crisis of 1843, which shook the very foundations of the new settlement, was, like all such crises, the sign of a legitimate but over-strained prosperity. The success of the colony in attracting immigrants proved for a time its undoing. By the advice of his Council, Sir Richard Bourke set apart the proceeds of land sales as a fund for paying the expenses of free immigrants, who, in consequence, entered the colony in a steady flow after 1837.

"The new arrivals were greedily looked for and warmly welcomed by the settlers, and all industrial pursuits revived amazingly. With the increase of enterprise, wages rose, and the standard of living was greatly improved. The thrifty and industrious found that, with the expenditure of the same amount of energy which was required at home to keep the wolf from the door, they could earn sufficient to live in comparative comfort and luxury. Glowing accounts went to England of the magnificent prospects of the colony, while the demands of the increased and more industrious population caused a rapid expansion of trade and commerce. The eyes of European capitalists were attracted to Australia as a possible field

The Influx of Labour and Capital

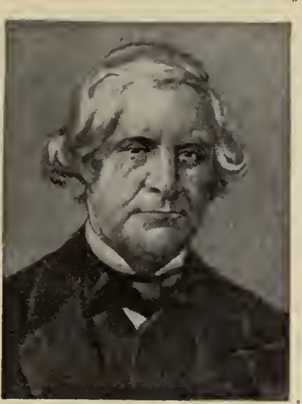
for the profitable investment of their money, and capital soon began to flow into the country with a stream relatively greater than even the stream of immigration. There were already two large banks in existence, the Bank of New South Wales and the Bank of Australia; now four new banks were established, to say nothing of other loan and trust companies. With increased facilities for borrowing came an increased desire to borrow, and enormous transactions in land and livestock took place all over the country, payment usually being made by long-dated bills on one or other of the banks. The prospects of the colony seemed excellent and fascinating, dreams of rapidly acquired fortunes began to float before the eyes of farmer, pastoralist, and merchant alike."

In this feverish condition of affairs the Government policy of restricting land sales proved an additional factor of disturbance. Australia cannot be a country of small holdings, and English ideas on the proper size of an estate were ludicrously inadequate. The Secretary of State, no doubt, considered that a holding limited to 320 acres was a liberal allowance to any settler; while the Governor, not appreciating the almost unlimited extent of good land in the colony, feared to exhaust the Crown's domains. The consequence of this limitation of sales was to increase the price of private lands. In the meantime money was abundant; four new banks had been established, making six in all, and each was eager for business. Advances were freely made—in many cases far in excess of the value of the mortgaged property. Mr. Tregarthen quotes an instance in which $50,000 had been lent by one bank, which only returned $500 per annum when taken over by the mortgagees. Meantime, wages increased and notes were replacing gold in currency. Finally, in 1843, the whole unsubstantial fabric collapsed.

Beginning of Financial Crisis

"The men who had been living luxuriously on other people's money"—again we quote Tregarthen, because the passage describes equally well the later crisis of 1892—"found themselves brought up with a round turn, and at once tried to realise what they could. Property upon property was forced into a market in which all were sellers and none buyers, and prices fell to ridiculous figures. The rebound was even more unreasonable than the inflation. Sheep were sold by the sheriff's officer for 12 cents per head, and large stations near Yass and on the Hunter River sold, land and all, at the price of about 75 cents per head for the sheep which were on them; cattle bought at 31 dollars each were parted with for less than a dollar per head. Houses and personal property all went the same way. Carriages which in the prosperous days had cost $700, sold for $15, and were run as cabs by the servants of the late owners."

A Time of Great Panic



WILLIAM CHARLES WENTWORTH

A native of Australia and chief agitator for a constitution.

The national self-consciousness which found expressions in the effort to resume the use of Crown lands for the people generally was also manifested in a movement for constitutional reform. The party was headed by a young native of the colony, William Charles Wentworth, who had returned to Sydney upon taking his degree at Cambridge. Governor Bourke yielded one important step to Wentworth's demands in 1831 by consenting to place the estimates of expenditure before his Council. But he roused the ire of the reformers by his licence fee on squatters. Wentworth, at a public meeting in 1833, denounced this in correct style as "taxation without representation," and became president of a Patriotic Association, which was formed to secure self-government for the colony, and to that end petitioned the House of Commons and maintained a parliamentary agent in London. These representations so far prevailed that in 1842 the English Parliament passed a new Constitution for New South Wales. The Council was increased to thirty-six members, twenty-four of whom were to be elected, and District Councils were formed to administer the funds for the police and local works.

The new Council, which met in August, 1843, soon came into conflict with the

Governor, Sir George Gipps, over his Land Regulations. Wentworth declared the collection of licences to be "taxation by prerogative." Gipps, however, held to his own scheme and the dispute was still unsettled when he handed over the Governorship to Sir Charles Fitzroy (1846–1851), under whose rule the struggle for free institutions continued. But before recounting the details of this struggle it will be convenient to group together the events connected with the successful opposition to convict importation, which was closely connected with the movement for self-government.

Agitation for a Constitution

During the first four decades of the colonial development of Australia, the question whether the introduction of English convicts was useful or harmful did not come forward. It was only at the time when the free settlers began to outnumber the others, and the influx of respectable English countrymen produced an adequate supply of free labour, that a movement made itself felt in favour of checking or diverting the still numerous arrivals of criminals from the Old Country. In favour of this agitation was the noticeable fact that the presence of so many persons of low morality in the country had a most detrimental effect on the characters of both old and young. Out of 60,794 inhabitants of New South Wales, there were, in the year 1833, no fewer than 16,151 convicts, and in 1836, 27,831. Many of these, however, would return to England at the expiry of their sentence. The number of crimes and misdemeanours committed by these convicts reached an alarming figure. The colony received an annual subsidy of $1,000,000 to defray the cost of maintaining the convicts, and out of the subsidy there was a substantial balance available for public works. The system also meant cheap labour. But these were poor set-offs to the moral degradation for which the system was responsible—so at least thought one party of the colonists. At the same time, it had been observed that transportation was to blame for an increase of crimes. While the population of England had increased between 1805 and 1841 by 79 per cent., the number of crimes had risen by 482 per cent.; and from 1834 to 1845 as many as 38,844 prisoners were transported. Transportation, however, was not reckoned as a punishment in the circles which it concerned. It was owing to this movement that a commission appointed by the lower house recommended that the transportation of criminals to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land should at once be discontinued, and expressed its opinion that it was desirable to facilitate the emigration of prisoners to other countries when they had served their sentences. These resolutions went too far for some Australians, although they had so often petitioned for the discontinuance of transportation. They feared to lose the cheap labour hitherto available, and begged, therefore, but without success, that the existing arrangement should be continued. The penal colony of Moreton Bay, established in 1826, was done away with in 1839; and on May 22nd, 1840, New South Wales was struck out from the list of countries to which prisoners could be transported. Only Van Diemen's Land and Norfolk Island retained temporarily their old character.

Evils of Convict Settlement

The new regulations did not, indeed, meet with universal assent; on the contrary, in consequence of the renewed outbreak of wild speculation in land, and the loss suffered by the already permanently settled districts, violent demonstrations were made in these latter. The Government, however, had neither inclination nor time to destroy the work so laboriously brought to a close and to begin again; so the cries for alteration died away unheard.

Changes in the Penal System

But the Mother Country soon found a difficulty in obtaining room for her criminals when transportation to New South Wales was abolished. Van Diemen's Land was quickly overcrowded, and the plan of founding a new convict settlement in North Australia was shown to be impracticable. At the same time the thought of once more stocking with convicts the districts of East Australia, which had been so capable of receiving them for more than half a century, forced itself forward; and all the more so as the colony of Port Phillip, now Victoria, which had arisen meanwhile in the south, cried out loudly for cheap labour, and in New South Wales there were still landowners who earnestly desired to see the restoration of the old condition of things, with its abundance of workers. Both encouraged the Home Government (1848)

to resume the old policy. The Act of 1840 was repealed, and the institution of new penal colonies was contemplated.

Foremost in the movement against transportation was a young ivory-turner, who afterwards, as Sir Harry Parkes, was the founder of Parliamentary institutions in Australia, and subsequently of the Commonwealth. Public meetings of protest were held in Sydney; but Mr. Gladstone, then Secretary of State, was regardless of expressions of Colonial feeling. Two shiploads of convicts were sent over in 1849. The one ship was allowed to land her freight at Sydney, when the convicts were at once secretly hired by private persons and sent up country; the other, which tried to land at Melbourne, had to return with all on board. The vigorous opposition of the people did not prove ineffective in the sequel. In 1851, New South Wales finally ceased to be considered as a sphere of transportation. The prospects for Victoria were hardly less favourable; and in 1853 Van Diemen's Land gained exemption for the future from any further influx. After 1853 only Western Australia was still employed as a transportation district; and since South Australia from the first had been constituted on a different principle, the institution did not last much longer. It was abolished there also in 1868.

SIR CHARLES A. FITZROY
Governor of New South Wales, 1846-1851, under whom the struggle for free institutions continued.

Closely connected with the popular movement for the abolition of transportation was the agitation for self-government. The Constitution of 1842, which had given the Council a modified control over public expenditure, had also whetted the popular appetite by accustoming the people to elections. A persistent pressure was brought to bear in England for an extension of Parliamentary Government, which was only too acceptable to the pedants of the Colonial Office, who at that time were obsessed with the amazing notion that separatism was a source of strength and the maintenance of an empire a danger to Great Britain.

British Opinion of Colonies

The prevalent sentiment of the "Intellectuals" of that day was thus expressed by Richard Cobden: "The Colonial system, with all its dazzling appeals to the passions of the people, can never be got rid of except by the indirect process of Free Trade, which will gradually and imperceptibly loose the bands which unite our Colonies to us by a mistaken notion of self-interest." Earl Grey, in 1847, made an attempt to grant a constitution which would make a Customs Union and a Federal Government inevitable. This was denounced by Wentworth as an interference with political liberty. The English Government had abolished the preferences to Colonial products in British markets. Australia had therefore nothing to gain by submitting to any limitation to her powers of self-government. The terms of the Constitution will be more fittingly dealt with in discussing the development of the several colonies.

Constitution with Certain Obligations

The internal development of New South Wales, which was shown conspicuously during the 'forties and 'fifties by the treatment of the land question and the transportation question, was accompanied by a corresponding widening of the sphere of colonisation. But while the land question hinged chiefly on the distribution of the districts which lay roughly within the boundaries of modern New South Wales, this territorial expansion went far beyond such limits. In the first enthusiasm of early colonisation, attempts were made to cover the whole continent at once; but when the deficiency of their powers was recognised, the settlers were content to occupy some few districts, which were very unequally distributed along the coast of the continent; for while they were numerous in the south-east and east, the distant west lay isolated, and the north was entirely uncolonised.

This peculiar distribution is very closely connected with the history of the rise of the different daughter colonies of New South Wales; this again was strongly influenced by the course of the geographical exploration of Australia. As a general rule, exploration came first, and colonisation followed. This order of things was reversed only in the founding of Western Australia; there colonisation began in

one part which had long been known; but the exploration of the hinterland was the concern of later decades.

The successful expedition of Wentworth, Blaxland, and Lawson, in the year 1812, across the Blue Mountains into the interior, had fired the zeal for exploration. The years 1817 and 1818 saw the discovery by J. Oxley of the extensive grazing grounds known as the Liverpool Plains. In 1824, two young colonists, Hamilton Hume and William Hovell, were the first to reach the vicinity of Geelong, near modern Melbourne, from Sydney, having traversed the whole south-east of the continent, past the sources of the Murrumbidgee and the Murray. At the same time Allan Cunningham, the botanist, continued the explorations of Oxley in the north as far as the Darling Downs (1827). Finally, in the years 1828 and 1829, came the important journeys of Charles Sturt in the district watered by the Darling and Murray Rivers. These journeys not only threw new light on the river system of the country, but also guided the colonial expansion of Australia into other paths. In this respect particularly all these travels were rich in results.

Exploration of the Interior

The first successful founding of Port Phillip was the direct consequence of the journey of Hume and Hovell. Various sheep farmers of the interior followed Allan Cunningham's tracks, and thus laid the real foundation of the later Queensland. The favourable report by Sturt on the district between the Lower Murray and the Gulf of St. Vincent was entirely responsible for the colonisation of South Australia. The travels of later years did not, with one exception, produce any political results when once the foundation of the new states had been laid. Geographically they are not, for the most part, inferior to the early essays in exploration, and certainly brought more definite information as to the industrial value or worthlessness of the soil than the first rapid journeys.

Laying the Keels of Other States

This applies particularly to the expeditions which took as their object the accurate investigation of the river system of the Darling-Murray, the travels, that is to say, of Major Thomas Livingstone Mitchell, who succeeded in accomplishing his survey after six years of strenuous effort. It also applies to the discovery of the interior of Victoria—"Australia Felix"—by the same traveller, and not less to the enterprises of the brave Edward John Eyre—born 1815, died January, 1902—on the soil of inland South Australia, in the low-lying lake region, and on the terribly barren south coast as far as King George's Sound (1839–1841).

Finally, similar results were achieved by numerous exploring parties in the heart of Western Australia. The majority of these travellers could not bring back very pleasant reports. Apart from Victoria, all accounts of the industrial value of the country were discouraging or absolutely deterrent. The north-east alone formed a striking exception; there, later travels accomplished results which, to some degree, are comparable to those of the first explorers. It was the journeys of Ludwig Leichhardt which can claim this marvellous effect, and Queensland and North Australia are the regions which owe their real discovery and opening up to a German. It is not too much to say that Leichhardt's splendid expedition from Darling Downs to Port Essington (1844-1846) increased the possible area of colonisation by about a million square miles, or one-third of the whole continent. The colonists required only to follow the steps of the explorer in order to come into possession of an almost incalculable expanse of profitable land.

Australia's Debt to a German

A peculiar feature of all Australian exploration before the middle of the nineteenth century was its restriction to the edge of the continent; the centre was not reached. The explanation is found in the novelty of the sphere of work. Until the broad strip of territory along the edge was thoroughly explored in most of its parts, there was no motive to attack the real heart of the country. Even when, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the centre was chosen as a goal, the want of any tangible attraction greatly checked the course of exploration.

TEAM OF OXEN TRANSPORTING GIANT TIMBER

HARVESTING THE PINEAPPLES ON A GREAT FRUIT FARM

STORING THE SUGAR CANE PREPARATORY TO THE CRUSHING

ONE OF AUSTRALIA'S LEADING INDUSTRIES: SHEEP-SHEARING

SCENES FROM THE COUNTRY LIFE OF AUSTRALIA

Photos by Underwood & Underwood, London

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE COLONIES

TASMANIA: THE GARDEN COLONY

OF the six colonies which compose the Commonwealth of Australia, only three—Tasmania, Victoria, and Queensland—are offshoots from New South Wales; South Australia and Western Australia—like New Zealand also—were, on the contrary, founded by direct colonisation from England. Considering the enormous difficulties with which New South Wales had continually to contend, this circumstance is not surprising. In the case of Western Australia, the mere distance from the east coast of the continent was sufficient to restrain enterprise from the eastern side. But South Australia was, in its origin, so hazardous an experiment that the Government in Sydney did well to play the part of an unconcerned spectator. In other respects even there, east of the Great Australian Bight, the question of distance was not devoid of importance. It is, at least, no accident that the three daughter colonies lie in one zone with their mother colony; that Van Diemen's Land, an island comparatively far away from Sydney, was colonised as the first offshoot, to the complete neglect of the neighbouring parts of the mainland; and that even the first steps toward founding Victoria were taken not from Sydney, but from Van Diemen's Land. Seldom has the natural advantage which attaches to the position of an island facing a wide stretch of opposite coast been so clearly shown as here.

Founding the Various Colonies

The first step of the Australian mother colony towards the establishment of independent offshoots was the founding of the penal colony of Van Diemen's Land in the year 1803. The cause of this settlement was primarily the fear of French schemes of annexation, which more than once had given rise to the erection of military posts on the coast of Australia. In the next place, the English Government did not think it advisable to concentrate too large a number of criminals in any one place. A small convict settlement on Norfolk Island had already been founded under the influence of this idea, but had not proved successful. Van Diemen's Land seemed, both in point of size and of remoteness from the continent, a more desirable place than Norfolk Island for the confinement of dangerous criminals. To carry out these intentions, Governor King sent Lieutenant Bowen with a detachment of soldiers and some convicts to Van Diemen's Land in June, 1803. A settlement called Restdown, a name later corrupted into Risdon, was founded on the left shore of the estuary of the Derwent.

About this same time the plan had been formed in England of colonising the shores of the recently discovered Port Phillip on the south-east corner of the mainland. The execution of the plan was entrusted to Colonel Collins, a man who had gone to Port Jackson as a judge in the first convict ship, had been Advocate-General of New South Wales for a long time, and happened then to be in London. The expedition, consisting of two ships with four hundred convicts and the necessary warders, landed on the south side of Port Phillip, near the site of the modern Sorrento. Small excursions into the country soon showed it to be bare and inhospitable, and as Collins also, after prolonged search, found no water, he abandoned the district on January 27th, 1804, in order to take his people over to Van Diemen's Land, a course which Governor King sanctioned at his request. He sailed directly for the estuary of the Derwent, broke up the colony of Bowen there, and founded a new joint settlement on the right bank of the river at the foot of Mount Wellington. He called the place, in honour of Lord Hobart, the Colonial

First Attempt to Colonise Victoria

Minister of the day, Hobart Town, a name abbreviated in 1881 to Hobart. The north of the island was also occupied. Simultaneously with Collins's expedition, and again owing to the fear of a French occupation, Colonel Paterson conducted another troop of convicts from Sydney to Van Diemen's Land, where, on the west shore of Port Dalrymple, Yorktown was immediately founded. Its first inhabitants could not make themselves at home there, and in 1808 they were taken further into the interior and settled in a locality called Launceston, after King's native town in Cornwall.

The occupation of this new field for colonisation from opposite sides had greatly hastened the exploration of the island, and, with it, the knowledge of its economic advantages; but the first steps had been taken without the orders of the Home Government and by no means to its satisfaction. The permanent shortage in provisions, which had shown itself in the early days of colonisation in New South Wales and Norfolk Island, was soon felt in the newly-planted colony. The cause was primarily the strict embargo on the landing of any except convict ships; and next the complete economic dependence on New South Wales. Under ordinary conditions this would not have led to inconvenience; but when, as happened in the year 1806, owing to the great floods of the River Hawkesbury, supplies ran short in the mother colony, the position of all the settlers could not but be the more precarious, since about that time (1807) the number of the inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land was increased by the entire population of Norfolk Island, where settlement had always proved somewhat of a failure. The conditions of life in Van Diemen's Land under these circumstances did not for the moment appear hopeful. For a long time the Government was forced to leave it to every convict to find his own food, clothing, and shelter. Since the flesh of the kangaroo was known to be a suitable article of food, the convicts at once scattered over the whole interior. This was advantageous for the exploration of the country, but not calculated to produce law and order among the colonists, and still less to maintain good relations with the aborigines.

GOVERNOR DAVEY'S PROCLAMATION

This pictorial proclamation was intended to teach the natives that British justice is even-handed, and that punishment would follow bad treatment of the natives on the part of white men as well as criminal acts on the part of the natives themselves.

The mutual relations of the whites gave rise to many difficulties. To many a convict who had been given leave for a kangaroo hunt, but especially to the numerous prisoners who had escaped from the gaols, it did not occur to return from their rovings in the interior to the yoke of servitude. They soon acquired a taste for the free life of the bush, formed themselves into bands, which lived by plundering the white settlers, and with this comfortable vocation, which was disastrous to the prosperity of the colony, laid the foundation for that wild bushranging which up to 1830 was such a curse to Van Diemen's Land, and spread later to the mainland. The energetic Governor Arthur at last succeeded, by a rapid campaign, in checking the evil—for a time at least (1825-1826). Twenty years later, under Governor Wilmot, it revived with much greater force.

Considering all the misery which the bushrangers brought upon the island, it

was fortunate that the outrages by which they thoroughly intimidated the settlers were confined mostly to the interior; the south and north coasts remained, on the whole, free from such calamities, and were therefore able to develop steadily though slowly. Collins himself, who died at Hobart Town in 1810, did not live to see much of this progress. He had laid the foundations for it when he began, in 1807, to construct the marvellous road from Launceston to Hobart Town, but, under the prevailing conditions, it had not lain in his power to develop it farther. Lieutenant-Colonel Davey, his successor, arrived at Hobart Town only at the beginning of 1813. In the interval, Governor Macquarie had paid his first visit (November, 1811), which was an important event for Van Diemen's Land, since Macquarie with characteristic energy flooded the island with an infinity of new schemes, urged the construction of roads, public buildings, even whole towns, and, what was most essential, succeeded in awakening the public spirit of the better classes.

Enterprise in the New Colony

Now, for the first time, a systematic organisation was noticeable, which soon showed itself in the proclamation of Hobart Town as the capital of the country in the year 1812. Davey's term of office, which lasted until 1817, hardly carried out the extensive plans of Macquarie. Mr. Jenks says of him: "Davey seems to have treated his office more or less as a joke. He was totally without ceremony and would drink and jest with anyone." Bushranging alone was an eyesore to him, and the wish to suppress it finally led him to exercise his office. His first act was to place the whole island under martial law; but besides this he forbade any inhabitant to leave his house at night without permission. If, under this régime, there was any progress at all, it was entirely due to private persons. In 1815 the colony was already in a position to export wheat, and in the following year salted meat, to Sydney. In 1816, the first newspaper was started in Hobart Town. When Davey left, the white population counted quite 3,000 souls, and about 3,000 acres were under cultivation.

LIEUT.-GOVERNOR COLLINS
Who attempted to settle Port Phillip and finally founded Hobart Town.

But there was as yet no cattle breeding or sheep farming. These industries were introduced in the succeeding years. Davey's place was filled by William Sorell, an able man, whose chief concern was not to place free and respectable immigrants among a population composed of convicts; he next turned his attention to the economic development of the island as well as to the suppression of bushranging. He, like Davey, was unable to achieve great results in that field; on the other hand, he had attracted settlers in large masses, thanks to the favourable terms which he offered. Not only did the Government grant free allotments of land, but it also supplied food for six months, lent the entire stock of cattle required at the outset as well as the first seed corn, and, besides this, guaranteed a minimum price for the entire produce in grain and meat. When, in 1821, Governor Macquarie set foot for the second and last time on the soil of Van Diemen's Land after an interval of ten years, the white population amounted to 7,400 souls, who had 14,000 acres under cultivation and 180,000 sheep with 35,000 cattle on their pasturages.

The introduction of systematic sheep farming coincided indeed with Sorell's governorship, but the credit belongs to Colonel Paterson, who induced the experienced sheep breeder, MacArthur, to send him over a shipload of his famous flock. An attempt, made in 1819, to put wool on the English market failed lamentably; in 1822, however, 794 bales were exported and received gladly by the market. At the present time the wool trade has long been one of the most important industries.

First Wool Exports from Tasmania

It is easy to understand that under these circumstances the colonists regretted the departure of the Governor, who was also personally popular. When he was recalled in 1823, the Home Government was actually petitioned to appoint him for a second term.

Sorell's successor, Arthur (1823–1836), did not do so well, in spite of a long

GENERAL VIEW OF HOBART TOWN IN 1860

administration and great services. His personal character was partly to blame for this; partly, also, his stiff official bearing toward the free settlers. Arthur's entrance on office was connected with important changes in the constitutional position of Van Diemen's Land. The rapid growth of the white population during the last few years had made the want of an independent government widely felt. Not only were all questions touching the common interest dependent upon Sydney, but even the matters of daily occurrence were decided there. Even though Macquarie tried to check this evil by conferring larger powers on the Lieutenant-Governor, the position was bound to become intolerable. This view was held in London; the same Act of Parliament, in 1823, which limited the powers of the Governor of New South Wales entirely severed Van Diemen's Land from the parent colony and put it on the same footing as New South Wales.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HOBART

Colonel Arthur was appointed the first Governor. His twelve years' tenure of office was the most eventful in the whole history of Van Diemen's Land. The settlement of the convict question, which met him at the outset, demanded all his energies. Soon after his arrival a band of more than one hundred criminals had escaped from Port Macquarie and pillaged the island. The strengthened military force proved sufficient to check their excesses, and 103 of the culprits were executed by the orders of the Governor. Clemency towards criminals was not a characteristic of Arthur, although he thought his island was intended only for them, an opinion which Macquarie in his day had held about Australia. Arthur regarded the free settlers as a necessary evil. The outcome of this biassed attitude was an unremitting, if not exactly paternal, solicitude for the prisoners. When, in 1832, Macquarie Harbour, on the west coast, had to be given up on account of the excessive density of the population, he established a new settlement at Port Arthur on the south-east, where the prison system was raised to a veritable science.

THE BUSY PORT OF HOBART TO-DAY

The second task of Arthur was the native question. Notwithstanding all the unrest which the struggles with the convicts as well as with the aborigines, produced in the island, they were not serious enough to check the growth of the colony in any sensible degree; there was a surprising increase during Arthur's term of office both in the population and the area of cultivated land. At his arrival the population had amounted to something over 10,000 souls; when he left, in 1836, this total was quadrupled, and the area of cultivation had similarly increased. The number of sheep then reached nearly a million; and the exports, which in 1823 had amounted to approximately 125,000 dollars, had risen to over $2,500,000.

Rapid Growth of Tasmania

In order to open up the industries of the island on a large scale, the Van Diemen's Land Company had been formed in England, which obtained a concession first of 250,000 acres, and then of 100,000 acres more. It exercised an influence on the development of the colony up to quite recent times. For educational purposes there were twenty-nine schools, while religious needs were provided for by eighteen churches. Peace was at last concluded between the Government and the newspaper Press, with which Arthur for years had waged as bitter a war as Sir Ralph Darling in Australia; after 1828 complete freedom of the Press prevailed. On the whole, Arthur and the colony could be satisfied with the results.

The subsequent fortunes of Van Diemen's Land up to the beginning of the second period in Australian development, which began in the same way and about the same time for all the Colonies, can be given in a few lines. Arthur's successor was Sir John Franklin (1836–1843), who had already gained renown by his exploration of the North Polar regions. Fitted by his whole disposition for scientific pursuits, he was the less competent to face the numerous difficulties of his responsible position, since the decline of Australian industries began in his time. Yet he too did good service to the island. The organisation of the educational system was entirely his work. He was further the founder of the Tasmanian Society, now known as the Royal Society of Tasmania; he enabled William Jackson Hooker to complete his work on the flora of Tasmania, and finally initiated the study of the geology and natural history of the island by encouraging numerous travellers. His administration was the scientific era in Van Diemen's Land.

A Scientist as Colonial Governor

The brief administration of his successor, Sir Eardley Wilmot (1843–1846) was occupied with the struggle between the colonists and the English Government about the abolition of transportation. Van Diemen's Land had always enjoyed the dubious advantage of being provided with large masses of criminals in proportion to its area. The detrimental effects of penal colonisation in its moral and economic bearings had therefore been most noticeable there, and in 1835 there began a systematic agitation of which the object was to prevent convicts from being landed on the island for the future.

This agitation did not completely stop even in the succeeding years, and when, at the beginning of the 'forties, the prisoners of Moreton Bay were taken across to the island, it immediately flared up again brightly. Fuel was added to the flames when, under Wilmot's government, 2,000 prisoners were brought over from Norfolk Island, which after 1825 had once more become a penal settlement, and when it was seen that new batches were constantly arriving from England. Up to 1844 the number of criminals sent to Van Diemen's Land amounted to 40,000. The most worthless of these were the Norfolk Islanders, many of whom escaped to the bush, where they combined in marauding gangs of from 100 to 500 men, and waged guerilla warfare on everyone. They burnt the houses, killed the inhabitants, drove away the cattle, and revived the worst features of the old bushranging. This was the climax. The agitation against the system of penal colonisation became general. A great league against it was founded, and in the government of Sir William Denison, who had succeeded Wilmot in 1846, after several years of effort, transportation to Van Diemen's Land was finally abolished in 1853. This reform was accompanied by a change in the name of the colony, which has since then been known as Tasmania.

Suppression of Penal Colonisation

VICTORIA AND QUEENSLAND

DAUGHTER STATES OF NEW SOUTH WALES

"THE colony of Victoria might, with some justice, be spoken of as a granddaughter rather than a daughter of New South Wales," says Mr. Jenks. It was finally founded by settlers from Van Diemen's Land; it was purely Australian only in the period before it was definitely colonised. This begins with the attempt of Colonel Collins, which we have already noticed, to establish a penal settlement on the shores of Port Phillip in 1803. The plan failed, with the result that no one for more than twenty years troubled about a country which was considered "unproductive and unpromising." In 1825 the attempt was renewed, in consequence of the favourable reports of Hume and Hovell, and also with the object of forestalling the French. The penal station of Dumaresq was founded on Westernport, which was mistaken for Port Phillip; no water, however, could be found, and the settlement was discontinued in 1828.

This concludes the preliminary stage in the history of the colony. The real founding of Port Phillip, as modern Victoria was called until 1851, was due to private enterprise. The few fishermen and sailors who in the first half of the nineteenth century led a half-savage existence on the eastern parts of the south coast of Australia, were joined in 1834 by a family named Henty, which settled in Portland Bay. The members of it had already taken part in the unlucky enterprise in Western Australia, had afterwards hoped to find free land in Van Diemen's Land, and now, since they were at the end of their resources, ventured on a bold plunge into the unknown. The special permission to settle for which they applied was at first refused by the authorities, but subsequently granted, in consideration of the dreaded encroachment of the French. Henty's success prompted further enterprise, which was once more directed toward Port Phillip. The leader of this attempt was John Batman, a wealthy sheep farmer of Van Diemen's Land. He started in May, 1835, with several companions for the south coast of Australia, inspected the country, and "bought," on June 6th, 1835, for a couple of dozen axes, knives, and scissors, some blankets, 30 mirrors, and 200 handkerchiefs, with the stipulation of a yearly payment of about one thousand dollars in goods, two enormous territories extending over a total area of more than six hundred thousand acres. The consequence was the founding of an association of various settlers of Van Diemen's Land, the Port Phillip Association, and the planting of the first settlement in Geelong. The contract of sale was sent to England; the Government naturally termed it worthless. If the country was English, the natives had no right to alienate the land without the Governor's sanction; if it was not English, the association had no claim on the protection of England. The association, realising in the end that it had no case, was content with 20,000 acres, worth then some $37,500. In 1836 it was dissolved. In England there was at first little inclination to allow a new colony to be founded. Circumstances were, however, stronger than the will of the Government. Even on August 26th, 1835, Governor Bourke of New South Wales had prohibited the occupation of land round Port Phillip without his permission; but only a year later, in September, 1836, he and the English Government saw

THOMAS HENTY
The Founder of Victoria

MELBOURNE IN 1837

themselves compelled by an unexpectedly large influx of immigrants to open the country to colonisation.

After this concession, development was rapid. The administration had in 1835 started with a single Government official, a Captain Lonsdale. In the following year it was enlarged by a regular police force, with whom three land surveyors were associated. In 1837 Sir Robert Bourke himself laid the foundation of Melbourne and Williamstown, and in 1842 the former received a municipal government. In June, 1836, there were calculated to be 177 colonists with 26,000 sheep; two years later both figures were tripled or quadrupled. At the same time the exports of the young colony amounted to 60,000 dollars, while the imports reached $575,000. As in New South Wales, the Crown lands were sold by public auction, except for the period 1840–1842, when the plan of allotment at a fixed price was tried.

Owing to the strong tide of immigration, by the end of 1841 no fewer than 205,748 acres had been transferred to fixed proprietors, and in return $1,971,500 had been paid to the land fund, from which source the expenses of government were defrayed. This large sum illustrates the superabundance of money in the country at the time. Owing to the scarcity of workmen, wages of 2½ dollars a day and upward were not considered high. An ox cost from $60 to $75, a horse $500 or more, a sheep up to $15.

The inevitable reaction followed. The over-production of corn and cattle, which very soon appeared, led in every department to a collapse of prices, ending in a regular bankruptcy. Wages rapidly sank; the price of an ox was hardly a twentieth part of what it had fetched in the past, and hundreds of businesses suspended payment. The crisis was violent but short; it was ended by the middle of the "forties." Since that time, apart from the gold fever, which set in a little later, and the declaration of the independence of the colony, no event of great importance has disturbed the development of Port Phillip. It made continuous but rapid progress. In 1840 Melbourne was declared a free port; in 1843 the trade of the colony amounted to $1,705,000; in 1848 it had reached $5,245,000. The proceeds of the sales of land increased in proportion. Of the $1,250,000 which composed the whole revenue of the colony in the year 1850, more than half came from that source alone. The outgoings were 30 per cent. less than the incomings.

It is pleasant to record that good relations existed from the first between the colonists and natives. This is partly

THE GOLDFIELDS OF BALLARAT IN 1860

General View of Bendigo

Sandhurst, now included in Bendigo

Market Square, Castlemaine

The Centre of Ballarat

The Approach to Melbourne

The Government Offices, Melbourne

THE BEGINNINGS OF VICTORIA'S THRIVING TOWNS HALF A CENTURY AGO

traceable to the sensible behaviour of the early settlers; it is partly due to the services of William Buckley, whose romantic adventures are well known. He had been a convict, and had escaped from Collins's expedition in 1804. He then lived thirty-two years among the natives, and now was the mediator between the two races. We hear of hardly any outrages, fights with the blacks, or similar occurrences, in the history of Port Phillip. The settlers could extend their sheep runs farther and farther into the interior without molestation. In 1849 Port Phillip owned more than a million sheep; the export of wool amounted to nearly 13,000,000 lb.

This splendid growth brought up as early as 1842 the question of the political severance of the colony from New South Wales. Nevertheless, a whole series of representations to the English Government on the subject produced no effect. The colonists then, in July, 1848, resolved on a step as bold as it was original. Six representatives should have been elected to the Legislative Council which sat at Sydney. The candidates were requested to withdraw their applications, and the English Secretary of State for the Colonies, Earl Grey, was chosen as their solitary representative. The scheme was, of course, apparent. At the subsequent election in October the Government insisted on the nomination of proper deputies. But the object of the colonists was so far attained that the separation of the two colonies was now seriously considered in England. The Board of Trade took up the question, the Ministry gave way, and in the Constitution Act of 1850 the settlement, numbering 77,000 souls, was raised to an independent colony under the name of Victoria. The news of this decision reached Melbourne in November, 1850; but it was not until July 1st, 1851, that the new order of things came into force.

QUEENSLAND

The expedition which had been made by Oxley along the east coast north of Sydney had prompted several attempts at colonisation. Settlements had been founded at Port Essington, on Melville Island, and at other points, but no results had been obtained. When, a little later, the maintenance of the convicts in Van Diemen's Land began to cause difficulties, the expedient of founding a penal station on Moreton Bay was adopted. This lasted until 1840, and has, under the name of Brisbane, remained to the present day the seat of government of the later Queensland. But it must not be regarded as the true nucleus of the colony. In the first place, the presence of the penal station deterred all free settlers from going there; and next, the land in its

EARLY PIONEERS ON THE BUSH TRACK IN QUEENSLAND

AN EPISODE OF EARLY COLONIAL LIFE IN QUEENSLAND

Native police under English officer preparing for an engagement with the blacks

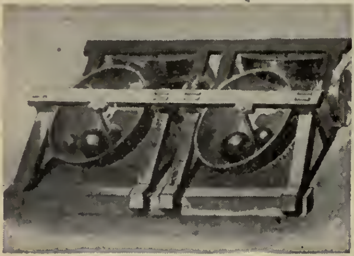
neighbourhood was not offered for sale. Queensland thus, at least for its first beginnings, showed a unique development from the standpoint of political geography. It developed from the interior toward the coast.

Queensland's real origin is traceable to the squatters who followed the track of Allan Cunningham from New South Wales to the north. They continually drove their flocks on further from the Liverpool Plains to the New England district and the Darling Downs. These districts were even then the best pasture grounds in the world, but suffered much from want of access to the sea, since owing to the intervening chain of mountains the long détour by New South Wales had to be taken before the value of the products could be realised. Even the discovery of a difficult mountain path to Moreton Bay was of no use, since the authorities absolutely prohibited the squatters from any communications with the place. A change was first made in 1859 after the abolition of the penal station. Practicable roads were now constructed over the mountains, public sale of land was introduced in 1842, and the fresh stream of immigration was diverted into the newly opened districts. Yet there was not at once a marked development; good land was abundant, but the labour was not forthcoming. In nine years less than 2,500 acres had been disposed of.

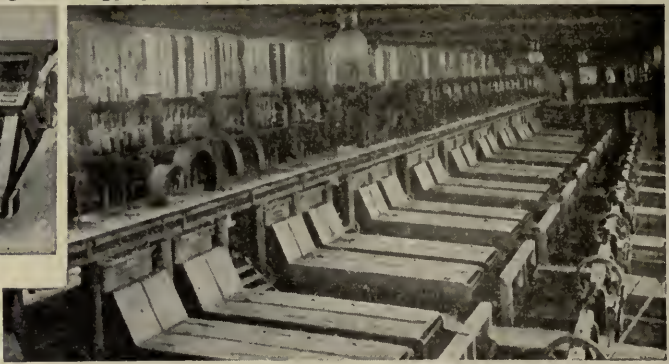
Efforts were soon made to obtain political separation from New South Wales. The request was granted in 1859; the north-east corner of Australia was proclaimed an independent colony under the name of Queensland.

The aspect of Queensland at the moment when it received independence was essentially different from that of the other Australian colonies at the same stage in their career. The entire white population amounted in 1859 to only 30,000 souls, who were equally distributed between the town and the country. There were some twenty towns, of which Brisbane then contained 4,000 inhabitants, while others of them boasted only of some hundreds. The so-called town of Allora had only fifty-five inhabitants. These settlements were mere villages, not only from the small number of their inhabitants, but in their essential nature; they did not show a trace of organised municipal government. The greater credit is thus due to the certainty and rapidity with which all the authorities adapted themselves to the new conditions suddenly burst upon them. The example of Queensland proves the high capacity of the Anglo-Saxon to adapt himself to any form of polity, for the Queenslanders entered upon self-government without any such preliminary training as all the other Australian colonies had enjoyed in their gradual process of development.

Travelling to the diggings in the days of the gold "rush."



An old quartz crusher.



Scientific mining: Battery of 105 stampers at Bendigo.

A Ballarat gold-mine to-day.

Diggers engaged in surface mining.

In the old days: Military escort accompanying the transport of gold from the mines.

SCENES IN THE LAND OF GOLD: OLD METHODS AND NEW

Photos Underwood & Underwood, London

WESTERN AUSTRALIA: THE YOUNGEST STATE

WESTERN Australia was founded directly from England. It is true that a number of convicts had been sent in 1826 from Sydney to the west coast of the continent in order to counteract any French schemes; but the establishment of the stations of Albany and Rockingham can hardly be termed a colonisation in the proper sense of the word. The first real settlement was in 1829. In the previous year a Captain Stirling had published a glowing account of the district at the mouth of the Swan River, which induced the Government to order Captain Fremantle to hoist the English flag there. But further measures of the Government failed from want of means.

The moving spirit of the private enterprise which first started the colonisation was Thomas Peel. In combination with others he offered to send in the course of four years 10,000 free emigrants to the Swan River on condition that, in return for the cost, which he estimated at $1,500,000, an area of 4,000,000 acres should be assigned to him. When the Government did not accept this offer, Peel considerably reduced the scale of his scheme, and this time was successful. Under the guidance of Captain Stirling, destined to be the Governor of the new colony, to whom 100,000 acres of land had been promised, the first band of emigrants sailed from England in the spring of 1829, arrived in June on the Swan River, and founded at its mouth the town of Fremantle, and higher up stream the town of Perth. In the course of the next year and a half thirty-nine emigrant ships, with 1,125 colonists, attracted by eulogistic descriptions, followed the first party to Western Australia. Fortune did not smile on the attempt; there was land enough and to spare, but there was a lack of working men, of roads, and of markets.

Private Scheme of Settlement

Peel's plan had been to cultivate tobacco and cotton, sugar and flax, to breed horses for India, and by fattening oxen and swine, to provide the English fleet with salted meat. All this came to nothing; the colonists themselves had hardly enough to eat, and the larger their landed property the greater their helplessness and distress. Many settlers, and among them the Henty family, left the ungrateful soil of the colony; others lost all they possessed; Peel himself, who had settled with 200 colonists, is said to have lost $250,000. The founders had, from the very beginning, never given a thought to the support of the new-comers, nor had anyone troubled about dividing the land even roughly, to say nothing of a proper survey. It was nothing unusual for the settlers to lie for months after their arrival shelterless on the shore, exposed without protection to the scorching Australian sun, to sandstorms, and to violent downpours of rain. Thus much of the labour that had been expended on the soil was wasted, while the health of the people suffered. If they were finally in a position to occupy the tract assigned to them, difficulties of another sort began.

Hardships of Early Settlers

From the very first hour the relations between the settlers and the aborigines were most hostile; and the aid of a troop of mounted police was required for the protection of the former. Under these circumstances there could be no idea of progress in the sense in which it can be recorded of the majority of other Australian colonies in their early days. Everything went on very slowly, especially as immigration, after the first wave, absolutely came to a standstill. The few settlers left in the land certainly did their utmost; they most energetically set about breeding sheep and horses, laid the foundation of some other towns, and settled King George's Sound. Development in the first six years did not go beyond this; of 1,600,000 acres distributed to the colonists as such, in 1834, only 564 acres were under cultivation.

Slow Progress of the New Colony

Some stimulus was given to development by the Western Australian Association,

founded by Major Irwin in 1835, which was intended to encourage emigration to Western Australia and safeguard its interests in other countries. Among its members, besides English gentlemen, were included some residents of Calcutta, who contemplated the establishment of a health resort as well as a trading settlement. The company benefited the colony in many ways; but in spite of all agitation it could not alter the slow course of the economic growth. In 1840 the population had amounted to only 2,300 souls; two years before, the colonists had received the privilege of sending four members to the Legislative Council.

Development by Capital Enterprise

The year 1841 saw the formation of some large undertakings to exploit Western Australia. One was a limited company, founded by the Western Australian Association with the object of buying up cheaply the land once assigned to Captain Stirling, and then disposing of it in small lots. Five dollars were to be paid down for each acre. This plan never came into execution. The other undertakings of the same Western Australian Association promised greater success. At the suggestion of the traveller, George Grey, of whom we shall hear more, a settlement, which received the name of Australind, was founded in the Leschenault district on the north coast of Geographe Bay, some hundred miles south of Perth. It was flourishing splendidly when the company broke up; the small town still exists.

The want of labourers, which became more urgent from year to year, drove the colony to follow the example of Queensland. In 1845 the Council seriously contemplated inviting German settlers, under the impression that the harsh treatment of German immigrants in the United States would make it easy to divert the stream. At the same time the advisability of admitting pauper immigrants was considered. The most momentous resolution, however, was the introduction of transportation. According to a resolution of the Council of 1846, a certain number of convicts, whose passage was to be provided at the cost of the mother country, were to be admitted annually, in order to be employed on road-making and other public works. The English Government accepted the proposal only too willingly. While it did nothing at all to help the execution of the two other schemes, it lost no time in disembarking shipload after shipload of convicts on the welcome new transportation territory, as Western Australia was officially declared to be on May 1st, 1849. After 1850 "ticket-of-leave" men were sent out, and allowed freedom of movement within the colony, subject to the obligation of periodically reporting themselves to the police.

Convict Settlers Admitted

In contrast to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, the Colony of Western Australia was greatly assisted by the introduction of penal colonisation. By April, 1852, there were 1,500 transportees in the country, half of whom were ticket-of-leave men. This number implied a large staff of officials, and a stronger military force; it also necessitated the construction of large buildings, for which the sum of $430,000 was granted by England alone. Thus money and life were brought into the colony. The old colonists took heart again, a new stream of free settlers flowed in, more and more land was bought and cultivated, and the land fund grew in an encouraging fashion. Coal-fields were also discovered, guano beds were exploited, and sandalwood exported; the Madras Cavalry began to obtain their remounts from Western Australia, and a pearl fishery was started in Shark Bay. Under these circumstances it is not wonderful that the white population, which had only amounted to 5,000 in 1850, was now trebled. The number of sheep and cattle, as well as the volume of trade, showed a corresponding increase.

Colony Saved by Convicts

There was, however, a dark side to this bright picture. In spite of the increase in sales of land, the incomings did not cover the expenditure. In order to make good this deficit, an arrangement had been made by which the ticket-of-leave men should be able to buy their liberty at a price varying from $35 to $125, according to the length of their sentence. But in spite of the extensive use which the transportees, who in Western Australia belonged exclusively to the male sex, made of this privilege, the measure was ineffectual; the colony was more than ever dependent on liberal subsidies from the mother country. This had an important effect on political development, since this financial dependence, in

THE IMPORTANT MANUFACTURING TOWN OF FREMANTLE

MUNDARING WEIR ON THE GREAT WATER SYSTEM OF COOLGARDIE

GENERAL VIEW OF PERTH, THE CAPITAL OF THE COLONY

SCENES IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA TO-DAY

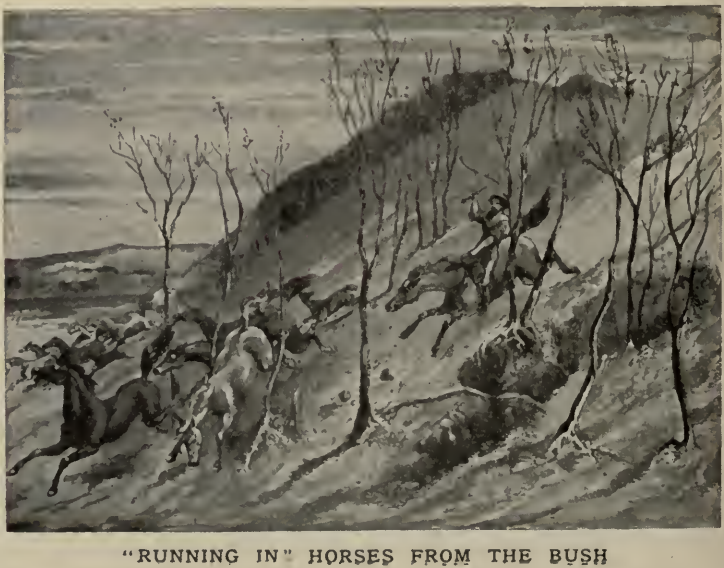
Photos Greenham & Evans, Perth

MUSTERING CATTLE ON AN AUSTRALIAN STATION

connection with the transportation which suited England, was the chief reason why Western Australia was absolutely ignored when a responsible government was granted to the other colonies. A third reason was the composition of the inhabitants and their stage of civilisation in 1850. Even in 1859, 41 per cent. of the male population were actual or former convicts, and in most localities these convicts outnumbered the free colonists. The number of illiterate persons, excluding the actual convicts, reached 37½ per cent. It was absolutely impossible to place a community so constituted on an independent footing.

Western Australia was long in making up for its original inferiority to the sister colonies. It lost, however, its character of a penal colony quicker than was acceptable to the free and the emancipated colonists, who were spoilt by the cheap price of labour and the sums of money spent by the mother country on transportation. The continuous influx of escaped criminals soon caused bad blood in the adjoining colonies, as well as the circumstance that many convicts from Western Australia, on serving their sentence, turned their steps toward the east. In 1864, Victoria raised a violent protest against the continuance of penal colonisation in the far west of the continent, and demanded measures of repression. Finally, in 1868, the English Government struck Western Australia out of the list of penal colonies, after it had received in all 9,718 transportees. The complete ruin of the colony, which the colonists who had been enriched by convict labour prophesied, did not occur.

It is only recently that it has been able to meet its outgoings from its own resources, and not until 1890 did it receive self-government and attain the same footing as the other colonies. But the discovery and working of large goldfields in the interior guarantee to it, however, perhaps the most successful course of any of the Australian colonies.



"RUNNING IN" HORSES FROM THE BUSH

SOUTH AUSTRALIA IN DEVELOPMENT

THE founding of South Australia, which, like Western Australia, was colonised from England, was really due to the favourable accounts brought back by the explorer Sturt as to the country seen by him at the mouth of the Murray, and to the report of Captain Collet Barker, who was entrusted with the exploration of the Gulf of St. Vincent. In consequence of this, the South Australian Land Company, which included, besides a number of members of Parliament, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, was formed in London in 1831. Wakefield had learned from personal experience the defects of English prison life; he saw the only remedy in a systematically conducted removal of the superfluous English population, which, in his opinion, plunged the masses into distress and misery and assisted crime, to new scenes, such, for example, as South Australia, just then coming into notice. According to his plan, large uncultivated tracts of land should be assigned to a colonisation company provided with sufficient means, on the understanding that it founded settled communities. The company was to indemnify itself for all initial expenditure by the sale of land at fixed prices; the profits above that were to be applied to the cost of bringing over English workmen to the colony. This idea of an emigration fund raised by sales of land originated with Wakefield, and was the essential feature of his system. It is discussed and warmly praised by Mill in the last chapter of his "Political Economy." In every colony there were to be neither more nor less hands available than required.

A Scheme of Emigration Praised by Mill

The Government at first took up almost the same attitude toward Wakefield's plans and the proposals of the South Australian Land Company as toward the founders of Port Phillip. There was a reluctance to sap existing settlements by establishing new ones; and, further, it seemed impolitic to confer legislative rights on a private company. On the other hand, the influence of the Wakefield family was strong, and possibly this new system might prove more lasting than those previously adopted. The Government therefore, in 1834, resolved to make an attempt on the lines of Wakefield's plan. The means for the undertaking were to be furnished by the company. The direction of land sales and emigration was placed in the hands of three commissioners in London; in the colony itself the Government reserved the right to nominate a Governor and some other officials, while the rest were to be nominated by the company. It was definitely promised that no convicts should be transported from the United Kingdom to the colony. The first three ships sailed from England in February, 1836. Two landed in July on Kangaroo Island, where the passengers immediately began to establish themselves on Nepean Bay; the third ship, which did not arrive until August, sailed to the coast of the mainland and the banks of the River Torrens. The choice of this landing-place by Colonel Light seemed to most of the new-comers as unsuitable as the choice by them of Nepean Bay appeared to him. In the next year, the votes of the colonists were finally given in favour of the spot chosen by Light; and the building of a town, which, at the wish of King William IV., was called Adelaide, after his consort, was at once begun.

Emigration and Sales of Land

The development of the young colony shows a bright and a gloomy side. The existence of two sets of officials, and the numerous restrictions which were imposed on the officials of the company, soon led to such friction that the majority of both parties had to be recalled. These measures exercised little influence on the purely economic development. In 1837 alone more than 60,000 acres of land were sold, from which $215,755 accrued to the company. Up to the middle of 1839 a quarter of a million acres had been sold, bringing

Friction in the Early Settlement

in $1,150,000. In 1840 there were 10,000 settlers, who owned 200,000 sheep and 15,000 head of cattle.

The rapid and brilliant rise of South Australia, like that of Victoria, was followed by a great financial crash. The frenzy for speculation in land had grown to a prodigious extent; and, although wages reached a giddy height (skilled workmen earned up to over twelve dollars a day), the profits to be made by speculation proved a greater attraction and distracted many from industrial enterprise. In addition to this, the second Governor of the colony, Colonel Gawler, allowed himself to be led into constructing large public buildings and parks, although the mother country had expressly refused to bind herself to any contributions. The colony had very soon to deal with a debt of $2,025,000. The South Australian Company was equally to blame with Colonel Gawler for this turn of affairs. The head of the company, Angas, had also speculated in a manner quite contrary to the objects which Wakefield had in vew. He invested half the company's capital in land, engaged in whale fishery, trading, and banking, and induced the colonists, by guaranteeing them an excessively high interest on deposits, to entrust him with their cash. The commissioners also did not rightly understand their duties. The price which had been fixed for land before the founding of the colony was $5 an acre; huge tracts had been disposed of at that figure. But instead of raising the price, they took the astonishing step of reducing it to three dollars.

Speculation and its Results

Some improvement of the situation was finally effected by the appointment of George Grey to guide the colony. His name will always be conspicuous in the history of the British colonies, but it is also famous in the field of ethnography. On his return from his two journeys through Western Australia in 1837 to 1839 he had prepared a memorandum, showing the methods by which the British possessions in the South Seas and in South Africa should be administered. When South Australia declared itself bankrupt in 1841 the opportunity was offered him of putting his theory into practice. By his appointment to be Governor in Adelaide the administration of the Colonies practically was transferred to the English Government.

Grey found a heavy task awaiting him. The treasury was empty; a host of officials had eaten up the revenue of the colony, and the burden of debt was crushing, notwithstanding that some of the bills drawn by Gawler upon the Home Government, which had been dishonoured on presentation, were ultimately paid by the British Parliament. Grey's first step was to discontinue all building not imperatively urgent, to dismiss superfluous officials, and to lower the salaries of the rest. An improvement was soon apparent. In 1841, out of 299,077 acres sold, only 2,503 had been under cultivation; at the end of 1842 there were more than 20,000 cultivated, and that with an increase in the population from 14,600 to 17,000 souls. Unfortunately for the colony, the mother country was not willing to take over the rest of the old burden of debt. Grey was neither able nor willing simply to break with the existing financial methods; he issued bills drawn on the Home Government, but only a small part of them were paid. This caused ill-feeling in South Australia, where the financial crisis reached its height in 1843. Meanwhile the situation grew more tolerable as rich veins of copper were discovered and worked. From that time South Australia has developed regularly with a few trifling fluctuations, easily explicable from the youth of the undertaking. The population amounted in 1848 to 38,600 whites, against 3,700 natives; the trade, in 1839 only $2,135,000, reached in 1849

The Task of a great Pro-Consul

VIEW OF ADELAIDE IN 1860

Photos. Edwards and Exclusive News Agency.

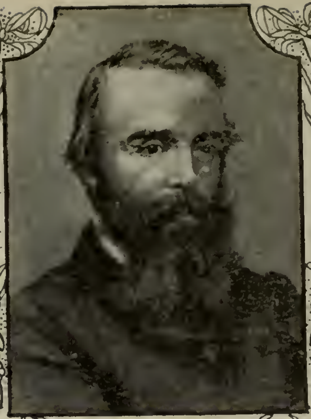
PRESENT-DAY SCENES IN ADELAIDE, THE CAPITAL OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA

1. Parliament House; 2. Town Hall; 3. University; 4. The principal street.

the sum of $4,440,006, of which $2,520,000 came from exports.

The term of office of George Grey, so fraught with blessing for South Australia, ended in 1845—it was his fortune always to be placed in a position where a keen sight and a tight grip were necessary—for he was then removed to New Zealand. The history of his unimportant successors is featureless except for the efforts of the colonists to win political self-government. When the colony was founded, the English Government had intended to give it a constitution as soon as the number of inhabitants reached 50,000. In 1842, when the system of commissioners was abolished, a council of eight members, four of whom were officials and four colonists selected by the Governor, was placed under the Governor. In spite of the growing prosperity of South Australia, some years had yet to elapse before the Home Government would make any further concession, although the interests of the colonists were insufficiently represented by the new institution. It then happened that in 1849 the population, contrary to expectation, amounted to 52,000. The Government kept faith, and in 1850 South Australia became a recognised colony. On August 20th, 1851, a council of twenty-four members met for the first time; of these, two-thirds were elected by the colonists, eight—but of these only four might be officials—were nominated by the Governor.

Matthew Flinders



Robert O'Hara Burke

Sir Thomas Mitchell

The Burial of Burke

Egerton Warburton

William John Wills

Charles Sturt

SOME OF THE LEADING EXPLORERS OF THE AUSTRALIAN CONTINENT

Flinders circumnavigated Australia in 1801 and charted much of the north coast. Burke and Wills were the first to cross the continent from south to north, but died of starvation on their way back (1860). Sir Thomas Mitchell, in the thirties, made four expeditions into the interior, and his labours were extremely valuable. Warburton crossed to Western Australia from the east: Sturt was another of the chief explorers, and explored South Australia and the interior in 1845.

THE MODERN DEVELOPMENT OF AUSTRALIA

AND THE BIRTH OF THE COMMONWEALTH

THE favourable and rapid development of the younger Australian Colonies in the second half of the "forties" had fostered, among those English statesmen who were interested in the colonies, the idea that the same measure of self-government should be granted them that New South Wales had enjoyed since 1842. Van Diemen's Land and Port Phillip, which were in a position to meet their outgoings entirely from their own resources, had the foremost claim to the independent control of their revenues; but South Australia also was rapidly approaching this same consummation. Western Australia alone lagged behind.

In 1847 these ideas took some tangible shape. Earl Grey, then Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, openly expressed to the Governor of New South Wales his intention of granting to the young colonies the constitution of 1842; in fact, he wished to take a further step, and to establish in all Australian Colonies, by the side of the Legislative Council, an Upper House, whose members should be drawn from the town communities. Since a vigorous protest against the last two heads of the plan was raised in Australia, he abandoned them, but put the matter before the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations. As the result of their deliberations the committee recommended the introduction of a constitution, modelled on that of New South Wales, for Van Diemen's Land, South Australia, and Port Phillip, and the last-named was to be separated from New South Wales.

Proposals for New Constitutions

The elaboration of details was to be entrusted to the various parliaments; but the committee expressed their expectation that the Customs duties and Excise would at first require to be administered by the British Parliament. At the same time the committee advised the introduction of a uniform tariff for all the colonies. The Bill, which was drafted in accordance with the suggestions of the committee, became law on August 5th, 1850, under the title, "An Act for the Better Government of Her Majesty's Australian Colonies." Van Diemen's Land, South Australia, and Victoria—hitherto Port Phillip—received the constitution recommended by the committee. Western Australia had the prospect of obtaining it so soon as it was able to defray the cost of its civil administration. Every proprietor of land of the value of $500 who was at least twenty-one years of age, had the franchise, as had everyone who occupied a house or rented a farm at the annual value of $50 The customs and excise were settled on the understanding that the colonial Governments decided their amount; but no differential duties were to be imposed. At the same time goods intended for the use of English troops were not dutiable, and existing commercial contracts were not to be prejudiced.

Uniform Fiscal Policy

With the Act of August 5th, 1850, the chief step toward the alteration of the constitution of the Australian Colonies was taken; but it did not signify any final settlement. It is true that the receipts from the customs were guaranteed to the colonies, but they were still collected by officials nominated from England. Again, the profits from the sale of the Crown lands were not entirely at the disposal of the Australians, since half was applied by the mother country to the encouragement of emigration. Finally, the nomination of the higher officials

rested completely with the Home Government. A general agitation against the retention of these powers was raised directly after the introduction of the new constitution. Absolute self-government, without any restrictions, was demanded, and the English Government did not delay to concede this clamorous demand. In April, 1851, the entire management of the Customs was put into the hands of the colonies; the following year the application of the proceeds of the digger's licences was entrusted to them, and at the same time it was left to their discretion to bring before the English Government their further wishes as to the completion of the constitution. At the end of 1854, the colonies submitted their propositions to the Government. Those of South Australia and Tasmania received the Royal assent at once, while those of Victoria and New South Wales were reserved to be confirmed by Act of Parliament, on the ground that they involved concessions which the Crown by itself was powerless to make. The confirmation of Parliament was granted, after some slight amendments had been made, in the year 1855.

Government without Restrictions

The contents of the new constitutions may be briefly recapitulated as follows. The most essential innovation, which was common to all four colonies, was the transition from the single-chamber system to the dual-chamber system. By the side of the former Legislative Council, which was thenceforth the First Chamber, or Upper House, came in each case an Assembly, or Lower House. In New South Wales the former consisted of twenty-one members nominated by the Crown for life, while the Lower House, according to the scheme, numbered fifty-four representatives, who were chosen from the well-to-do classes of electors possessing a certain income. At the present day the number of members of the Upper House is unlimited, while that of the Lower House amounts to ninety; these are elected for three years. The Council of Victoria comprised, after the law of 1855, thirty members—at the present day forty-eight; the Assembly, seventy-five (now ninety-five). Both Houses are elective in this colony. The members hold office for six and three years. In South Australia the Council, nominated by the Crown, consisted of twelve; the Assembly, elected by votes, comprised thirty-six members; but in 1856 voting was introduced for the Upper House also, and the number of its members was fixed at eighteen. The number in the Upper

Details of the New Constitutions

IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE GOLD RUSH: A BUSY SCENE AT BENDIGO

GOLD-SEEKERS: THE PIONEERS WHO HAVE FOUNDED SO MANY AUSTRALIAN COMMUNITIES

House was raised later to twenty-four, sitting for twelve years, and in the Lower House to fifty-four members, elected for three years, who were well paid. In 1902, however, the number of representatives was lowered to eighteen and forty-two. In Tasmania, finally, the Council has always numbered eighteen, and the Assembly thirty-seven representatives, who are all elected.

In each colony there is a Governor, nominated by the Crown, but paid by the colony. The usual term of office is six years. The position of the Governor with regard to the legislature and the Cabinet is that of a constitutional sovereign. But his power is also limited by the instructions which he receives from the Colonial Office. His assent is necessary to all Colonial Legislation; but a Bill which has received his assent, though it is then provisionally enforced as law, may be disallowed by the Colonial Office. It would not be possible to discuss within the limits of our space the question as to the real influence which the Governor exercises in virtue of these legal powers. Indeed, his influence, which in the case of a man of strong character may be very great, is, like that of the King, rather personal and extra-legal.

Powers of the Governors

The highest executive officials are the Ministers, whose number varies from six in Tasmania to nine in New South Wales.

The New Colony of Queensland

The grant of full self-government to the Australian Colonies in the middle of the nineteenth century, and the separation of Victoria as an independent colony from New South Wales, did not complete the organisation and the external enlargement of this Colonial system. Since gold had been found in large quantities in the district of Moreton Bay, in 1858, at the petition of the inhabitants this also was separated from New South Wales, and, under the name of Queensland, was provided with the same self-government as the elder sister colonies. The Legislative Council contains forty-one members nominated by the Crown, the Assembly seventy-two members elected for three years. Seven Ministers are associated with the Governor, who is nominated by the Crown.

The growth of Queensland has been as steady as that of most of the other colonies. The year 1866 brought drought and great mortality among the cattle, involving the ruin of many businesses and private

individuals; the financial crisis also, at the beginning of the "nineties" struck the colony with great force. But in spite of these blows the population has grown comparatively rapidly and prosperity has increased. The number of inhabitants, which in 1861 hardly amounted to 35,000, had reached 147,000 in 1873; on January 1, 1913, it amounted to 636,425 souls. This growth, which is due principally to large immigration, has been much helped by the policy of subsidising the immigrants, adopted since 1871. The rich gold-fields, of which some twenty-five are being worked at the present day, attracted large multitudes. The immense size of Queensland, stretching through eighteen degrees of latitude, and the consequent variety of industries—in the sparsely-peopled north all the tropical products are grown, while in the densely-inhabited south the crops of the temperate zone are cultivated—led some years ago to the idea of its division into two provinces with separate governments, but a common central administration. The twenty-first degree of southern latitude was suggested as the boundary line.

Queensland's Material Prosperity

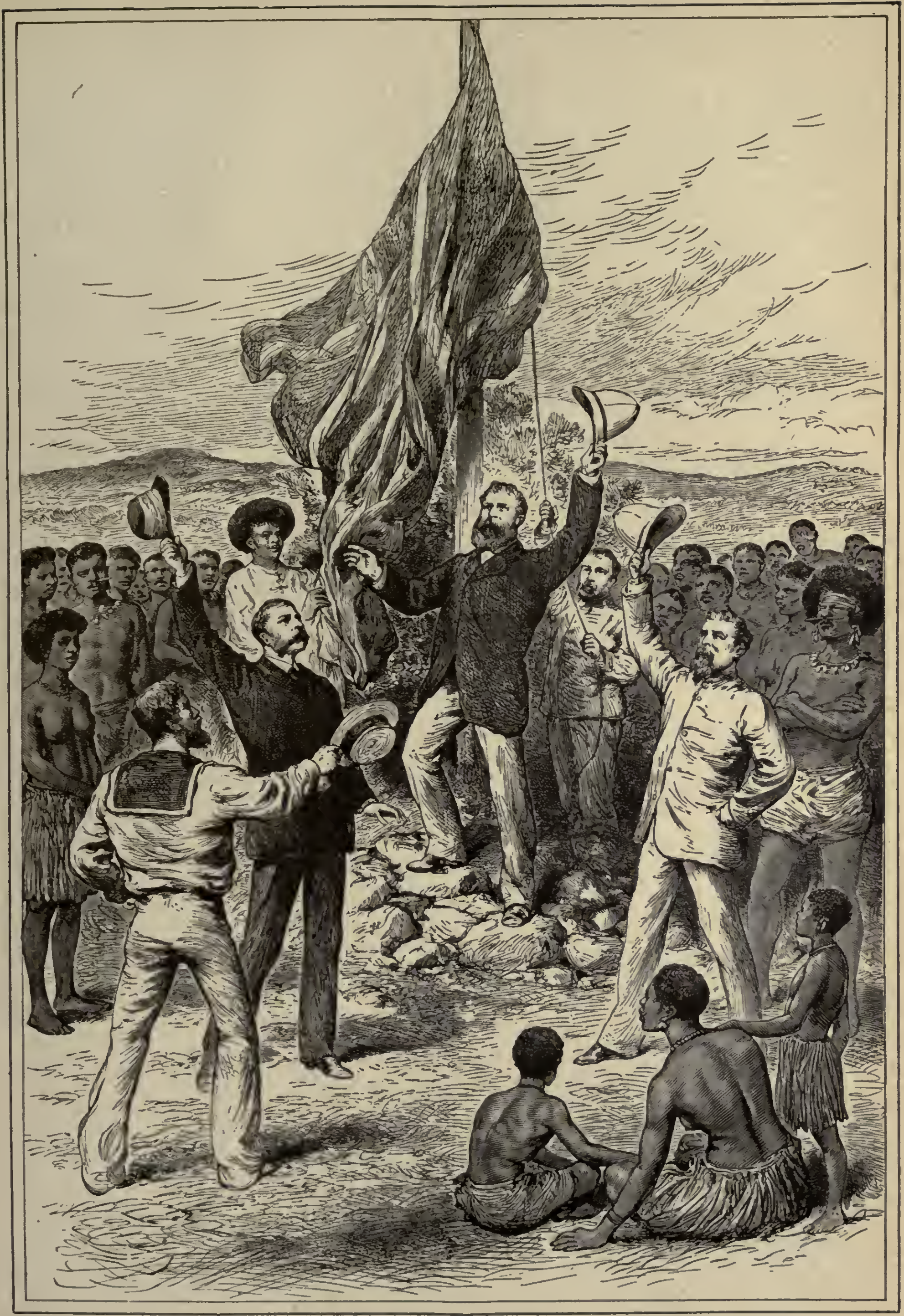
Western Australia was the last of the Australian Colonies to receive self-government. The system of transportation was in force there until the year 1868. Its discontinuance did not alter the relations to the mother country. The year 1870 saw the introduction of a Legislative Council composed of members partly nominated, partly elected; but it was not until October 21, 1890, that the previous Crown Colony joined the ranks of the other colonies on equal terms. Its Council contains twenty-four members, the Assembly forty-four, all of whom are elected. The development of Western Australia has only recently been more rapid, since large gold-fields of great extent were discovered in 1887. The population, numbering in 1881 barely 30,000 souls, has increased, almost entirely through immigration, to over 300,000.

Grant of Self-Government

The internal development of the Colonies was early accompanied by the effort to spread the power of Australia beyond the limits of the continent. This was noticeable as far back as 1869 in the opening of the Fiji question; but no real oversea expansion took place before 1883. Notwithstanding the position of New Guinea in the immediate vicinity of Australia, neither the Colonies nor England itself had ever shown any inclination to acquire territory there. It was only about the middle of the 'seventies, when rumours of Germany's intentions on the immense island were prevalent, that the Australians remembered its proximity, and New South Wales suggested off hand the incorporation of that part of New Guinea which was not subject to Dutch suzerainty. England assented, on the stipulation that the Australians bore the cost of administration; that they refused. The question, however, was still discussed in Australia, and when the Germans really threatened to take steps, the Premier of Queensland, on his own responsibility, declared that he had taken possession of the eastern portion of the island in March, 1883. England then shrank from placing the destiny of so large a territory in the hands of the small population of Queensland, although the Australian Colonial Conference in December was in favour of the acquisition. Meanwhile Germany actually took possession of the north of the island, and England was obliged to content herself, on November 6, 1884, with the south-east alone. At the present day British New Guinea is governed by the Commonwealth as a separate colony. A Governor and a Chief Justice have been appointed by the Federal Government and the island is a dependency of Australia.

The British Flag in New Guinea

The solution of the question of self-government would certainly not have been so quickly reached had not all the conditions in Australia at the beginning of the 'fifties been suddenly and radically altered by the discovery of rich gold-fields in various districts. Gold had already been found during the construction of the road over the Blue Mountains (1814). The Government had hushed up the discovery from fear that it would be unable to control the excitement which would assuredly be caused by its publication. It was only when the opening of the Californian mines in 1848 had attracted the attention of the world that serious attention was paid to the precious metal in Australia. An Australian blacksmith, Hargreaves, who had spent some years in California, carefully examined the mountains near Bathurst, in February, 1851, and on the 12th of that month he found quantities of alluvial gold in Lewes Pond Creek.



HOISTING THE BRITISH FLAG IN NEW GUINEA

Fearing that the Germans would take over the island of New Guinea, the Premier of Queensland took formal possession of the eastern portion in March, 1883. Germany took over the northern portion.

This discovery did not remain a secret like the former one. The whole continent rang with the news, and by May dense crowds of colonists were flocking to the place. A few weeks later gold was also found near Ballarat in Victoria; then in October also near Mount Alexander, north of Melbourne. A few months later the veins of gold at Bendigo to the south were also discovered. In Queensland, gold was not found until 1858, and in Western Australia not until 1886-1887.

The Gold Fever

The effect of these discoveries upon the world was indescribable. In the first place the whole population of Australia caught the gold fever. Every man who could work or move, whether labourer, seaman, or clerk, rushed to the gold washings. The old settlements were so emptied of their inhabitants that Melbourne for a long time had only one policeman available. South Australia produced the impression of a country inhabited merely by women and children. The situation was the same in Tasmania, and even in New Zealand. Afterward, when the news of the discoveries reached America and the Old World, a new wave of immigrants flooded the country, and the whole overflow of the population streamed into the gold-fields.

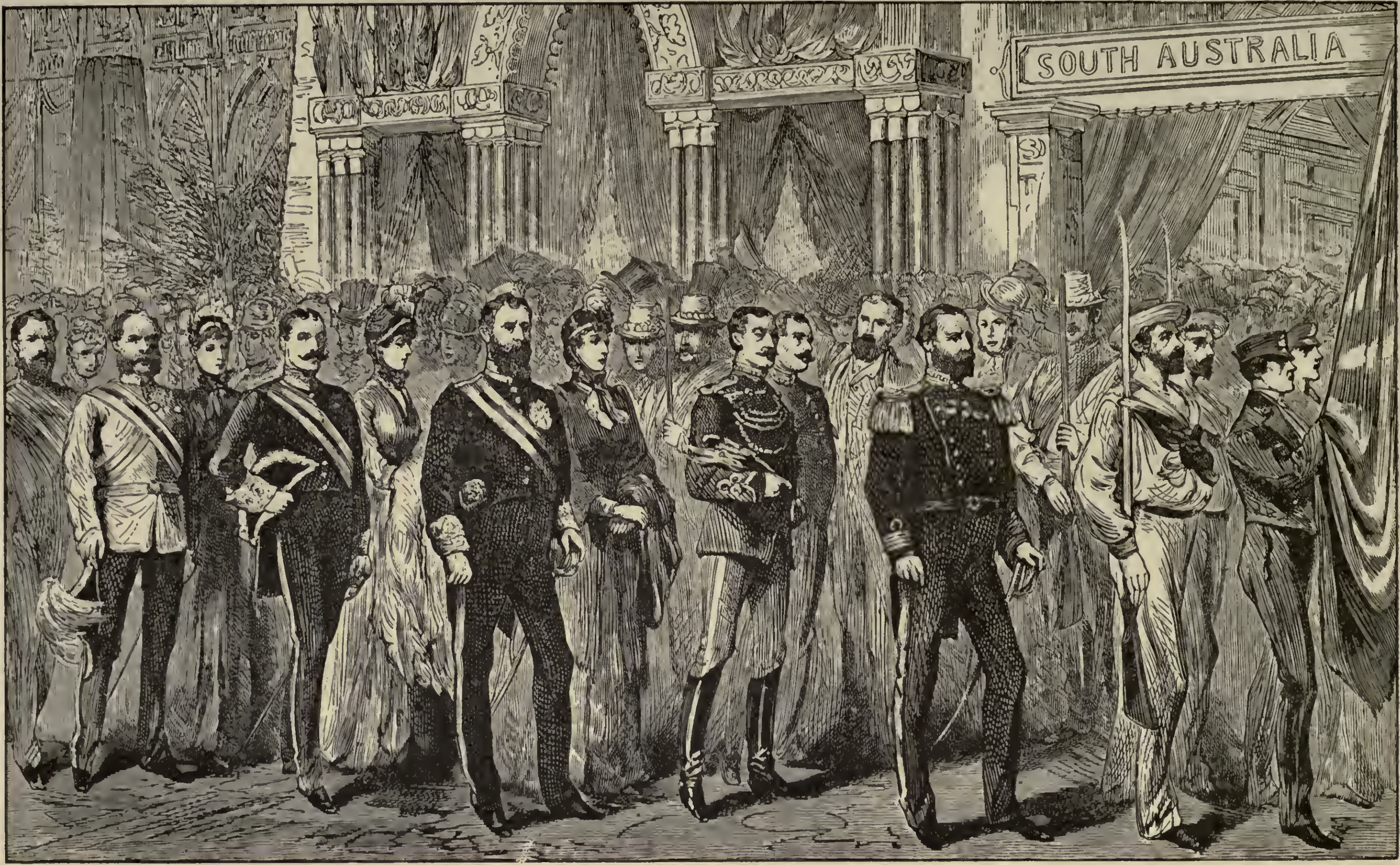
Under these circumstances the population of Australia rapidly increased. In Victoria, where the influx was the greatest, the population had numbered 70,000 souls in July, 1851; nine months later that number was living on the gold-fields alone, and in 1861 the whole population of the colony amounted to 541,800 souls. New South Wales then reckoned 358,200 inhabitants; South Australia 126,800; Tasmania 90,200; Queensland had 34,800, and Western Australia 15,600. This rise in the figures of the population was encouraging to the economic development of the Colonies, but it put the Government which was suddenly confronted with these occurrences in a very difficult position. The exodus of civil servants from their recently created posts was so universal that the administration threatened to come to a standstill. Salaries were doubled, but to no purpose; the attraction of the gold-fields was too potent. The Governor of Victoria found himself finally compelled to apply to England for a regiment of soldiers, who could not run away without being liable to a court-martial. The Government offices were at the same time filled by two hundred pensioned prison warders, brought over from England.

Difficulties Caused by the Influx

The Government was soon faced by another class of difficulties arising from its legal position toward the new branch of industry. According to the view of the legal advisers of the Government all mines of precious metals, whether on Crown land or private property, belonged to the Crown. They advised the Governors therefore to prohibit gold-mining absolutely, in order not to disturb the peaceful development of the Colonies. Under the prevailing conditions this counsel was as superfluous as it was foolish, since the means at the disposal of the authorities were absolutely insufficient to enforce it. Sir Charles Fitzroy, the Governor of New South Wales, contented himself with issuing a proclamation, as soon as the first find of gold was publicly announced, which permitted gold-mining on Crown land only on payment of a fixed prospecting tax of seven dollars a month; and on the discovery of rock gold claimed for the Government ten per cent. of the proceeds of working the quartz. This order naturally met with little response from the gold-diggers, however much in other respects it was calculated to aid the development of the colony by increasing the public resources. It is true that they agreed to it in New South Wales, where the political situation had not been so violently disturbed, but not so in Victoria, where the Governor had also adopted the enactment of Sydney. For one thing, the Government was not so firmly established there as in the mother colony; and Victoria had also received a very high percentage of the roughest and most lawless people as new members of the population. Not every one of them was so fortunate as to find gold; they could not pay the high fee, and began to agitate, first, against the amount of the impost; secondly, against the institution itself. The ill-feeling was soon universal, not only in the gold-fields, but also in the old settlements and towns.

Laws to Regulate Gold-mining

The prevalent idea was that the application of the large sums derived from the licences and imposts merely to the payment of the costs of the administration did not meet the interests of the population, and that the system should be



PROCESSION OF THE GOVERNORS OF AUSTRALIA AT THE MELBOURNE EXHIBITION OF 1888

changed. A reduction of the tax did not satisfy anybody; on the contrary, disturbances in the camps became more and more frequent. A murder had been committed in October, 1854, in Eureka Camp near Ballarat. The feeble police force made some blunders in following up the case, and consequently disturbances broke out among the gold-diggers, which were soon aimed at the hated prospecting licence; and, finally, when the Governor had sent all the troops at his disposal into the riotous district, a regular battle was fought on December 3 between thirty gold-diggers and a body of soldiers. Out of the 120 rioters who were captured, the ringleaders were sent to Melbourne to be tried, but there was no court to be found which, in spite of the overwhelming evidence of guilt, would pronounce a verdict against them.

Disturbances on the Gold-fields

The tax question was settled only in 1855. A gold-digger's licence, costing $5 for the year, was substituted for the monthly prospecting tax, which was abolished. In order to cover the loss of revenue to the colonial exchequer, an export duty of half a dollar on every ounce of gold was imposed. This wise measure laid the imposts primarily on the successful gold-digger, a policy which secured a good reception for the law and satisfied all parties. Before the end of the year the Governor of Victoria was able to report to London that quiet prevailed in every camp.

It is not necessary to follow in detail the respective histories of each colony, because each has followed, in the main, along the same lines of political and economic development. The turning-point with all was the discovery of gold, which caused a rush of population from Great Britain that entirely shifted the political centre of gravity.

Votes for Women

The first use which every state made of its new powers was in the direction of democratising political institutions. The franchise was gradually reduced until all disabilities from poverty were removed; and, since 1900, universal adult suffrage, without distinction of sex, has been established in every state except Victoria. Every colony also has had its conflicts between the elective Assembly and the nominated Council, which have resulted either in a lessening of the money qualification of the councillor, or, as in Victoria and South Australia, in the replacement of the nominee by the elective system.

It has been found by experience that those Upper Chambers which rest upon an elective basis are more powerful than those whose members are nominated. Thus, the Legislative Council of Victoria has always been able to assert its will in opposition to the Assembly; while the Legislative Council of New South Wales, like the House of Lords, having always the fear of "swamping" before its eyes, has always yielded to the ascertained wish of the majority of electors. Disputes between the two Houses have generally arisen over money Bills, the Assembly claiming that the Upper House has only the powers of the House of Lords with regard to these—that is to say, that it may reject but not amend them, the Council insisting that it has every power of a legislative chamber, of which it has not been expressly deprived by the Constitution Act. Usage has confirmed the claim of the Assembly in this respect until it has become a part of the unwritten constitution. The constitution of Victoria expressly prohibits the Council from amending a money Bill. This led to the two gravest political disputes in Australian history.

The Upper Houses and Finance

In 1863, the McCulloch Ministry imposed protective duties. The measure was rejected by the Upper House. The Customs Duties Bill was then tacked to the Appropriation Bill. The Council refused to be tricked in this way, and rejected the Appropriation Bill. An appeal to the electors returned a large majority in favour of the new duties. Meantime, in the absence of an Appropriation Bill, public servants could not be paid their salaries, and all creditors of the Crown had to wait for their money. The ingenious device was then resorted to of drawing money from a bank to pay the State creditors and immediately confessing judgment when the bank sued for its recovery.

The order of the Supreme Court thus became a warrant to repay the money to the bank, by whom it was immediately lent again to the Government and the same process repeated. In order to prevent Parliamentary proceedings from being reduced to a farce, the Council, after a conference, yielded. But a similar difficulty arose again in 1873, when, Sir

AUSTRALIAN BANK CRISIS OF 1892: SCENE OUTSIDE THE UNION BANK, MELBOURNE

Graham Berry being Premier, the Council rejected a Bill for the payment of Members. This was again tacked to the Appropriation Bill, which was again rejected by the Council. The Government on this occasion simply deferred the payment of its debts and dismissed most of the public servants.

The situation thus created was so impossible that the two Houses soon agreed to terms. The Appropriation Bill was passed without the sums for the payment of Members, and the dispute was referred to the Secretary of State in London. Sir Graham Berry and Professor Charles Pearson, a member of his Cabinet, personally preferred a request to the British Government to provide a means of escape from constitutional deadlocks. The Secretary of State, however, refused to interfere, and thus finally established the principle that the Colonies are absolute masters in their own household. In 1880 the Council passed the Bill for payment of Members.

Several Constitutional Deadlocks

Simultaneously with the agitation for greater political powers, and for the same reason—namely, the influx of population—the eternal land question entered upon a new phase in all the colonies. Not all of the many thousands of immigrants could be employed in gold-mining, and many of the diggers were unsuccessful. Few matters caused the authorities of those days more anxiety than the task of finding employment for the new settlers. The private companies which, both in Victoria and New South Wales, had undertaken the construction of railways proved in every case unable to complete their task. The Governments of the two colonies took over the undertakings. But every extension of the railways into more fertile districts increased the demand for land and strengthened the antagonism between the small settler, who required a freehold, and the pastoral lessee. The interests of the two classes were at that time irreconcilable; but obviously it was to the interest of the country to encourage the small settler, even at the expense of the squatter. Unfortunately, heated passions were aroused, and the leaders of neither side foresaw that the difficulties would solve themselves by the mere increase of population. Consequently, a measure was passed in 1861 by Sir John Robertson which showed too plainly an animus against the squatters.

Employment Difficulties for New Settlers

The result was a class warfare which distracted New South Wales for more than twenty years. The principle of the measure—which was copied, with modifications, by every other colony—was the permission to any man of full age to enter upon and mark out—or, as it was called, "select"—an area ultimately fixed at 640 acres of Crown lands, whether these were vacant or in the occupation of a squatter, and, by residence and the payment of $5 per acre, by annual instalments of twenty-five cents, to become its owner.

A Law that Encouraged Blackmail

While this measure was a measure of justice when the agricultural districts near the coast were occupied as sheep-runs, it worked great hardship in the more remote districts, which at that time, in the absence of means of transport, were unsuitable to agriculture. A class of blackmailers grew up, who travelled the country "selecting" a few picked spots of a run—*e.g.*, the paddocks containing water—picking out the eyes like a cockatoo, as it was called—whose only object was to be bought out by the squatter. The squatters, in self-defence, were forced to purchase all the strategic portions of their run, and by thus "peacocking" it they prevented settlement.

Another device of self-protection was the employment of "friendly" selectors, who would be supplied by the squatter with funds to make the necessary "improvements," and at the end of his term of residence would sell to the station. Selections of this sort were called "Dummies," and such a proceeding was made a misdemeanour. Yet, so powerless are laws when they make offences of what the community regard as legitimate methods of self-defence, that though "dummying" has been notoriously practised on almost every large station in New South Wales, only one person has been convicted of the offence, and he by his own confession. The difficulties of the situation were increased by the selector being allowed to bring action for trespass in respect of his holding before it was fenced. The selector alleged that the squatter drove his sheep on to his holding; the squatter, in his turn, said that they were driven there by the selector, who wanted to make out of a lawsuit the money which he would never get out of his land.

Recurrence of Land Difficulties

By 1884 the situation had become intolerable. The climatic conditions and the potentialities of the different portions of the colony had become better known, and the railways had been driven far into the interior. It was seen that while 640 acres were an excessive holding in the rich agricultural districts of the seaboard, they were wholly insufficient to provide a living in the pastoral districts. The colony was consequently divided into three districts—eastern, central, and western—which were placed under the charge of local boards, and a special tribunal was appointed to settle disputes. The pastoralists in the eastern and central divisions were given a fifteen-years tenure of half their runs, while the other half was thrown open to selection. New tenures were introduced in the form of long leaseholds, under varying conditions, and conditional purchases of the freehold were forbidden in the western district. This measure was amended in 1895 and 1897, when the old feud between selector and squatter may be said to have died out.

The wool industry is still the mainstay of Australia, but pastoralists have learnt the value of agriculture, and experience has proved that even the unlikely lands of the western district can be made to grow wheat profitably.

Evils of Large Land Holdings

The demand for land, however, in the richer districts of each colony, which were naturally the first to be held in freehold by the early settlers, is still beyond the supply, and every Government has had to consider measures for breaking up the excessive estates held by private owners whose wealth makes them indifferent to using them most profitably.

The other states avoided the principal evils of the New South Wales Land Act by throwing open only specified areas for free selection, or providing that only surveyed lands should be open to this form of acquisition. No other state, however, has the same variety or extent of good lands as New South Wales.

The fiscal question divided parties in all the Australian states within a few years of the grant of responsible government. The cause was again the number of new immigrants and the necessity of finding employment for men who were tired of gold-digging. Professor Rabbeno has observed that the movement towards Protection is synchronous with the absorption of the more fertile public lands by private owners. This was certainly the

THE AUSTRALIAN LABOUR TROUBLE OF 1890

The most memorable of Australia's industrial crises was the Labour and Shipping Strike at Melbourne in 1890. The illustrations represent: 1. Troopers escorting non-union men to the Melbourne gas-works. 2. Pickets trying to stop men from going to Gas Company's office for employment. 3. Mounted infantry arriving at Spencer Street Station from the country to preserve order. 4. Mass meeting of strikers in Flinders Park, Melbourne, on August 31.

case in Victoria, where the good agricultural land is comparatively a small area, the freehold of which had passed into the hands of a few very wealthy men. At first employment was found on public works, which were constructed out of Government loans and the proceeds of the sale of public lands. Victoria entered the London money market first and sold her lands earlier than the other colonies. She was thus the first to be compelled to adopt a protective policy. New South Wales lived longer on loan money and sold more acres of land. She had also a low tariff, which was only incidentally protective.

Beginning of Protective Policy

The relative progress of the two states was for a long time the classic example used by Free Traders and Protectionists alike, although they did not quote the same figures, to prove the superiority of a Free Trade policy. Now, however, that since 1900 New South Wales has come under the protective tariff of the Commonwealth, her progress has been so much more rapid that it is evident that her apparent superiority over Victoria in the early days was due to natural causes, and not to her fiscal policy. The controversy has ceased to be a live issue in Australia since the Commonwealth definitely adopted a protective tariff, which has been approved by the people in two General Elections, and has, on the public admission of Free Traders, "come to stay." One result has been to stimulate immigration by the establishment of new industries. Every year sees the establishment of branches of European or foreign factories to supply the goods which, previous to the tariff, were imported.

All State aid to religion was withdrawn in New South Wales immediately upon responsible government. In the other colonies it never existed. In every colony education is compulsory. Religious teaching is given in New South Wales upon the Irish national system. In Victoria it does not form part of the curriculum. A right of entry is given to the clergy of any denomination during school hours to give religious instruction to the pupils of his persuasion; but this is rarely availed of except by the Church of England. Secondary and technical schools exist in all the capitals and in some of the large towns. The State gives bursaries, which take a child from the State school, through the intermediate, to the university. The system of teaching, and the curriculum of the State schools, is antiquated, and could be much improved. From motives of economy, the pupil teacher system is encouraged, and its evils are apparent. The Roman Catholics have established separate

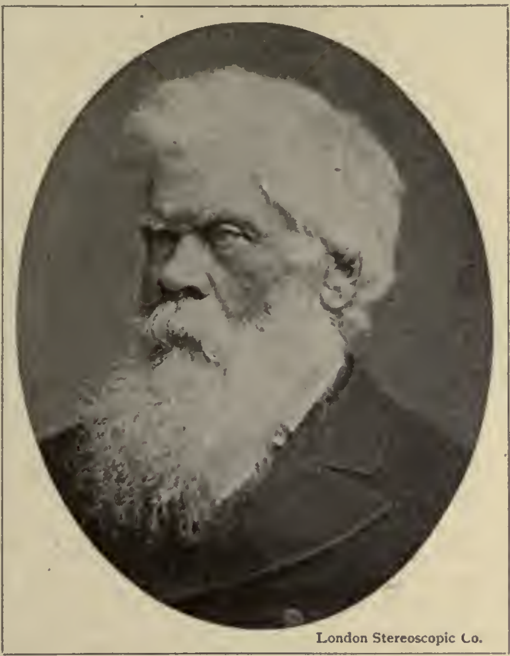
Conditions of State Education

King, Sydney

A RED-LETTER DAY FOR THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES
Federal Procession of February 1, 1901, passing Sydney Post Office, where an illuminated map of Australia was exhibited.

schools, and their alleged desire to get State assistance, either directly or by the system of payment by results, has led to strong sectarian divisions, which have always to be reckoned with in an election, though they are not much spoken of.

From 1877 to 1890 large sums were spent by all the states in assisting immigration. Employment was found for the newcomers on railways and other public works, which were constructed out of moneys borrowed in London. The period was one of immense prosperity, and large sums of English money were invested, on deposit at call, or for short periods, with the Colonial banks, at rates of interest from 5 per cent. to 7 per cent., which were lent again by the banks on mortgage for fixed terms to squatters who required money for improvements or for the purchase of their runs for protection against selectors. So long as loan moneys were plentiful, there was no danger in this process; but when borrowing was reduced and there came a cycle of bad seasons, the banking resources of the colony were unequal to the strain, and a crisis occurred in 1892, from the effects of which Australia is only now recovering.


London Stereoscopic Co.

SIR HENRY PARKES

Formerly Premier of New South Wales and the father of Australian Federation, which was consummated Jan. 1, 1901.

Simultaneously with this shock to the credit of Australia, a portent appeared in the political horizon which was at first sight no less terrifying to foreign capitalists. Australia had always been democratic—she had introduced the ballot, triennial Parliaments, and Universal Suffrage—but it was not till 1892 that a distinctive "Labour Party" appeared in the New South Wales Parliament. This political organisation was the outcome of an unsuccessful strike, which, beginning with the refusal of a shipowner to reinstate an officer, spread sympathetically throughout the ranks of organised labour.

It was met and defeated by an equally extensive organisation of employers. Beaten, defeated in the strike, the labourers sought their revenge in politics. It must, however, be admitted, looking back over a period of sixteen years, that the work of the party has been inadequate, by comparison with the excessive hopes of its members and the undignified alarm of its opponents. The Labour Party, indeed, was never a party of revolution, and is, indeed, opposed at the elections by the Socialists. Its influence certainly quickened the passage of a measure establishing old age pensions of 2½ dollars a week to every person over sixty-five (1899); and Women's Suffrage (1901) also owes much to its support. But for the most part it has advocated measures which found place in the programme of one or other of the established parties.

The chief merit of the Labour Party lies not so much in what it has accomplished as in the spirit of greater earnestness and sincerity which it has introduced in Australian politics. Among the measures which owe much to its support is the Industrial Arbitration Act (1901), which provides a tribunal which is empowered to deal with all matters affecting the condition of any industry, whenever a dispute arises between employer and employed. This court can declare a minimum wage, and, under certain circumstances, direct that preference be given to unionists; an order affecting the particular dispute may be made a common rule of the whole trade,

MELBOURNE EXHIBITION, WHERE THE FIRST FEDERAL PARLIAMENT MET, ON MAY 9, 1901

It was first intended to hold the ceremony in the Melbourne Parliament building, but owing to space and other reasons the Exhibition Buildings were finally selected. The landing of the Heir Apparent on the soil of federated Australia was the occasion of a memorable outburst of united welcome from the six colonies, all petty colonial jealousies being forgotten. Receptions at Parliament House and the opening of the first Federal Parliament followed.

in order to prevent any employer obtaining an advantage by methods which the court may have declared unfair. This measure, which depends largely for its success upon sympathetic administration, has, since 1904, been administered by a ministry of professed enemies—who have not, however, ventured to repeal or amend it—and it has been clipped of much of its usefulness by the judicial decisions of a court, some members of which have not hesitated to forget their judicial position and denounce its principles and methods. The Act has, however, been thoroughly successful in putting down sweating, and, even in its crippled condition, has prevented strikes. By one of its clauses, to strike or lock out before invoking the jurisdiction of a court is made a misdemeanour. It has not been found in New South Wales that the workmen refuse to obey the order of the court.

Arbitration in Labour Disputes

In 1885, at the request of all the colonies but New South Wales, the Imperial Parliament passed an Act establishing a Federal Council consisting of delegates from the several colonies who were empowered to legislate on certain matters of common interest, and also had a limited authority in respect of internal affairs.

This council, which met annually, never fulfilled the hopes of its founders, among whom Mr. James Service (Victoria) and Sir Samuel Griffith (Queensland) were the chief. New South Wales, under the guidance of its great statesman, Sir Henry Parkes, refused to join the movement, on the ground that the powerlessness of the council to enforce its decrees would have one of two results—either only trival matters would be brought before it, or it would come into conflict with the states. In either case the council would excite prejudice against the more complete union which was always before Sir Henry's eyes. In 1891 Sir H. Parkes, in the face of great obstacles caused by the antagonism of the Victorian Ministers, who resented his holding aloof from the Federal Council, assembled the representatives of all the colonies, including New Zealand, to Sydney, and obtained their agreement to present proposals for federation to their several Parliaments. The main principles of the proposed union were discussed by the assembled Ministers in open debate, and upon the resolutions so arrived at a measure was drafted by Sir Samuel Griffith and Mr. A. Ingles Clark (Tasmania) which has remained the substance of the present constitution. Various untoward circumstances prevented this measure being discussed in the New South Wales

Father of Federal Movement

Parliament, and the other colonies waited upon New South Wales. Sir H. Parkes went out of office, and the Ministries which followed were opposed to union. But the popular interest in the movement had been kept alive through the unflagging exertions of Sir Edmund Barton, and Sir Henry Parkes announced his intention (1894) of moving in the matter in Parliament. Mr. Reid, the leader of the Provincialists, was then in office. He cleverly anticipated Sir Henry's attack by adopting a suggestion which had been made by Sir John Quick that a constituent convention should be elected to frame a draft constitution. Sir Henry Parkes was not elected to the Parliament of 1895, and Mr. Reid was in no hurry to hasten the federal movement.

Convention in Favour of Federation

The Convention, which consisted of ten representatives elected from each state, met in Adelaide in April, 1897, and was adjourned to Sydney, and again to Melbourne, where its labours were finally completed in May, 1898. The measure, thus passed, had to be adopted by a plebiscite in every state. The Provincialist Parliament of New South Wales endeavoured to secure its rejection by requiring that if there were not 80,000 affirmative votes, the measure should be considered lost. As the total number of anticipated voters was between 170,000 to 200,000, it was thought that this device—which was a flagrant breach of the agreement made by New South Wales and the other states that the question should be decided by a majority—would finally stifle the movement towards union. However, in spite of the bitter opposition of Mr. Reid and the Free Trade party, a majority of votes were cast for the Bill, though the number was 5,000 short of the required minimum. Some trifling alterations were then made in the text of the draft Bill, and in 1899 it was again submitted to the popular vote. On this occasion the majority exceeded the statutory minimum, and New South Wales fell into line with the other states, to the deep resentment of the provincial Free Traders. The Commonwealth thus formed was proclaimed on January 1, 1900, and the history of the several states has from that date merely a local interest.

Federation Finally Secured

King, Sydney

BIRTH OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH: THE SWEARING-IN CEREMONY

Standing beside what are now priceless memorials to the Australian people, the table and the inkstand used by Queen Victoria when she signed the Commonwealth Act, Lord Hopetoun, the first Governor-General of the Commonwealth, swore: "I, John Adrian Louis, Earl of Hopetoun, do swear I will well and truly serve our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria in the office of Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia, and that I will do right to all manner of people after the laws and usages of this Commonwealth without fear or favour, affection, or regard. So help me God."

King, Sydney

THE BIRTH OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH: SWEARING-IN CEREMONY IN THE CENTENNIAL PARK, SYDNEY, JANUARY 1, 1901

This photograph shows the natural amphitheatre in which the swearing-in pavilion stood. A quarter of a million people obtained excellent views of the ceremony. The air and space of the continent were thus typified in the inaugural ceremony. Lord Hopetoun and the new Ministry took the oaths of fealty and office at the actual table used by Queen Victoria when she signed the Commonwealth Act in July, 1900. This present of the great Queen to the new Australia was placed for the occasion in the beautiful pavilion.

AUSTRALIA IN OUR OWN TIME

BY THE HON. BERNHARD R. WISE

NOT only is the island continent of Australia equal in size, and as varied in climate, as Europe without Siberia, or as the United States without Alaska, but the wide distances are already developing different types in the several states. Nevertheless, beneath this diversity there is an underlying unity.

In no country in the world is there less admixture of races. Australia is completely British. Of the total population taken at the census of 1912—4,530,739—only 166,958 were born outside the British Empire; 4,363,781 were born within the Commonwealth. Contrast this with Canada and her million Frenchmen, or with South Africa, where the English are outnumbered by the Dutch. This homogeneity of race, together with its geographical situation, give Australia its great importance as a unit of the empire.

Dominant British Element

By its position it commands the trade route between America and Asia, and is the frontier of the empire on its most vulnerable side—the Far East—where, under its improved military system, it could land a fully-equipped military unit within thirty days of the outbreak of disturbance.

Australia's place in the line of the empire's defence must depend, inevitably, upon the temper of her people. The first or second or third generation of native-born Australians may be, as they are now, British in every instinct; but account must always be taken, in considering the future, of the disintegrating influences of time and distance. As Australians outgrow the somewhat depressing idea of dependency they are taking to the newer and more stimulating idea of Nationalism.

In this mood, and having this ideal, they aim first, as being their immediate duty, to develop Australia. They would have an Australian navy. Already—thanks to the exertions of the Labour Party—they are forming a citizen army, based on universal service. They frame their tariffs solely in order to develop Australian industries, to maintain the Australian market for Australian workmen. The Australian holds that in thus strengthening Australia he helps the empire.

It is often said that Australia neglects her responsibilities by discouraging the growth of population. It is true that an occasional and irresponsible working-class speaker may, at times, exhort his fellows to "keep the good thing for themselves"; but it is not true that there is any general tendency among Australians either to check population or to discourage immigration. Critics should remember the immensity of the continent, and that its physical characteristics have prevented the spread of settlement. There were three stages of settlement in Australia—first, of the fertile lands between the mountains and the sea; secondly, of the uplands; thirdly, of the great plains beyond. Each new stage was rendered possible only by a long experience. The western plains, on which the best wheat now grows, were thought for many years to be unsuitable for settlement; and two generations elapsed before it was discovered that salt-bush was food for sheep. Even now the immense distance of the interior from the seaboard practically blocks it from settlers, so that the full capacity of Australia will never be known until the Commonwealth completes two transcontinental railways—from east to west, and from north to south.

Growth of National Ideals

Accordingly, if we would estimate Australia in respect of increase of population we should bear in mind the slow and gradual shifting of agriculture from the coast towards the west. More than half, or 56 per cent., of Australia is still empty,

and in the larger states, such as South Australia and West Australia, the proportion of permanent to temporary occupation is very small. Taking Australia as a whole, the average population to the square mile is only 1·52. Victoria, being the smallest, is the most densely populated state; but she had in 1912 only a population of 15·14 to the square mile. The charge against Australia of her unduly small birth-rate is not yet proved. Not that the rate has fallen off in comparison with the years from 1850–1880; but even in 1905 it was at the rate of 24·43 per thousand, which does not compare unfavourably with other countries of a similar standard of civilisation. Probably the apparent decline is due to the earlier rates being abnormal, owing to the rapid influx of young emigrants.

Sparseness of the Population

Until 1887 all the colonies assisted immigrants. The large influx of newcomers, and the construction of public works out of loan money, led to great speculations in land, with English money deposited at call. In consequence, first the building societies (1889–1891), and secondly the banks, with few exceptions, stopped payment. Public works were stopped and private expenditure curtailed. The distress led to labour troubles, which were no sooner ended than Australia entered upon the worst and most protracted drought ever known. In 1900, for the first time since the bank failures, there was an excess of arrivals over departures, and with the return of good seasons efforts are being made by all the states to encourage settlement and immigration.

And, indeed, there is no country which holds out better prospects to the immigrant. The climate is as various as that of Europe, but it has no extremes of heat or cold. It ranges for the most part from sub-tropical to temperate; from the land of the mango and grenadilla in the far north, through the sugar-cane regions on the eastern coast, to the potato fields of Victoria, and the snow of the Australian Alps. There is no industry connected with the land in older countries which cannot be carried on profitably in Australia. Whatever an immigrant has done in other lands he may do in some part of Australia. Nor need he be frightened by the bogey of drought. Experience is teaching that drought can be fought by the storage of water and ensilage. The destructiveness of drought in the past has been mainly due to overstocking and the recklessness engendered by good seasons. Further, drought chiefly affects the interior and the coastal regions.

Attractions Offered to Immigrants

It is true that the population of Australia is too much concentrated in the capital cities. Of the 4,530,739 people numbered in the 1912 census, 1,660,181 lived in the capitals. The causes of this abnormal concentration are, first, the centralised administration of the several states, which grew out of a military command, and not, as in the United States, out of a town-meeting; secondly, the economic condition of the country. The primary industries are still the principal industries of all the states, and their products are exported. The sea-borne trade of Australia is out of all proportion to the average of other countries, so that it is inevitable that the population should crowd into the cities when the bulk of the people live by exports and imports. As manufacturing competes with the extractive industries, the proportion between town and country population will become more reasonable. It must also be remembered that it was the policy of every State Government to draw all trade to the capital city.

Australian Industrial Conditions

It has been aptly remarked that, "strictly speaking, Australian states never resembled distinct states. Trade, geography, England, and 'the crimson thread of kinship' made them one from the first." Obviously, too, the barriers of intercolonial trade, of six distinct tariffs, and the need for defence against foreign aggression, were strong motive towards union. But they were not sufficiently powerful to overcome state jealousies. It was left to Sir Henry Parkes, by the battle cry, "Australia for the Australians," finally to rouse the people to a sense of their responsibilities. This cry, like Sir Edmond Barton's "A continent for a nation, and a nation for a continent," was idealistic without being visionary, and in inculcating respect for a larger self, made men think more kindly of their past lives and of the great future which lay before them. The provincialists showed that they felt instinctively that they were fighting the new spirit of nationalism

by the title of Colonists' Defence League, which they gave their organisation. Colonial dependency was, indeed, dying in the last ditch, and a new idea of empire, almost unnoticed at the time, was springing into life.

The opposition was naturally greatest in New South Wales, as being the oldest colony, and was increased by the attitude of the Free Trade Party, who, placing their fiscal dogma before all else, refused to join the union except on the impossible terms that the smaller colonies—which, unlike New South Wales, had long used up their revenue from waste lands—should abolish their tariff. In the meantime a convention of ten delegates from each state had prepared a Constitution for submission to a referendum. The Bill was approved by a majority in every state after the difficulties, already described, which it met in New South Wales. But at the elections for the following year, New South Wales returned only three Federalists out of sixteen members, and had henceforward, under the influence of its Press and politicians, maintained a consistently anti-federal attitude. This inter-state jealousy, which is unfortunately felt more or less in other states, though nowhere to the same degree as in New South Wales, determined the form of the Constitution. In the choice between the American and the Canadian forms, the American was necessarily adopted to meet the susceptibilities of the different states. Consequently, the Commonwealth has only those powers which are expressly conferred upon it by the Constitution, while all the reserve powers remain with the states.

Opposition to Scheme of Federation

This leads to curious conflicts. The Commonwealth is empowered to deal with immigration; but it cannot take a step to settle immigrants on the lands, because these are under the sole control of the states. The Commonwealth also deals with such matters of general interest as: (1) laws relating to customs and excise; (2) trade and commerce; (3) banking; (4) quarantine; (5) industrial disputes extending beyond the limits of one state; (6) navigation and shipping, and other subjects of legislation, making forty-nine in all. A High Court has been established, consisting of five judges, to serve as a much-needed Court of Appeal from the State Courts, and to interpret and protect the Constitution. Any law passed by a State Parliament, in conflict with a federal law or with a constitution, is to that extent void; but in other respects the states retain full power of legislation. The Federal Parliament has two Houses. The franchise in each state for either House is that for the Lower House of the state. The Federal Senate is elected by the state voting as one constituency; is small, sexennial, and has six members from each state. The Federal House of Representatives is triennial, is twice the size of the Senate, and contains representatives from each state proportionately to its population. The original ten or twelve topics of common interest are expanded into forty-nine, and include relations with Pacific islands, laws as to special races—if not aborigines of federating states—and laws to prevent strikes. Inter-state duties and preferences are abrogated. Provision is made for accepting and governing surrendered and acquired territory, and for carving new states out of old states with the consent of the latter. Appeal to the judicial committee of the Privy Council is maintained, but modified.

Composition of Federal Parliament

The financial clauses of the Constitution are the least satisfactory, and are, for the moment, causing great friction. The problem before the framers of the Constitution was to ensure inter-state free trade—which involved a common tariff under the control of the Commonwealth—with the financial requirements of each state.

It was evident that the customs receipts from a federal tariff would amount to much more than the federal expenditure. At the same time, each state would find itself deprived of the customs duties, which formed a large, but unequal proportion of their revenues. The logical solution would have been for the Commonwealth to take over sufficient of the State debts, that the interest on these should absorb the surplus. But the provincialists feared that such a power would give the Commonwealth a handle to check future borrowing by the states, and the Constitution finally empowered the Commonwealth only to take over the debts of the states incurred previously to 1900. The Commonwealth Government has offered to propose

Jealousy of Federal Powers

an amendment to the Constitution which would enable the states to be relieved of the debts incurred subsequently to 1900; but this proposal to "rob" them of their "debts" has been indignantly rejected.

Deprived of this method of disposing of the federal surplus, and compelled to satisfy the demands of provincialists, that the states should have some security that they would receive their portions, the framers of the Constitution, at the suggestion of the late Sir Edward Braddon, adopted a clause providing that the Commonwealth should return to each state at least three-quarters of the receipts from customs and excise duties. The operation of this clause was limited to ten years.

State and Federal Revenue

The expenditure of the Commonwealth is mainly in respect of the services which have been taken over by the Commonwealth from the states—e.g., the post office and telegraphs, defence and, in the immediate future, quarantine. This is called in Federal Budgets "transferred expenditure" The "other expenditure"—as it is called—is the expenditure by the Commonwealth for purely Commonwealth purposes—e.g., the cost of Parliament.

It is obvious that, being relieved of such large items of expenditure as defence, postal services, the collection of customs and excise, and at the same time entitled to receive back from the Commonwealth not less than three-fourths of the proceeds of customs and excise, the states have been, since 1900, in a position to effect great economies.

Friction between the states and the Commonwealth need cause no alarm as to the future. Every federation has experienced the same difficulty, and Provincialism dies of its own pettiness. In Sydney, for instance, the Ministry of the day in 1907, threatened to change the site of the observatory, and thus destroy the value of seventy years' astronomical observations, rather than allow it to pass to the Commonwealth under the clause of the Constitution which empowers them to take over the Astronomical and Meteorological departments of the state. The internal opposition to other federations has been far more formidable. There was the same discontent in the early days of the United States, which found expression in the now half-forgotten rising known to history as the "Whisky Rebellion"; and contemporary observers have related of Canada that during the first ten years of the Dominion not 30 per cent. of Canadians would have voted for its continuance had any opportunity been offered to them of expressing an opinion.

Provincial Point of View

It was the same in the case of the Scottish union with Great Britain, which Lockhart, a contemporary, declared to be "a base betrayal and mean giving up of the sovereignty, independence, liberty, laws, interest, and honour of Scotland," and with regard to which he was as thoroughly convinced as any New South Wales Provincialist that "if Scotland had only stood out she would have made her own terms," so satisfied was he that England would not have lost "a good thing." "Had the Scots," he says, "stood their ground, I have good reason to affirm that the English would have allowed a much greater number of representatives. The English saw too plainly the advantage that would accrue to England by a union of the two kingdoms upon his scheme, and would never have stuck at any terms to obtain it."

History Repeats Itself

It is not at present easy to forecast the political future of Australia. Much depends upon the calibre of Federal members, in which each successive Parliament shows a decline. The salary of a member is too small for a livelihood, and too much for subsistence. Attendance in Parliament involves the abandonment of all business which cannot be carried on in the capital. For this the present salary—$3,000—gives no compensation; so that there is a growing tendency for Parliament to be composed of rich, old men, and those to whom the salary is the principal attraction. It would have been better if the proposal made at the Convention had been carried, fixing the salary at $5,000, a year.

Assuming, however, that Parliament maintains its prestige relatively to the State Parliaments, the probability is that there will be a considerable strengthening and extension of Federal power. The history of America shows that the influence of a central authority increases inevitably and insensibly; and in Australia this tendency will be much increased by the influence of the Labour Party, who, curiously enough, bitterly opposed the establishment

RESIDENCE OF GOVERNOR

HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

GENERAL VIEW FROM THE POST-OFFICE BUILDINGS

NEW LAW COURTS

GOVERNMENT OFFICES

Photos: Edwards and E. N. A.

PRESENT-DAY PICTURES OF MELBOURNE

OFFICES OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH IN LONDON Lair

of Federation. The levelling up of the conditions of industry in the various states is a principal object of the party; but this involves the equalisation of the conditions in each state. It would be unfair, for example, if the Industrial Arbitration Court in Sydney were to establish a minimum wage in New South Wales which was not paid by trade competitors in other states. Consequently an amendment of the Constitution may be looked for which, in some form or another, will give the Federal Parliament control over all industrial relations within the Commonwealth.

Federal Parliament and Industry

It was said by a Federal speaker during the Federal campaign, that Federation would not cost the people of New South Wales half-a-dollar per head—just the cost of registering a dog! In fact, it has not exceeded thirty-six cents per head. Yet the enemies of Federation denounce its extravagance, and declare that its cost is enormous. Each party is looking at a different side of the shield. The expenditure of Federation is, as has been explained, partly on the "transferred services" and partly on matters which are purely Federal, which are called "other expenditure." The total expenditure of the Commonwealth is large on account of the cost of running and keeping up the transferred departments; but Parliament is penurious in dealing with Federal services.

The spirit which carried to success the Federal movement—"Australia for the Australians"—soon found expression in legislation.

Two features strike the English observer of Australian politics—first, the reliance on the State; secondly, the apparent recklessness of the legislation. The former is explicable by the history of Australia, and the second is largely the result of a misunderstanding. In order to understand the legislation in detail, some general observations are necessary.

Australia and America Contrasted

Few contrasts in history are more striking than the differences between the development of the two British democracies which margin the Pacific—that of Australia and that of the United States. Localism and individualism are the breath of life in the policy of the United States. Australia from the first has regarded the

citizen rather than the individual, and has known no dread of Government action.

The differences between the two countries is in their origin. The United States sprang from the town meeting; Australia, from the first, was centralised. The Government was an earthly providence from the beginning—dispensing food, controlling industries, and fixing the rate of wages. Nor did the influx of free settlers materially change the situation, because these spread themselves too quickly over the vast area of waste land to acquire that sentiment of localism which became instinctive in the concentrated settlements of New England. There came, indeed, to be a strong provincial jealousy between the several colonies which has even defied Federation. But this was never incompatible with a very wide exercise of the functions of government within each colony. In no part of the world has the doctrine of "Laisser faire" fewer adherents. The "administrative nihilism" (to use Professor Huxley's phrase) which would confine the action of a Government to preserving order would have seemed treason to the busy settlers, who depended upon the Government to overcome the natural obstacles to settlement and provide those conveniences of civilisation which, in such a country, individuals would be powerless to obtain unaided.

Functions of the Government

Thus, in Australia, the Governments of the several states construct and own railways, tramways, and ferry-boats. They do their own printing, and make clothes for the police and military. They maintain agricultural farms, own and let out bulls and stallions, supply seed-wheat, sell frozen meat and dairy produce, export wines, and maintain cellars for its storage abroad, provide hospitals and parks, subsidise agricultural shows and other forms of popular amusement, run mining batteries and grant aid to prospectors, send commercial agents to foreign countries, undertake the storage and shipment of meat and butter for export, and generally endeavour in every way to improve the means of communication and transport, and to aid in the development of the resources of the country. The Government, indeed, is expected to take the risk of testing new processes of production, and a Government department is always at hand to supply any citizen, without charge, with the latest results of agricultural or industrial experiments in other countries. In no country does a settler on the land find more ready or abundant assistance from the organised power of the State.

This tendency to rely upon the Government has been strengthened by the collectivism of the Labour Party, who hold the faith that laws can regulate industries, and that the mere removal of social inequalities does little good unless the weaker are protected by law against the tyranny of the strong. To the Australian Labour Party, "private enterprise," "freedom of contract," "the law of supply and demand," and the other shibboleths of individual economics, are merely other expressions for "individual anarchy." Yet Australians are not lacking in enterprise. They take certain things from the Government as a matter of right—on the northern rivers of New South Wales the settlers have from the Government boats in which to save their own lives and property in time of flood—but they are certainly not remiss in the pursuit of their individual interests. At the worst there is a certain lack of public spirit and an unwillingness to give personal service to the state. This, however, is characteristic of any country whose leisured class has no traditional responsibility, and where the greater part of the community is occupied in the absorbing conquest of new lands. It was not until 1906 that New South Wales was given even a meagre form of local self-government.

The Labour Party

Australians thus have swallowed all economic formulæ, and, Socialists without a creed, are pressing into their service every social instrument and agency. The contrast with the United States is startling. Indeed, the motto of the Labour Party might be "To make Australia everything America is not"—so strenuously is it striving to protect Australia against the rule of wealth, and to practise the lessons which have been taught by the recent disclosures of social anarchy in the United States.

Fight against the Rule of Wealth

In considering the charge brought against Australian legislators of being reckless, it must also be remembered that Australia is the Cinderella of modern nations, whom Democracy has just claimed

for her own. It is a land of political faith and ideals, where the dreams of the study are soon translated into laws. Every adult has a vote; nowhere is there more unity of purpose, or freedom from distracting cares. Thus, whatever Democracy can accomplish will be accomplished in Australia, for good or ill; and its qualities are soon determined in such a testing ground of politics. At present, all goes well. Material prosperity, the buoyancy of youth, the novelty of political power, combine to dissipate misgivings; and the day of disillusionment—if it should ever come—is still far distant. But, as yet, other countries hardly understand; and even in England there is jealousy and some suspicion of the bold, new ways. The capitalist class is timid, and others are doubtful. But no Act has yet been passed which in any way threatens property or which disregards the larger interests of the Empire.

The Coming Triumph of Democracy

The Labour Party, indeed, is neither Anarchist nor Socialist. Socialists, indeed, run candidates against nominees of the caucus. It is composed of level-headed men, representatives of trade-unions and the more intelligent labourers. Its members are, however, not confined to the artisan or labouring class, but are recruited from the majority of farmers and by a number of the younger professional men and clerks. It is supported because it is the only party with clear principles which have never been abandoned; and its leaders command the respect of all classes of the community. The Australian Labour Party is, indeed, on most essential points, opposed to the principles of the same party in England. The Australian labour men think so well of their country, and are so convinced that a country which is worth living in is worth fighting for, that they are pressing for universal military service. And instead of being indifferent to the Empire, they are eager to strengthen it, because they know by experience that, on the whole, British rule makes for justice and freedom. But the apologia for Australian legislation should now come to detail.

Aims of Labour Party

The chief misapprehension exists upon the question of a "White" Australia. One of the first Acts of the Commonwealth Parliament, to whom the control of immigration is given by the Constitution, was a measure which was intended to exclude the coloured races from Australia.

The ideal of a "White" Australia is held with passionate conviction by the vast majority of the Australian-born, who believe it to be a duty which they owe to civilisation to preserve Australia for the white races. The Parliament desired to enact the direct exclusion of coloured aliens; but the Colonial Office would permit this result to be effected only indirectly, by the use of a language test—i.e., the writing from dictation of fifty words in any European language. This provision exists in the law of Natal, where it is used for the same purpose, and Canada has an Act of equal stringency. The Australian Act also prohibited the importation of labour under contracts made abroad, partly in order to protect the intending emigrant from being trapped into improvident contracts, from ignorance of Australian conditions, and partly to prevent the importation of "strike-breakers" in the event of a labour dispute. This law has been wickedly misrepresented by the provincialists, who detest the Commonwealth, and others who are interested in diverting the stream of immigration to other places than Australia. Harrowing tales have been told and believed of "Six Hatters" who have been prevented from landing in Australia by the greedy desire of the Labour Party to avoid competition. Without exception, all these tales are false. *No single white man or woman has ever been prevented from landing in Australia since the law has been passed.* Its provisions have been applied only to the objects for which they were intended—viz., the exclusion of coloured alien labourers; and during the tenure of office of the Labour Party permission was freely granted to any respectable coloured merchant, student, or traveller, who obtained a passport from his Government, to enter and travel in Australia. In 1905 the text of the section dealing with contract labour was altered so as to remove the possibility of any honest misapprehension, by expressing in clear terms the kind of contracts which were aimed at. It was inevitable, by the Constitution of the Commonwealth, that a sufficient revenue must be raised through the Customs House at least to equal the

Laws to Regulate Labour

1. General view of Brisbane. 2. Government House, Sydney. 3. General view of Sydney.

BRISBANE AND SYDNEY IN OUR OWN TIME

Photos Edwards and E. N. A.

proceeds of the tariffs of the federating states. Two of these, Victoria and South Australia, had already protective tariffs. It was obvious that the Federal Tariff could not destroy industries already protected. There was, however, a strong Free Trade feeling in New South Wales—existing chiefly, it must be admitted, among those classes who were protected by items in the so-called Free Trade Tariff of that colony, that a compromise tariff was passed after two years' struggle. In effect, this was a low protective tariff. It was not, however, high enough to prevent importers' rings from dropping the prices of imported articles to cut-rates, which would stifle any infant industry. This was particularly noticeable in the case of agricultural machinery, and at the next General Election an overwhelming majority was cast in favour of a higher tariff.

The new tariff contained concessions in favour of Great Britain, although, of course, it had been framed mainly in the interests of Australia, because experience proved that there would be no immigration unless the immigrants could find industries to work at. Even the low tariff of the first Parliament caused some half-dozen large English and American firms to produce in Australia the goods which were formerly imported, and thus provide new employment for Australian workmen. In those industries, however, which cannot yet be established in Australia the new tariff gave to Great Britain a preference of from 5 to 10 per cent. Altogether the subsidy to Great Britain was officially estimated to be at least $6,250,000.

RIGHT HON. ANDREW FISHER,
Premier Australian Commonwealth, 1910

Two measures must be mentioned as completing the tariff policy of the Commonwealth. The first was designed to prevent the importation of "dumped" goods, and of goods which are made by trusts — the principle being to prohibit the import of competing goods which are not made under similar conditions as to wages, etc., as in Australia. The Minister for Customs has power to seize any goods at the Custom House suspected of infringing this law, and the burden of proving the contrary is thrown on the importer. The Commonwealth was recently engaged in a contest with an American agricultural implement trust, alleged to be an offshoot of the Standard Oil Company, with reference to the importation of harvesting machines, which were dropped 50 per cent. in price immediately upon the introduction of the tariff.

The second measure connected with the tariff policy is designed to prevent the benefit of protection going wholly to the manufacturers, and to require a just division of the profits. On proof that any protected manufacturer is making exceptional profits by means of a monopoly created in his favour by the tariff, an excise duty may be imposed upon his products, of such amount as will prevent the tariff from unduly raising prices. Such a person would be required, in the first instance, to work his factory according to highest industrial standards.

It is premature to judge of the effect of laws which have been so short a time in operation; but it may be questioned whether these are not too complicated to prove effective. Nevertheless, they are a notable attempt to escape from the possible evils of a protective system.

It should be mentioned that tribunals exist in all the states for the purpose of determining rates of wages and other industrial conditions. The process in New South Wales is for an Industrial Court, presided over by a judge of the Supreme Court, who is assisted by elected representatives of employers and employed. The essential feature of the Act is that it deals only with organised labour, whether this be a trade union or an industrial union specially organised under the Act. Thus, only a union can bring a complaint before

a Court, and the collective funds of the union are a security for obedience to an award. The Act has worked with great success, although, unfortunately, it has become a battle sign of political partisanship. Passed by the Progressive Party, it has incurred the bitter hostility of the party calling itself Liberal, whose representatives during the last three years have put every obstacle in the way of its successful working, and are now proposing to substitute for it the Victoria system of Wages Boards.

During its first five years' currency, the Act stopped sweating in the clothing trade, and every important trade, in all about 110, is working under it. During the whole of this period there were no industrial disturbances, and no strike, until the ill-organised union of wharf labourers went on strike in the year 1907. For, as the author of the Act has repeatedly said, "it could not always prevent strikes, any more than diplomacy could always prevent war." There has been no instance of a union disobeying the award of a Court, and after an award has been made, no employer has come before the Court to complain of its working. The Act was modelled upon that which has been so successful in the Dominion of New Zealand. The Wages Board serves the purpose in Victoria of an Industrial Court. Its weakness is its inability effectively to enforce the penalties against individual workmen. Also, there is a want of harmony between the several awards. The wages of one trade may be fixed without regard to any dependent industry. For each trade has its own Board, consisting of an equal number of employers and employed presided over by an elected chairman, or, in default of an election, appointed by the Government. The Boards can take evidence, and make awards; but, not being permanent bodies, they have no power to enforce penalties, and there is reason to believe that the evasion of awards is frequent. To remedy these weaknesses, Victoria has now established an Industrial Court, to serve as a court of appeal from the Boards, and to enforce penalties. Such a Court is inevitably compelled to assume gradually the powers of the Industrial Court which New South Wales has now abandoned. For, it is impossible to deal with an appeal from the Wages Board of any trade without, in effect, regulating all the industrial conditions of the trade in question, and incidentally affecting others. The success or failure of any Wages Board has been found by experience to depend entirely on the good sense and capacity of its chairman.

Laws that Regulate Wages

Passing now from politics and legislation, something may be said about Australian life and its characteristics. The first thought of the incomer from the Old World, when once he has left the cities behind him, is that of limitless space. Boundless space, unlimited opportunities for human enterprise, with Nature waiting to be tamed by man's industry and ingenuity, to give a rich recompense in return—that is the first impression given by the hinterland of the cities.

Conditions of Life in Australia

This is not an impression of the eye only, but is strengthened a hundredfold by knowledge acquired concerning the mineral and agricultural wealth of Australia, and one soon learns that Australia can produce wheat crops of thirty bushels an acre, far surpassing the scanty yield of the Manitoban prairies, almost before he has left the first city with which he makes acquaintance. In that city, among the men whom he is sure to meet, he also will recognise the influence of life in boundless space. Inhabitants of a continent whose riches have so far been but slightly tapped, peculiarly blessed with climates of many varieties, from the tropical heat of Northern Queensland and of the northern part of South Australia, which is a geographical contradiction in terms, to the usually temperate but never frigid air of New South Wales and of Victoria, their hopes, their ambitions, and their confidence in themselves and in Australia, are as generous and as exhilarating as the air itself. Hence come two peculiarities, the first likely to puzzle and the second calculated in some measure to repel a new arrival. The first is a courage in matters of business and in setting forth upon grand undertakings apt to disconcert a man nurtured in less elastic surroundings. This is due not so much to the fact that the possibility of failure never presents itself to an Australian mind, or to a well-grounded belief that ultimate failure is out of the question. No real man can fail always in a country so bounteously endowed, and temporary failure does not depress a man

Spirit of Industrial Enterprise

when he knows that he can, and most likely will, rise to the surface again soon.

The courage of the Australian is elastic; his hopeful spirit will brook no denial. From this comes an arrogance of manner and tone which are, at first acquaintance, rather disconcerting to the English mind, and the English mind is rather too apt to counter it by a certain air of superciliousness. Such, at any rate, is the Australian impression generally; but it is a wrong impression, having, like most fallacies, a historical origin. In the past, far too many ne'er-do-wells of gentle birth were sent to Australia, nominally to seek their fortunes in a new land, really in order that their degradation might continue out of sight and out of hearing of their relatives. They were incompetent and really supercilious. The Australian of to-day is, therefore, naturally prone to suspect the fresh arrival from England of both these faults, and to meet him more than half-way by boastful proclamation of his own capacity.

Mutual Suspicion and Regard

What, apart from work, can sociable and vigorous men do in Australia? What is the manner of life, what are the social opportunities in the rural districts and in the cities? These are questions to which the answers are both general and particular. The great cities—especially Sydney and Melbourne—are at least as well furnished with the comforts of life and with the means of communciation as any in the world. Better than most, in this last respect, for the State undertakes the business and does it well. The hotels, judged from a cosmopolitan point of view, are fair; the clubs are as good as any clubs can be, and much more hospitable than those of any other country. There are first-class theatrical and musical entertainments, and French restaurants nearly equal to any out of Paris.

Society receives the visitor with a frank readiness, to which the Old World—to say nothing of the American world—is a complete stranger; and it is a society of keen wits working in the brains of eager men, and of lively, attractive, and sensible women. Does a globe-trotter desire to see cricket or to play it? He can see the very best to be seen on the face of the globe, and, if he be anywhere near its standard, he will be a welcome recruit. Nowhere will he see better horseracing, and should the newcomer be a yachtsman he will nowhere find better sailing than on the enclosed waters of Sydney's beautiful harbour. Hunting, in the English sense, can hardly be said to amount to much, but riding over the soft "bush" tracks is a glorious exercise, and a drive across country an exhilarating revelation to an Englishman.

Australia the Home of Sport

What shall be said of life in the "back-blocks"? That of the small and independent farmers, the "cockies," as they are called, is lonely to a degree. A typical story, which necessarily suffers by condensation, is told of two of these. A rides across, ten miles perhaps, to B, his nearest neighbour, and remarks: "Say, my horse is ill. What did you give yours when he was?" B (without looking up from his work): "Kerosene." A (next morning): "Say, I gave my horse kerosene, and he died." B (still engrossed in his work): "So did mine."

Boundary riders on the big stations have a dull life, too, seldom seeing another human being, except their fellow-workers, at breakfast-time. But for those who can enjoy a wholesome open-air life there are many compensations. Stock must be attended to, the more important parts being done by the pastoralist and his sons, but there is a fair amount of shooting for keen sportsmen; while joint picnics and dances, in the company of other pastoralists, serve to make the time pass pleasantly enough.

Charms of Australia's Daughters

In a land where distance daunts no one, visits to the towns are fairly frequent, and girls will come from the back-blocks who prove themselves as refined in thought, as cultivated in mind, as easy and graceful in carriage as any that the Old World produces. Remember, too, when you see those lissom figures gliding smoothly to strains of dance music at a Government House ball, that they can sit a horse to perfection, and that those slender hands can do hard and useful work, and have probably made the fashionable and becoming dresses they are wearing.

"Advance, Australia!" is a true watchword, for Australia has advanced, is advancing, and will advance, not merely in the confident eyes of her sons and daughters, but in deed and in truth. As Mr. Frank Bullen noted in his travels, "Australia is by far the richest of the Colonies, as Canada is the most astute."

BERNHARD R. WISE

Pexton

YASS-CANBERRA, SITE OF THE NEW CAPITAL OF THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH

LATER EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA

THE fortunes and reverses of political parties in the Commonwealth Parliament have attracted considerable attention in Australia in recent years, and the relation of the Commonwealth to the States has afforded opportunities for a liberal amount of discussion. But no serious change in the Constitution seems to be desired, and none has been affected. With the firm and acceptable establishment of the Commonwealth, the sense of Imperial responsibility has deepened, and activity in military and naval defence is a conspicuous feature in modern Australian policy.

By the Australian Defence Acts of 1909 and 1910 military training was made compulsory for all male citizens between the ages of 12 and 26—in cadet corps from 12 to 18, and as citizen soldiers from 20 to 26. In 1913 the peace effective was 80,000 of all ranks, and the war establishment 127,000; and the estimated expenditure on the Army for 1912–13 was **$15,445,000.** Eighteen British officers, with Major-General G. M. Kirkpatrick, C.B., as Inspector-General of Military Forces, were serving in the Commonwealth in 1913.

The Australian Naval Defence Scheme makes the Commonwealth responsible for the construction and maintenance of a number of ships of war which form an Australian squadron of the Royal Navy. In time of peace this squadron is under the command of a Commonwealth officer, and in time of war it is an integral part of the Eastern Fleet of the Royal Navy. These ships of the Royal Australian Navy are known as "H.M.A.S.", and in 1913 they numbered 1 battle cruiser, 4 light cruisers, 3 destroyers, 2 torpedo-boats, and 2 gun-boats. Rear-Admiral George Edwin Patey, M.V.O., was in that year placed in command of the Australian Fleet, when the naval force passed from Imperial to Commonwealth authority. The advance in naval expenditure was the main cause of the increase of no less than **$7,000,000** in the Defence Estimates in the Commonwealth Budget for 1913.

The population of Australia, though still small when the size of the continent is considered, has become larger in late years owing to the encouragement given to immigration. In 1907 it numbered 4,197,037, and in 1911, 4,455,005, while the number of immigrants in those four years amounted to 392,509.

GREAT DATES IN THE HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA

1601	Alleged Discovery by the Portuguese
1606	Discovery by the Dutch
1627	Coast surveys by Dutch navigators
1642	Tasman's voyages in Australian waters
1665	The Dutch apply name of New Holland to Western Australia
1686	William Dampier lands in Australia
1763-6	Explorations of Willis and Cartaret
1770	Captain Cook lands at Botany Bay, and names the country New South Wales
1788	Phillip founds penal colony, at Sydney
1793	First church erected in Australia. First free emigrant ship arrives at Sydney
1798	Bass and Flinders discover Bass's Straits
1801-5	Grant and Flinders survey coasts
1804	Colonel Collins tries to found settlement in Victoria, but leaves for Van Diemen's Land or Tasmania
1808	Governor Bligh deposed
1809	Governor Macquarie appointed
1813-23	Interior exploration by Wentworth, Lawson, and other travellers
1829	Province of Western Australia formed
1828-31	Exploration of South Australia by Sturt
1831-6	Expeditions of Sir T. Mitchell into East Australia
1834	Province of South Australia formed
1835	Edward Henty settles in Portland Bay, Victoria
1836-7	South Australia made into a colony. Eyre crosses from Adelaide to King George's Sound
1837-9	Founding of Melbourne. Captain Grey's explorations in North-West Australia
1839	Discovery of Gold at Bathurst. Transportation suspended. The colony of Victoria receives its name
1840	Exploration of Eastern Australia by Strzelecki, and of Western Australia by Eyre
1842	Industrial depression. Sydney incorporated as a city. First Constitution Act passed
1843	Western Australia explored by Landor and Lefroy
1845	Exploration of interior by Sturt
1848-58	Gregory and Mueller explore northern portion
1849	Agitation against revival of transportation
1850	Province of Victoria created
1851	Gold rushes after discovery of gold by Hargreaves
1853	Transportation stopped except in Western Australia
1859	Province of Queensland created
1860	Landells's expedition into interior
1861	Burke and Wills cross the continent and perish in the return journey
1861-2	The continent crossed from sea to sea by the expeditions of Stuart, McKinley and Landsborough
1865	Entire cessation of transportation to Australia decided upon
1866	Royal Society of New South Wales founded
1867	Exploration of South Australia by Cadell
1869	Duke of Edinburgh visits Australia
1871	Protest by Australian colonies regarding home interference in fiscal arrangements
1882	Morrison walks from Gulf of Carpentaria to Melbourne
1883	Melbourne and Sydney united by direct railway. British New Guinea founded by Queensland
1884	Victoria, Queensland and Tasmania agree to the principle of federation, which is opposed by New South Wales
1885	Exclusion of Chinese from Victoria. First despatch of Australian troops (to the Soudan)
1887	Chinese Restriction Bill passed in New South Wales
1888	Australian protest against Chinese immigration
1890	Melbourne Conference of State Premiers adopts federation motion. Great strikes begin
1891	Earl of Kintore, Governor of South Australia, travels overland to Port Darwin. Federal Council meets in Hobart, and Federal Constitution adopted
1893	Australian Bank crash. Australian Federation Conference
1896	The Horn scientific expedition to interior
1897	Great heat and drought. Commonwealth Bill passed in Victoria
1899	Australian Naval Conference at Melbourne
1900	Federal delegates received by Queen Victoria at Windsor, and Constitution Act receives Royal Assent. Old Age Pension Bill passed in Victoria
1901	Federation formally accomplished, with Lord Hopetoun Governor-General (January 1), and first Parliament meets (May 21). Visit of Duke and Duchess of York to open Parliament. Old Age Pensions in New South Wales
1902	Lord Hopetoun resigns and is succeeded by Lord Tennyson. Drought in Australia. Commonwealth Tariff Bill passed
1903	Lord Northcote succeeds Lord Tennyson as Governor-General. High Court established. Election of second Parliament, where strength of Labour Party increased
1904	Labour Arbitration Bill becomes law
1905	New Cabinet formed with Mr. Deakin as Prime Minister
1906	Importation of opium prohibited
1907	New Customs Tariff, giving preferential treatment to British goods.
1910	Compulsory military training for all male citizens.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PACIFIC

THE ROMANCE AND ADVENTURE OF THE GREAT WORLD-OCEAN

BEFORE MAGELLAN'S VOYAGES

IN considering the importance of the great world-ocean from the standpoint of universal history, nothing at the present day more forcibly arrests our attention than the phenomenon of the manifold relations which, through the intermediary of its various parts, are established between the inhabitants of different continents.

From north to south, from east to west, the paths in which the political, intellectual, and commercial life of humanity rolls majestically onward stretch in a dense network from continent to continent. What an immense expanse is presented here as compared with the ancient sphere of civilisation, or even with that of the days before Columbus, confined as this was to the countries around the Mediterranean and the seas which encircle Europe!

Historical Rôle of the Pacific

The Pacific Ocean has played a noticeable part in the course of human history. Of the three-quarters of the earth's surface which is covered by the ocean, it forms very nearly half. In conformity with its vast extent and its other natural and geographical features we find that the history of the Pacific Ocean bears the mark of grandeur, while, at the same time, owing to its distribution over such an enormous area, this history is lacking in intensity.

Professor Ratzel has aptly described the shape of the Pacific Ocean by calling attention to its widely-sundered margins, a distance of three or four times the length of the Atlantic separating its Asiatic from its American shores. Its wide opening on the south is occupied by Australia and Oceania, whereby the Pacific acquires its most peculiar features—namely, the presence of a third island continent in the Southern Hemisphere, and the richest island formation to be found anywhere on the earth. Both the narrowing in of the ocean toward the north, and the bridge of islands in the south, besides imparting a special character to its shape and surface, also form, in a primary degree, the paths along which the history of the Pacific pursues its course.

Value of Bering Strait

So far as our experience goes backward, we cannot discover that Bering Strait has ever been of greater importance historically than any other Arctic channel bordered by two inhabited shores. Leaving out of consideration the long but still time-limited occupation of Alaska by the Russians, Bering Sea has as a means of commercial intercourse never attained more than an insignificant importance.

Thus, in spite of its convenience, the beautiful bridge is left unused, because the masses for whose crossing it might serve are wanting. On the other hand, as we pass southward toward temperate and tropical climes and more habitable coasts, the dividing expanse of water widens out in measureless breadth, and the opposite shore recedes farther and farther alike from the material and the ideal horizon.

Pacific Coast of America

Nor is the conformation of the coast of the two great continents bordering the Pacific everywhere of such a kind as to attract their populations to the sea. This especially applies to America. From its farthest north to its southern extremity that continent throughout its whole length is traversed close to the Pacific coast by a steep and rugged mountain chain, forming an almost insurmountable barrier between the coast and the interior, interrupted by only a few rivers in the northern continent but entirely unbroken in the southern portion. The Pacific side, in fact, represents the backward side of America from the historical standpoint; the front of the continent is turned toward the Atlantic.

THE BED OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN SHOWING THE CONTINENTAL SHELF

The western shore of the Pacific Ocean has a much more favourable aspect. Numerous large and powerful streams hasten toward it from the interior of Asia, thus intimately connecting the latter with the ocean. The surface of contact is still further increased by the series of island groups which, like a band, fringe the eastern shore of Asia and provide the first halting-place to its inland population on venturing forth upon the sea. Thus, while on the one side these island groups invite the inland dwellers out to sea, on the other they intercept the migrating populations on their outward course and retain them for prolonged periods.

According to the view of Darwin, which deserves the fullest consideration, the islands of Polynesia were not populated until a few centuries before their discovery by Europeans; on the other hand, the traditional, mythical history of Japan traces back the existence of the population of that country to periods so immeasurably remote as to surpass the boldest flights of our imagination. Now, though the millions of years to which the son of the distant empire proudly ventures to look back may not be able to stand the test of modern criticism, there is nevertheless usually a small grain of truth buried among the chaff of national vanity. At any rate this contradiction furnishes a kind of scale or measure for estimating the age of the history of the Pacific Ocean.

Age of Pacific Peoples

Historians have as yet failed to answer the question as to when Man first came to occupy the coasts of the Pacific. In all probability this important event occurred in prehistoric ages. It is equally impossible to determine what race of men, still less what particular people, first arose on the coasts of this ocean. From palæontological reasons there is some ground for assuming that America was originally peopled by immigration from without; such an immigration would most easily take place from Northern Asia, owing to the close proximity of that part of the Old World, and its effect would be the spreading of the Mongol type of population over America.

Whatever views may be entertained as to the usual division of the races of mankind, whether we recognise three or five or even more separate races, no one will any longer deny that the answer given to the question as to the origin of the human race is inclining more and more to the view of a primary unity of type from which an apparent plurality of type has arisen by differentiation. In this fashion, from a Mongoloid ancestral type common to the old Asiatic and the new American branches, the red American race may have been developed; while a remnant of the same primitive type may, under the specific influences of Asia, have produced the Mongol race. In a similar manner we may ascribe to the Indian Ocean the formation of the Malay race, although the Pacific Ocean also may have had a share in this, at least so far as the peculiar racial variety of the Polynesians is concerned. Finally, both oceans conjointly conveyed to the Australian continent, which was originally peopled by a Negroid race, immigrants of Malay and Polynesian descent, from the intermixture of which with the primitive inhabitants we get a new, sharply demarcated type—that of the Australian race. The latter next continues to spread eastward over a portion of the island world of the Pacific Ocean, or Melanesia.

Development of National Types

Whether the Mongoloid type of the north-temperate or the Negroid type of the equatorial zone was the first to make its appearance on the shores of the Pacific Ocean must be left undecided. We know, at any rate, that in prehistoric times the margins of the Pacific, as well as its immeasurable island world, were still peopled by four distinct races, yellow, red, brown and black. Only the white race is absent. Through indefinite periods the destinies of these four principal types of the human race pursue their course side by side without definitely crossing or influencing each other. Each of them more or less pursues a separate, independent course of development within the limits of its own domain, because mutual contact is prevented by the immense expanse of the separating tracts of water. Their entrance, too, into the sphere of historic apprehension is marked by the widest differences. While the densely crowded populations of the Pacific coasts of Asia, pushing and being pushed onward in a continuous stream, have early arrived at a high state of culture and are therefore among the first to acquire historic importance, the isolated continent of America forms a world by itself, which for a long time

Segregation of the Four Races

appears wrapped in darkness and presents problems no less difficult to the historian than to the anthropologist. Even the key for the comprehension of undoubtedly historic characters has been irrecoverably lost. Hence America forms a very late addition, and one very difficult of comprehension, in the scheme of universal history. This remark applies still more forcibly to Australia, which, though less isolated, is still less favourable to human development, owing to its physical and climatic peculiarities. In spite of the fact that the sea renders them close neighbours to the progressive Malays, the Australian aborigines are content with playing a passive, merely receptive part.

Quite apart from anthropological and ethnographical reasons, we are more and more led to adopt the view according to which the gradual occupation of the island world of the Pacific Ocean by the human race could have proceeded originally only from the west. Thus, the sea first made its civilising influence felt in a direction from west to east. In subsequent times, however, after the white race, with its remarkable capacity for expansion, had gained the ascendency in America, this condition of things was changed. Those peculiarities of the Pacific Ocean which favour navigation in an opposite direction from that mentioned above were now brought into action, so that, since then the influence of the Pacific as a promoter of civilisation has proceeded in a direction from east to west.

Occupation from West to East

As regards the time when the gradual settlement of the Pacific island world had its beginning, Friedrich Müller assumes it to date back to about the year 1000 B.C. According to the views of later anthropologists this colonisation was not completed until a few centuries before the discovery of Polynesia by the white races, by whom the inhabitants of these islands were regarded as a race sharply distinct from the Malays. There is a sharp line of demarcation between the dark-skinned, frizzly or woolly-haired Melanesian and the lighter-coloured, yellowish-brown, sleek or curly-haired Polynesian or Micronesian. The only feature common to all is that, in spite of many intellectual endowments, they for the most part remained a people in a state of nature, who probably never dreamed of regarding themselves as one people, or conceived the notion of forming a state. The almost interminable subdivision and insular isolation of their separate racial divisions, the wholly tropical situation of their homes, in which the presence of the coco-palm, the breadfruit tree, and an abundance of fish and shellfish entirely relieved them from the necessity of labouring for a living, a climate which makes little or no demand for houses or clothing—all these conditions could not do otherwise than generate a certain ease of living and absence of care which are impediments to the development of a higher civilisation, in the sense in which we conceive it in the case of a firmly-settled continental people. In spite of this, the Polynesians, though they knew nothing of iron, and were only slightly acquainted with other metals, display a remarkable ability, combined with artistic skill, in the manufacture of different implements, which capacity reaches its culminating point in the shipbuilding art. To this advanced condition of their seamanship we must finally trace back the expansion of the race over the whole immense breadth of the ocean.

Why the Islanders Stagnated

It is, in fact, in the form of these involuntary migrations of its inhabitants that the Pacific Ocean plays so important a part in this remote domain of the history of mankind. In opposition to the view which traces back the Polynesian race to the island world of South-Eastern Asia, William Ellis asserts with conviction that America was the point of departure of the population of the Pacific island world. He denies that it is possible for the Polynesians to have originated from the west, since the prevailing winds and currents tend in this direction, and, apart from this, because common ethnographic features between the Polynesians and the aboriginal inhabitants of America are by no means wanting. Now it is true that within a small area winds and currents often exercise a considerable influence ; on the wide expanse of the Pacific Ocean, however, they have long since ceased permanently to determine the distribution of mankind. On the contrary, we have actually a series of observations extending over several hundreds of years which lead to the conclusion that extended migrations, whether voluntary or otherwise, have on a large scale taken place in a direction

Theories Caused by the Winds

contrary to that of the prevailing winds and currents. At the same time we must constantly bear in mind that sudden unexpected storms are at least as efficacious in driving the most expert sailor out of his course as the constant regular currents of air and water which the skill of the navigator is capable of conquering. Important to the ethnologist as is this phenomenon—which in the course of thousands of years has extended a dense network from land to land—it is equally so to the history of Polynesia, which is entirely taken up by the mutual relations of different groups and the fusion of races which has resulted therefrom. In the majority of cases, probably, these unpremeditated voyages were the precursors of planned-out migrations, which, on the one hand, led to the permanent settlement of new islands, and on the other were followed by the establishment of colonies in districts long previously occupied. This series of later migrations and colonisations forms, as Ratzel justly points out, the sole fact which indicates the stage of civilisation reached by the Stone Age. On this account it cannot be easily understood, since it is impossible to compare it with other achievements of a similar character. The area which was thus brought within the sphere of colonisation many times exceeds the empire of Alexander the Great or of the Roman Emperors. In the sphere of territorial domination it represents the greatest achievement before the discovery of America.

Storms that Peopled the Islands

Intimately connected with the abundant intercourse of which the Pacific has been the scene from times immemorial stands the fact that nowhere has it supplied time or space for the development of an independent civilisation. Neither the immense island of New Guinea, with its thinly scattered, idle population, nor the still more remote New Zealand, has been capable of becoming the centre of a new civilisation, to say nothing of the other innumerable smaller islands. Only a few isolated elements within the domain of civilisation have under specially favourable circumstances been able to undergo an independent development. Apart from this the Pacific Ocean presents merely variations of one and the same fundamental theme. In this the absence of a real political formation or state structure is constantly repeated; it was only in the Hawaiian Islands that, at the time of their discovery by Europeans, three states existed, which afterward, under the native king Kamehameha, united into a single state. In all other cases the community or society, even when under monarchical sway, was limited to a single island, and hence remained quite insignificant in extent and influence. In all the larger islands, such as New Guinea and New Zealand, we fail to find even the slightest trace of a centralised political organisation.

Lack of Independent Civilisations

Hence there can scarcely be a question of a real history of Oceania before its discovery. Nevertheless we ought not on that account to speak of the Polynesians as a people without a history; for tradition plays no small part in their social life. They have also an idea of chronology, in which the Creation forms the basis or starting-point; in the absence of written signs they make use of notched sticks, the so-called "history-rods," as aids for remembering names and periods of time. As one might expect, these traditions sometimes go back to a very remote past. At Nukahiwa, in the Marquesas Archipelago, eighty-eight generations are said to have been established, which would mean a period of about twenty-five hundred years; at Baratongo the more modest number of thirty generations is claimed; and the Maoris of New Zealand limit themselves to twenty. On the other hand the Hawaiian king Kamehameha claimed a descent in direct line from a series of sixty-six generations of ancestors. Of course no real historical value can be attached to legends of this kind; but they nevertheless give evidence of a strongly-rooted feeling of autochthonous descent, which must have originated in a fairly long period of residence on the soil, and accordingly have been preceded by a certain degree of civilisation. Apart from this, according to generally accepted views, the civilisation of Polynesia had, at the time of its discovery, sunk to a very low level as compared with the development it had reached in earlier times.

History from Island Legends

To the question whether the conditions of national life in the Pacific were affected by influences emanating from the eastern shores of the American continent, it is difficult to give a decisive answer either

in the negative or in the affirmative. In the dissemination of the Mongoloid race over the continents of the Northern Hemisphere, America, according to the prevalent view, seems to have played the part of receiver—that is, the movement took place in a direction from Asia to America; while the view of a reflux current in the opposite direction can with difficulty be accepted. On the other hand, some of the island groups of the Pacific display so much analogy with the North-west of America in their flora and fauna, as well as in the ethnological characters of their population, that the idea of a casual connection between the two regions easily suggests itself; while, on the contrary, there is no lack of theories according to which the Polynesian population of the Pacific must be traced back to North America, or of others which, instead of a single former movement in one direction, assume several movements in either direction, and which, in Ratzel's words, "would substitute for the artificial theory of a former single migration and of a simple descent, the idea of a diffusion and stratification of the different races, *inter se*." However, no such influence on the part of America is discernible in historic times, and hence, from our standpoint, we are justified in regarding America as the passively receptive, not as the actively radiating or disseminating element.

America and the South Sea Islands

We have already pointed out the obstacles which stand in the way of the existence of any mutual relations between the west coast of America and the Pacific Ocean. Native American civilisation adopted a decidedly continental course, and did not take at all kindly to the sea, even in places where—as in that great Mediterranean Sea of America, the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea—the natural conditions were most favourable to a seafaring life.

A comprehensive historical glance at the immense border regions of the Pacific Ocean enables us to recognise the beginning of a period in which its historical formative influence has for its basis, as it were, the human race itself—a period which may be described as the typically continental period. Both the border regions and the island areas are now occupied. All the energies of their inhabitants, however, are centred upon their own internal organisation and development, and there is an almost complete absence of mutual relations; even the knowledge of their existence in the case of widely-separated areas vanishes completely from the memory of man. Thus we see how the civilised nations of Eastern Asia gradually succumb politically, socially, and intellectually to a rigid paralysing formalism; how the States of America, soon discarding the sea, consume and speedily exhaust their energies in the struggle with a somewhat chary Nature; how finally they and the natural populations of Polynesia and Australia lose touch with the rest of mankind and relapse into the condition of isolated, degenerating units.

Relapse into Isolation

THE PACIFIC OCEAN IN MODERN TIMES

THE first impulse to the enormous expansion of the white race through navigation undoubtedly originated from the Mediterranean. The prosperity which its seafaring nations derived from the profitable commerce of the East impelled the western Europeans of the Atlantic coast to emulate their example and to seek unknown sea roads to the Far East; for it was only by such roads that that region was accessible to Europeans. The idea of an overland route across the gigantic continent of Asia seems to have been allowed to drop; that it was not feasible had been amply demonstrated by many fruitless attempts dating from the time of Alexander the Great down to that of Frederic Barbarossa and Saint Louis. Moreover, Asia was still, at irregular intervals, pouring forth its devastating hordes toward the West, as in the Great Mongol invasion which as recently as the beginning of the eighteenth century was still surging in Eastern Europe.

Early Maritime Adventure

Of course, a small continent like Europe, with its comparatively small populations, could not cope by land with the enormous populations of Asia. Hence, since a road to the East had to be found somehow or other, it could be found only by sea.

The history of geographical discoveries does not fall within the scope of this work; it will therefore suffice to mention that the immediate object in the search for a direct sea-route from Western Europe to India was the rediscovery of the two countries Cathay and Zipangu, which had vanished from the intellectual horizon, but were thought to be, as it were, neighbours of India, their existence having been proved by Marco Polo. The later and wider aims were merely the gradual outcome of the enormous and quite unexpected extent of the original discoveries. In the natural order of things the first attempts, undertaken chiefly by the Portuguese, were made in an easterly direction; their most important result was the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope, accomplished in 1486 by Bartolomeo Diaz. About the same time, however, the conception of the spherical shape of the earth, which was rapidly gaining ground, led to similar enterprises being undertaken in a westerly direction also.

It was in the pursuit of such attempts that Christopher Columbus discovered the Bahamas and Antilles for Spain in 1492, and that John Cabot discovered the North American continent for England in 1494. Both discoverers imagined themselves to have really found what they had sought—the east coast of Asia, a belief in which they persisted to the end of their lives. Nor did Pedralvarez Cabral, who in 1500, while attempting to reach India by an eastern route, was driven by a western drift current to the coast of Brazil, recognise the importance of his discovery. He, in fact, believed he had found only an island of no special attraction, and, altering his course, made haste to return with all speed to the coast of Africa.

A Great Portuguese Navigator

For shortly before (1497–1498), Vasco da Gama had succeeded, by rounding the Cape of Good Hope, in reaching India, being the first European navigator who had done so, and in forming there connections of the utmost advantage to his native country, Portugal. Inspired by this success, so important in a practical sense, the Portuguese now turned their attention exclusively to the route discovered by Vasco da Gama.

Spain Emulates Portugal

On the other hand, the Spaniards, who on their side pursued further the road first mapped out by Columbus, soon became convinced that the countries discovered in the west could not be part of Asia. Driven by a passionate longing for the gold which had been found during the early explorations, they followed the westward-pointing track of the yellow metal, and soon obtained from the natives of Central America the knowledge of the existence of that "other sea" on the coasts of which gold was to be found in superabundance.

VASCO DA GAMA

The first voyager to reach India by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope.

In the search for the precious metal, Nuñez de Balboa crossed the Cordilleras of the Isthmus of Panama, and was the first European who from their heights set eyes on the Pacific Ocean, which he did on September 25th, 1513. He applied to it the name of the "South Sea," and took possession of its coasts in the name of the King of Spain. This event forms an important landmark in history. Henceforth the newly discovered continental area was recognised as a portion of a large and independent continent. Further, the existence of the greatest ocean of the earth was made known and turned to advantage. The still existing civilised states of the New World were annihilated and extinguished almost at one blow, and the development of the human populations of the Western Hemisphere was thus turned into an entirely new channel. Finally, this discovery also led to a fundamental change in the political structure of the civilised states of the Western Hemisphere. The discovery of the Pacific Ocean by Europeans had a double immediate effect. First, it led to a definite general knowledge of the true shape and size of the earth—a knowledge which has had immense results in the domains of civilisation, commerce, and politics.

Secondly it led up directly to the incredibly rapid conquest of the Pacific coasts by Spain. The lamentable helplessness with which the densely populated and civilised native states of Central and South America fell to pieces before the onslaught of a few hundreds of European adventurers, like the Aztec Empire of Mexico before the small band of Cortes, and the Empire of the Incas in Peru before Pizarro, remains one of the most remarkable phenomena in history. The discovery of an unexplored ocean separated from the Atlantic by the whole length of the American continent led to a series of zealous endeavours to find the connection between these two great masses of water. It was of importance to the Spaniards, first of all, who had been anticipated by the Portuguese in reaching India by the eastern route, not to be misled by the obstacle which had unexpectedly barred their course to the west. It was soon recognised that Central America, which had been the first portion of the continent they had become acquainted with, possessed no strait connecting the two oceans; hence the problem for solution was to find one elsewhere. In the hope of discovering such a passage farther south, voyages of exploration were made along the eastern coast of Brazil, and in 1515 Diaz de Solis advanced as far as the mouth of the La Plata, where, however, he met his death.

FIRST EUROPEAN TO SEE THE PACIFIC
The Spanish explorer, Vasco Nunez de Balboa, saw the Pacific Ocean on September 25, 1513, after crossing the Isthmus of Panama. He called it the South Sea, and took possession of its coasts for his native country, Spain.

In 1520 Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese in the Spanish service, succeeded in discovering the strait called after his name, between the South American continent and Tierra del Fuego. Through this strait he entered the Pacific Ocean, in which he at once vigorously pursued his course. After a voyage of more than three months Magellan reached the Ladrones, and, later on, the Philippine Islands; and though he was not fated to enjoy the triumph of a successful return, he at all events is incontestably entitled to the distinction of being the first navigator and the first European who traversed the Pacific along its entire breadth. Magellan's companions continued the voyage after the death of their leader, and reached the Moluccas. Here, on the island of Tidor, they fell in with Portuguese who had previously arrived there by the opposite route, and who were not a little astonished to see white men arriving from the east. Here, then, two advance columns, which had set out from opposite directions, for the first time joined hands. It was here that the great girdle of knowledge which had been laid round the earth was made complete, and thus European energy and intelligence achieved in the course of some decades a result which the aboriginal inhabitants of the Pacific Ocean had never attained for as many thousands of years. Within a short time the whole Pacific and the Pacific coasts of America were discovered. California was reached even before the middle of the sixteenth century, and as early as 1527 a regular navigation route was established between the coasts of Mexico and the far distant Moluccas.

In the meantime the Portuguese also had advanced farther eastward from the Indian Ocean. This advance, however, was of a quite different character from the conquest of America by the Spaniards. The Portuguese did not make their appearance in India as "conquistadores"; in fact, to do so would have scarcely been possible when we take into account the much more ancient and advanced civilisation of that country, its well-established political system, and the greater density

NUNEZ DE BALBOA FIGHTING HIS WAY TO THE CORDILLERAS

and numbers of its population. They accordingly did not indulge the ambition of subjecting the newly-discovered territories and adding them as provinces to their own small and remote kingdom, but contented themselves with establishing trading-stations on the coasts and with acquiring and fortifying for the protection of the latter several points on the coast, as well as maintaining in constant readiness a capable fleet of warships. In other respects the sphere of Portuguese colonisation falls chiefly within the region of the Indian Ocean. The latter, however, served, after all, merely as a first step towards its greater neighbour, inasmuch as the Portuguese extended their explorations from the Indian Ocean more and more towards the East as far as the coasts of China, where they founded settlements, and to Japan, which they reached by accident in 1543.

Policy of the Portuguese

For exactly one hundred years Japan was opened up to the outer world, a period forming but a small fraction in the history of the island empire, but one which was fraught with important consequences in the grouping and position of the European sea Powers. About the middle of the sixteenth century Japan began eagerly and zealously to open its gates to Western civilisation and the teaching of Christianity; for three generations, however, it was the unwilling spectator of a jealous rivalry between the Portuguese and the Dutch, who had arrived in the country in the year 1600—a contest rendered the more discreditable by the unscrupulous choice of the weapons with which it was carried on. This state of things the Japanese finally decided to terminate by what seemed to them the only possible solution—namely, by simply shutting their door in the face of the unruly strangers. By this step, which, indeed, is quite at variance with the character of its people, Japan for more than two centuries disappears completely from history, and ceases to exercise any influence whatever on the development of affairs on and upon the Pacific Ocean.

The Closed Door of Japan

It is a remarkable phenomenon that the immense increase in power and wealth which the era of geographical discovery brought to Europeans fell much less to the share of the real discoverers than to others. The discoveries made between 1486 and the middle of the sixteenth century, with the sole exception of those of the two Cabots, were placed entirely to the political account of Spain and Portugal. Both these kingdoms suddenly came into possession of immense territories from which they drew undreamed-of wealth and treasure. The populations of these territories—at least of those in America—became the pliant and feeble tools of their conquerors.

The real fruits of geographical discovery were to fall into the hands of those who had participated in the competition, not with precipitate haste and with the sole object of enriching themselves suddenly and without effort, but with far-seeing deliberation and with silent but untiring efforts—the Dutch and the English. The Dutch, a small people, subject to the powerful monarchy of Spain, had boldly risen against their political and religious oppressors, and, in spite of the enormous disproportion between their own resources and those of the suzerain Power, and chiefly on account of their excellence in seamanship, had carried out a successful resistance. They in part transferred the seat of war across the Indian Ocean, established themselves in the Spanish-Portuguese possessions, destroyed Portuguese influence in important localities, as they had done since 1600 in Japan, and gradually succeeded in getting the trade of India almost entirely into their own hands. But the activity of the English assumed still grander proportions.

Dutch Competition with Spain

At the time of the discovery of America, England had lost all her Continental dominions with the exception of Calais, and found herself restricted to her island possessions. Even her dominion over Ireland had at that time almost slipped from her grasp, and Scotland formed an independent kingdom. England possessed no territories outside of Europe, and she had fallen from her high rank as a great European Power, while outside of Europe her influence was virtually nil. It was at this time that the discoveries of the sea route to India and of America first turned the attention of this healthy and energetic people towards lands far distant; and the prudent sovereigns of the then reigning House of Tudor kept the eyes of their subjects fixed in this direction.

The inborn love of this island nation for maritime adventure then, as if by magic,

MAGELLAN'S SHIPS PASSING THROUGH THE STRAITS THAT NOW BEAR HIS NAME
From the painting by J. Fraser, by permission of Mr. A. H. E. Wood.

suddenly blossomed forth in luxuriant growth and drove its people with irresistible force across the sea. It was not, however, merely for the quest of gold, as had been the case with Spain, that England entered upon the career of territorial exploration and colonisation; nor, like the Portuguese, with the object of making the profitable trade in spices a monopoly in their own hands, but with a nobler, more far-seeing purpose in which the overthrow of the newly-found native populations and civilisations formed no part.

England Enters the Competition

Thus, from the moment when the existence of the Pacific Ocean was ascertained, it engaged the attention of the English. They quietly allowed the Spaniards and Portuguese to push forward their discoveries and conquests in the East and West Indies without, for the time being, entering into competition with them. On the other hand, they concentrated their efforts upon finding a route into the Pacific Ocean unknown to the Spaniards and Portuguese, but available for themselves, establishing themselves in this route, and in this way spreading and developing their rule in, as it were, the opposite direction.

The efforts of the English found a visible expression in the search for the North-west Passage, which was pursued with an iron persistency, and has proved of the utmost importance in history. That the newly-discovered continent in the north was bounded by the sea, like that in the south, appeared beyond question.

Accordingly, it was thought that there must exist a northern route leading from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean. Such a passage being situated nearer to England than any other, the problem was to find it. Though the attempts made in this direction did not at once lead to the expected result—nor, indeed, did they produce any result of practical value later on—they were nevertheless accompanied by effects of extraordinary significance. They acquired importance not only in a geographical sense, by leading to a true comprehension of the nature of the earth, but also in

The North-west Passage

a political direction; for as a result of numerous enterprises the northern part of the American continent passed into the possession of England, which made much better use of it than the Spaniards had done of its central and southern portions.

The first reports of the success of Columbus had, as early as 1494, instigated John Cabot, a Portuguese in the English service, as well as his son Sebastian, to undertake a voyage by which even at that time they hoped to reach the land of Cathay, or China, and the Spice Islands by the shortest route—that is, by a north-west passage. In the course of this voyage, however, they discovered the northern coast of the North American continent, and took possession of it in the name of England. In a second voyage, undertaken in 1497, they enlarged the discoveries of their first expedition, and the same result was attained by a third voyage made by Sebastian Cabot alone in 1498. The actual search for the much-longed-for North-west Passage was not, however, begun until the year 1517, when the younger Cabot discovered Hudson Bay, and very probably penetrated into Davis Strait and within the Arctic Circle.

THOMAS CAVENDISH
English navigator who spoiled the Spaniards and sailed round the world in 1586-88

Voyages of the Cabots

The first attempt towards the solution of the problem was, however, soon forgotten in the beginning of the Reformation, which absorbed the entire attention of the English people. It was not until after the death, in 1547, of the Royal theologian, Henry VIII., that the transoceanic movement was once more revived, and attracted a much more general and lively interest than on the first occasion. Its special feature lay in the fact that the movement proceeded not so much from the State as from individuals and corporations, and that, although it was favoured and supported by the Government, it was neither initiated nor directed thereby; indeed, up to the time of Henry VIII. (1509–47) a Royal Navy had not even existed. A few wealthy and influential and private individuals and merchant guilds fitted out, at their own cost, whole fleets which, according to circumstances, engaged in commerce or made voyages of exploration, or, on their own responsibility, sailed in quest of warlike adventures, which in many instances had a strong savour of piracy.

At the beginning of this new period an expedition left England mainly for purposes of exploration, but with an object diametrically the opposite of the voyages which had been set on foot at the beginning of the century for the discovery of the North-west Passage; for it was now proposed to discover the nearest route to China in an easterly direction and along the north coasts of Europe, or, in other words, to find a north-east passage, which, it was hoped by the English commercial world of that time, would lead to a fresh development of their trade, then in a very depressed condition. On May 10th, 1553, Sir Hugh Willoughby sailed from London with this object; but neither his expedition nor those of later English navigators were successful in this sphere of exploration, in which they had to yield the palm to the more fortunate Dutch and Russians.

Hence English explorers once more turned their attention to the North-west Passage. Frobisher's voyage of discovery in 1576 was followed by a large number of others, such as those of Davis, Hudson, Bylot, Baffin, and others. Although from natural causes these expeditions did not obtain the desired object, they nevertheless proved of infinite importance in considerably advancing the colonisation of North America, of which the beginnings had been attempted by Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh in 1583 and 1584. This was not a colonisation after the fashion of Spanish conquistadores or Portuguese spice-merchants, but a slow, gradual, tranquil, and thoughtful immigration of industrious, energetic Northern Europeans, who did not go with the sole aim of rapidly gaining treasures, but in order to find a livelihood founded on enduring and arduous labour; who,

The Work of English Explorers

while wresting the virgin soil from its native hunting population and bringing it under cultivation, became intimately attached to it, and thus laid the firm foundation of a political system, which grew with surprising rapidity and was full of the hardiest energy. Simultaneously with the bold explorers of North America a number of naval heroes left England in search of adventures, whose main object, however, was to inflict the greatest possible damage on the Spaniards, who were detested on account of political and religious antagonism, and thereby also to enrich themselves. Besides such names as Hawkins, Raleigh, and Cavendish, that of Francis Drake shines forth with special lustre. Drake combined the hero with the explorer. So great was his boldness that he was no longer satisfied with attacking the Atlantic possessions of Spain; indeed, the West India islands and the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico had been already so much harassed by the English corsairs that the Spaniards in these possessions now kept a good look-out. On the coasts of Chili and Peru, on the other hand, they considered themselves perfectly secure and unassailable. Relying on their sense of security and consequent unguardedness, Drake, who was morally and materially supported by the Queen, at the end of 1577 left England with five ships, well equipped by himself, sailed through the Straits of Magellan, and, without encountering any resistance, began a private war against the Spaniards in the Pacific Ocean. He was entirely successful, and set out on his homeward voyage richly laden with spoil. He tried to turn the voyage to account by searching for the North-West Passage from the Pacific Ocean—that is, in the reverse direction. However, after sailing along the West Coast of America up to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude without finding a sign of the desired passage, he decided on the voyage across the ocean, and returned to England, after having touched at the Moluccas and sailed around the Cape of Good Hope.

Excursions Against the Spaniards

Memorable Voyages of Drake

Drake's circumnavigation of the world, which had more or less the character of a warlike expedition, marks the first conscious and deliberate step on the part of England towards a policy of universal expansion and the sovereignty of the seas, a policy the surprising results of which not only produced a great change in the distribution of power in Europe, but also subsequently, and in a manner entirely unpremeditated, brought into the foreground a new and important factor in international life—America.

In this way, moreover, was laid the foundation of the predominance of the white race over the whole globe. For the Pacific Ocean and its place in history generally, Drake's voyage had a special significance; for by it, at one stroke, as it were, that ocean became the centre of public interest and the scene of the struggle for the sovereignty of the seas.

Here was displayed for the first time in a striking manner the internal hollowness and weakness of the apparently gigantic strength of Spanish dominion; for, as seems only natural, numerous other piratical enterprises, not only English, but also Dutch, followed in Drake's successful track, and all of them, with more or less impunity, managed to harass and plunder the Spanish possessions and Spanish ships in the Pacific Ocean. True, the maritime war between England and Spain was not finally decided in European waters until 1588 (the destruction of the Armada), but we may safely assert that the issue was prepared by the events which took place in the Pacific Ocean, and that it was here that England found the key to her maritime supremacy.

England's Maritime Supremacy

About the year 1600 the third continent washed by the Pacific Ocean—Australia—also began to rise from the mist which had hitherto enveloped it. Its discovery, however, at first attracted but little notice, and had no immediate practical results. This was due to several causes: the natural features of the country were not very inviting, the climate was not favourable, and its native population was scanty and in a low grade of development. There was further a dearth of all desirable productions, and the coasts of the continent were difficult of access owing to the presence of barrier reefs. Meanwhile, Britain had lost her American colonies, which now enter upon the stage of history as an independent political entity under the name of the United States of America; and besides this she was under the necessity of maintaining the deportation of

criminals, who had formerly been sent to the American continent. She was thus obliged, in the year 1788, nearly two hundred years after its discovery, to take possession of the Australian continent in earnest.

This enforced settlement had, however, to yield to one of a voluntary character as soon as the real value of the formerly despised country became known. Immigrants, after a time, poured into the country and furnished ample proof that in Australia Britain had obtained an acquisition of extraordinary value. Owing to the fact that the new immigrants were almost exclusively of British nation-

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE
The first Englishman to sail the waters of the Pacific. His momentous work and the example he set laid the foundations of Great Britain's colonial empire.

ality, the continent acquired a homogeneous population, and Britain a colony which kept up very close ties with the mother country. Especially were those elements wanting which had driven the Americans into a political—indeed, almost national—opposition to Britain. Accordingly the population of Australia had made this youngest of continents into a second antipodean edition of "Old England," a daughterland which furthers the policy of "Rule, Britannia" on the Pacific Ocean with no less pride than her great prototype at home. In the colonisation of Australia its native aboriginal population is even of less import than the Indians of North America; politically it is of no account whatever, its scanty remnants having been forced back into the inhospitable interior parts of the continent. The acquisition of the Pacific Ocean by England, which was begun since Cook's discoveries, has not stopped at the Australian continent, but has been extended to numerous parts of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. It is a remarkable fact that in their numerous voyages from the Mexican harbours to the Moluccas and Philippines, and, since 1565, in the opposite direction also, the Spaniards discovered so very few of the innumerable island groups which stud the intervening seas. Even the few of the archipelagoes they did discover—the Marshall, Bonin, Solomon, and Paumotu Islands, and others—were not considered by them worth acquisition or colonisation; only the Mariana, Caroline, and Pelew groups were in course of time taken possession of or laid claim to in order to serve as points of support for their colonies in the Philippines. The Portuguese and Dutch took still less interest in the acquisition of territory in the Pacific; they left that ocean entirely out of the sphere of their commercial policy, and, in fact, formed no settlements in it at all. Thus it came about that during the voyages of the English and French in the latter third of the eighteenth century—those of Cook, Bougainville, La Pérouse, D'Entrecasteaux, and others—numerous island groups were discovered which were not yet occupied by Europeans, and were therefore ownerless or unclaimed territory. Of course, the crews of the ships composing these expeditions were not sufficiently numerous to spare any of their men for the permanent occupation of these islands; but they were soon followed by compatriots in the shape of adventurers, explorers, merchants, and missionaries.

Britain's Pacific Acquisitions

Rapidly the islands of the South Sea, about whose inhabitants, products, and climate the most favourable reports were spread abroad, became centres of attraction for immigrants. In this manner the white race, represented chiefly by Englishmen and Frenchmen, later also by North Americans and Germans, spread over the Island world of the Pacific Ocean. The English especially, who had just obtained a footing on the Australian continent, were

White Men in South Sea Islands

THE FIRST ENGLISH SHIP IN THE PACIFIC: DRAKE'S "GOLDEN HIND" AT CALLAO

in the vanguard of this movement. Besides settling in Tasmania and New Zealand, they also established themselves in Polynesia and Melanesia, and in the course of the present century have succeeded in acquiring a considerable portion of the Pacific island area. The French, too, have secured for themselves a considerable portion, more especially in the Polynesian groups, as well as New Caledonia. Later on, the North Americans also entered into the competition, and since 1885 the German Empire, by the adoption of a vigorous colonial policy, has also acquired possessions in Melanesia and Micronesia.

The Powers in the South Seas

Nor must we omit to mention here another European Power which, although it did not participate in the division of the Pacific island area, nevertheless, by a vigorous advance towards the ocean, early entered upon a path by which it gradually developed into one of the most powerful and determinant factors in modern history—namely, Russia. Recognising that its strength existed in its continental character, the mighty Slav Empire by degrees withdrew from the ocean; it sold Alaska and the Aleutian islands to America, and exchanged the Kuriles for the pseudo-island of Saghalin; but, on the other hand, it cleverly managed to extend its zone of contact with the ocean by a series of brilliant moves, vitally important to its own interests, towards the south. In the twentieth century that movement brought her into direct conflict with Japan, resulting in a set-back to the encroachments of the European Power, which still lacks effective command of a warm-water port. If and when she becomes secure mistress of such a position, her power on the Pacific will take a new aspect.

The occupation of the whole expanse of the Pacific by the white race requires, like the advance of Russia to the shores of that ocean, to be regarded from a higher vantage-ground. It is, in fact, more than a political event; it is a fact of the utmost importance in universal history, an energetic step forward on the road which seems to have for its final goal the reunification of the divided human race, an issue not to be controlled by and scarcely patent to human consciousness, but one which is regarded by many as inevitable. Nowhere on the earth has this levelling influence of the white race operated more energetically than in Oceania, but of course always at the expense of the aboriginal population.

Ultimate Fusion of World Races

In general, the Polynesians showed themselves very accessible to "white" influences; they approached the white immigrants sympathetically, and adopted with ease their manners and customs and their modes of life and thought; but in the acquisition of these foreign elements their own original structure became undermined. Wherever the influx of white elements is strong enough, mixed races are produced with greater rapidity, and in these the white influence is always the determinative factor. Thus in New Zealand the pure native Maoris are fast approaching extinction; and the Sandwich Islands are nothing more than an appendage of the North American Union. On the other hand, where this influx is not sufficient to produce a rapid anthropological transformation, the native element is injured by a mere superficial contact with Western culture or by what we may rather call its shady side. Men who as naked savages have led a true amphibious life, half on land, half on sea, die off prematurely when turned into civilised Christians. The white race, though it forms the determinant factor, does not, however, stand alone in this filling up of the gaps of defunct Pacific populations. Side by side with it the yellow race is engaged in a similar task. Of course, the motives from which the Chinese set out in this process are fundamentally different from those of Europeans and North Americans, and consequently their effect, too, is widely different; nevertheless, to a certain extent at least, the latter has a similar tendency in both cases.

Effect Upon the Natives

It is neither love of adventure, lust for gain, nor political or scientific interests which drive the Chinaman to seek a home in foreign countries, but mainly the difficulty of obtaining a living in his own over-populated empire. According to natural laws the efflux of this surplus population takes place in the direction of least resistance; but since Japan, till very recently, was closed to foreigners, while both divisions of India were themselves suffering from over-population, and the large islands of the Indian Ocean were very soon satiated with Chinese, the stream of Chinese emigration overflowed to Australia, America, and the island

DRAKE'S FIRST SIGHT OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN

world which stretches between these two continents. These latter, owing to the great disproportion between their extent and population, seemed specially adapted for receiving it.

Nevertheless, even there, the "yellow" invasion has not met with a very welcome reception. Nor is this a matter for surprise. First, we have to deal with the apparently unbridgeable gulf which exists between the white and yellow races. Neither the white man nor the Chinaman considers himself as the one and absolute superior of the other—in the way, that is, that both look on themselves in relation to all other native races; but they recognise and fear each other as formidable rivals, without being able—owing to a total difference in mental outlook—to find some common ground of agreement. Fear without respect is the character of their mutual relations, combined with a repugnance reaching almost to disgust of the one nature toward the other, which prevents any direct intermixture of the two races, and consequently removes the most effectual means toward the levelling of racial differences. In addition to this the Chinaman is a dangerous industrial opponent to the white man, whom he excels as an indefatigable, unpretentious, and at the same time intelligent workman, thereby lowering the value of white labour and depreciating wages.

The Yellow Invasion

Accordingly the policy of Australia and America is directed toward the prevention of Chinese immigration by all possible means, as much from the subjective standpoint of justifiable self-defence as from an inborn instinct. We must not, however, shut our eyes to the fact that the Chinaman might put forward the same claims on his side—if he had the power. It is therefore with the white race a simple question of self-help in the hard struggle for existence. When we consider the profound differences of the forces brought into play in the contact of the spheres of expansion of the yellow and white races upon the Pacific Ocean, a final solution of this difficult

The Side of the Chinaman

problem must appear still very remote. On the other hand, it becomes more and more evident that the part which the island world shut in by the Pacific Ocean has played in the shaping of the history of the world is not yet concluded, but, on the contrary, is destined to produce even greater effects in the future. The island groups of Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia, in which new half-caste populations are being developed from the intermixture of white men and Polynesians, seem adapted for intercepting such part of the Chinese stream of emigration as is not mainly directed to the gold-fields of Australia and North America; and it is probable that, owing to the extensive subdivision which of necessity goes on in these localities, this portion may become absorbed in the other racial elements.

Stream of Chinese Emigration

The eastern margin of the Pacific—the American continent—seems specially designed for co-operating in this gradual work of unification. This view will probably meet with as little favour in the United States as will the suggestion that our country, still exuberant in its youthful strength, can expect to exercise its influence for ever. It looks, in fact, as if America were the continent which, after being for a long time inhabited by a single race, is suddenly about to collect all races upon its soil. We have no more striking proof of the force of oceanic influence and the historical importance of navigation. The mutual relations of the different races of America toward each other are very variable. The Indians of Central and South America, who led a settled, agricultural, and—according to their light—civilised kind of life in states of their own formation, were naturally unable to withdraw themselves from the influences of the white man to the same extent as the nomad hunting populations of North America and the wild tribes of the South. The civilised Indians suffered the consequences of subjection, and hence furnished rich material for the formation of mixed races. The hunting and primitive races, on the other hand, avoided all contact with the white man except in a hostile sense; they have accordingly suffered annihilation in the unequal combat, and have had to leave their settlements in the hands of those who have supplanted them. The whites, in their turn, especially in the tropical zone, have shown themselves neither willing nor able to bear the heavy burden of bodily labour on their own shoulders, and have therefore fastened it upon those of the subjected races. Where the latter were not present in sufficient abundance, or where their physical strength was not equal to the performance of the hard task demanded of them, other means of obtaining the necessary relief were resorted to. The institution of negro slavery in America forms one of the saddest chapters in the otherwise brilliant history of the white race; and though the nineteenth century may rest with the consciousness of having removed this shameful institution from the New World, and of having thus—at least partially—atoned for the sins of its fathers, this does not furnish any justification for letting pride at this act of civilisation banish our feeling of shame for the old moral wrong.

Natives of America

As things are to-day, America forms the centre whither stream the surplus populations of all the continents. It cannot resist this tide of immigration, inasmuch as there is still plenty of space for its reception. "In this crucible," says Friedrich Ratzel, "all the different races of mankind will become intermingled; there will, of course, be cases of retrogression or 'throwing back' in this process, but bastard races, when they are preponderant, have a considerable advantage over pure races." At the time of its discovery by Europeans, America was inhabited by a single race about whose numbers we have no information; but they certainly cannot have been very great. The densely populated Indian States of Central and South America formed mere oases within unpopulated deserts. At the present day, of its 100,000,000 inhabitants, 60,000,000 belong to the white race, 10,000,000 to the black, 9,000,000 to the red, 200,000 to the yellow, and some 20,000,000 to different mixed races. In this calculation are comprised the negro half-castes, to whom the pure negroes, however, are as one to four. Since this considerably increases the total of the mixed races, we may assume that about a fourth of the total population of America consists of mixed races. Now, every pure race can furnish the material for the formation of a mixed race, while the reverse is impossible; farther, every mixed race, in

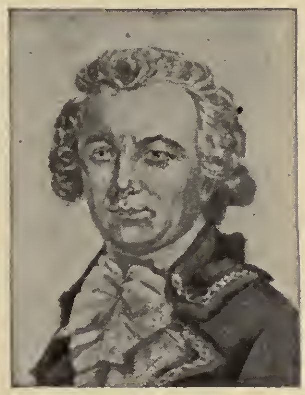
Crucible of the Nations

the gradual crumbling away of neighbouring races, grows at their expense by absorbing the fragments. From these considerations it would appear that America is likely, in the near future, to be the scene of a great and general fusion of races.

While the eastern margin of the Pacific basin appears in a state of active fermentation pregnant with events, its western margin also is being aroused into fresh activity. We have already remarked on the appearance on the Pacific coasts of Asia of the greatest continental Power in the world; we have seen how Australia has become an excellent point of support to the greatest naval Power; we are daily watching the interesting efforts at colonisation made by France, by the United States, and by the German Empire. It is therefore of special importance to consider the peculiar attitude assumed by the ancient civilised nations, the hereditary possessors of Eastern Asia, toward the successful invasion of the Pacific by the white race, which has now become a matter of history. In Japan, about the middle of the nineteenth century, a complete revolution was effected with surprising suddenness. Since that time the Japanese—or at least the influential classes among them—have been seized with a veritable passion for adopting all the institutions and customs of the white nations, even to the extent of imitating their external appearance in dress. The conditions are different in China. There, in spite of the multiplication of points of contact, we meet as yet with little comprehension of, and response to, European methods. On the contrary, it opposes to the invasion of the white race the mechanical obstacles of its immense superiority in number and density of population; and, more than this, it meets this invasion by an expansion on its own side, which, in spite of its apparently pacific character, forms, for the very reason of its being unavoidable, an extremely menacing factor. The waves of Chinese emigration radiate in all directions, but farthest to the side of least resistance—that is, across the Pacific Ocean. Here will of necessity be performed the first act of the inevitable struggle between the white and yellow races—a struggle viewed with much dread and fraught with much danger from the standpoint of ethnological history. Thus, if we cast a final backward glance over the Pacific, it appears at first as an element of separation and differentiation, assigning local limits to the various divisions or branches of the human race and providing them with the opportunity of accentuating and perpetuating peculiarities of type. Since this task has been completed, the ocean slowly and gradually, reversing its purpose, is destroying its own work, and tends in an opposite direction as an element of union, thus presenting us with a true image of the eternal circulating stream of Nature. The same glance reveals to us yellow, red, brown, and black races settling upon the coasts and islands of the ocean, stretching their limbs and extending themselves, supplanting or tolerating one another; soon, however, arriving at a certain pause from which only the yellow races emerge, owing to their great numbers and multiplying powers, while the rest degenerate in every direction.

Attitude of Yellow Races

Coming Conflict of Races



DE BOUGAINVILLE
Who commanded the first French expedition round the world.

At the present day we see only two important elements as natural antagonists upon the shores of the Pacific, each prepared and ready for the fray: they are the ancient indigenous yellow race and the newly arrived white race. Both are ably and well represented: the yellow by the Japanese and Chinese, the white by the English and North American.

In the recent war the West declined to recognise the struggle as the beginning of a battle for supremacy between the white and the yellow races; on the contrary, it showed its readiness to admit Japan into the comity of nations, rejecting the theory of inherent antagonism. If the time should come when the yellow and the white rise up against each other in a death grapple, Europe will repent of her standing aloof in the Russo-Japanese War. Whether she was wise in acting on the higher hope, time alone can show.

THE MIDDLE EAST DIVISION OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD

Following our progress westward we proceed now to the history of the Asiatic countries on the north of the Indian Ocean. These include India and Ceylon and the great peninsula which is best described as Further India: Burma, Siam, Annam, and contiguous countries. The Indian Ocean itself and the lands which border on India to the north and west—Tibet, Turkestan, Afghanistan and Baluchistan—also come within this division.

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

THIRD GRAND DIVISION

THE MIDDLE EAST

THIRD GRAND DIVISION

THE MIDDLE EAST

The regions included under the heading of the Middle East embrace the Indian Ocean, with so much of the Asiatic Continent as lies east of the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf, excepting what has already been treated under the heading of the Far East.

In this region, interest attaches primarily to the great Indian peninsula, which, like China, has a recorded history reaching back for nearly five thousand years, but, also like China, remained to Europeans a land of myth and marvel, hidden behind a curtain, of which a corner was raised at rare intervals, until the sixteenth century of our era.

Eastward of India proper lies the great double peninsula of Further India or Indo-China, half Indian and half Chinese in its associations. North lies the mysterious hidden land of Tibet, and beyond that—with Siberia on its northern and China on its eastern boundary—the vast Central Asian territory which bears the general name of Turkestan, the home of nomad hordes that, from time to time, have conquered and devastated half Europe as well as all Asia.

Finally, our division includes Afghanistan and Baluchistan, lands whose history is in part bound up with the Nearer East and the Empire of Persia, but whose most intimate connection is with Turkestan and India.

PLAN

THE INTEREST & IMPORTANCE OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Angus Hamilton

INDIA

Sir William Lee-Warner, Professor Emil Schmidt, and Arthur D. Innes, M.A.

CEYLON

Professor Emil Schmidt and Arthur D. Innes, M.A.

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LANDS & PEOPLES

OF THE MIDDLE EAST

THE INTEREST AND IMPORTANCE OF THE MIDDLE EAST

BY ANGUS HAMILTON

ALTHOUGH the boundaries of the Middle East are well known, for the purposes of this history they may be regarded as including (a) Central Asia: Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Turkestan, and Tibet; (b) Further India: Siam, Annam, Burma, Tonquin, Cochin China, and Cambodia; (c) India, with the little independent states of Nepal and Bhutan, and the island of Ceylon. Within this region the physiography of Asia nowhere shows to such advantage as in the elevated uplands, where a central tableland, at once the loftiest and most extensive in the world, is buttressed by stupendous orological development. Covering some 3,000,000 square miles, the central tableland is intersected by high ranges which enclose a number of plateaus, while it is also marked in the Gobi Desert and in the Lob Nor basin by extensive depressions. Towering above these uplands, which reach in the Tibetan plateau a height of from 14,000 feet to 15,000 feet, in the Pamir plateau 9,000 feet to 12,000 feet, and in the Iranian plateau 6,000 feet above sea-level, are the lofty crests of the Himalayas, Tian-shan, Kun Lun, Altai and Mustagh Ata.

Radiating from the Great Pamir, as the pivot of several converging systems, are the Hindu Kush and the Mustagh Ata or Kara Koram Mountains from the south-west and south-east, the Kun Lun from the east and the Tian-shan from the north-east. The Pamir plateau covers some 30,000 square miles and in its southern limits connects the Mustagh Ata with the Hindu Kush by a ridge which serves as the water parting between the basins of the Upper Oxus and the Indus. To the north it acts as the water divide between the Zarafshan and the Syr-daria. The Tibetan tableland is no less intimately identified with the orography of the Middle East, but, lying between the Himalayas and the Kun Lun Mountains, it is the least accessible portion of this highland region.

The dominating feature of the mountain system of Mid-Asia is found in the gigantic mass which, in the shape of the Hindu Kush, Kara Koram, and Himalayas, forms the true water parting between the inland and seaward drainage of the Middle East. Divided into a western, central, and eastern section, the mountains constitute themselves the southern scarp of the central tableland and extend some 2,000 miles in one uninterrupted curve, from the eastern extremity of Assam to the low hills which lie to the north of Bokhara, varying in width throughout from 100 to 500 miles. The eastern section of the great divide contributes the Nepal highlands as well as Sikkim and Bhutan to the general rise of the Indian frontier, and maintains a mean elevation of 16,000 feet.

These three purely frontier territories, Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan, of which Sikkim long since has been incorporated

with the dominions of India, nestle high up on the southern slopes of the inner range of the Himalayas. As may be imagined they are wholly mountainous. Their primitive and rugged character, too, is quite uninfluenced by Indian civilisation. Nepal, the largest, is a mere strip, some 500 miles in length and 160 miles broad, descending from the heights of the Himalayas to the Indian plain in five contracting terraces. At the same time the Nepal highlands are crowned by the highest elevations on the face of the globe. A right-angle ridge, 12,000 feet in height, separates Nepal from Sikkim, while the most easterly of the three, as also the most exposed, is Bhutan. Four hundred miles in extent and extremely elevated, it is at once the bleakest and the most beautiful part of the Himalaya region.

States of the Himalayan Ranges

Throughout the line of the Himalaya system the serried continuity of the various parallel chains and ridges composing it is broken occasionally by some signal peak of marvellous altitude. The extreme westerly sections of the Hindu Kush do not disclose this irruptive grandeur in any great degree, and it is not until the Tirieh Mir, near the Nuksan Pass, now fixed at 25,000 feet, is reached that a really formidable height presents itself. Tengri Khan, the central point of the Tian-shan, however, records an identical elevation. Unlike the Hindu Kush, the Kara Koram chain offers quite a selection of lofty peaks; but then the mean elevation of the Mustagh Ata, by which name the eastern extension of the Hindu Kush is more precisely described, is rarely less than 18,000 feet. The highest points occur close within the angles formed by the convergence of the Hindu Kush and the Mustagh Ata, and between the Gilgit valley and the Kara Koram Pass. In connection with the former, Sven Hedin fixed the highest point on the Mustagh Ata itself at 25,000 feet, while in the latter there are the Dapsang, 28,000 feet, and Peak K², 28,278 feet. In the Himalayas proper there is even a greater wealth of distinctive elevation, and no less than forty peaks are known to exceed 24,000 feet.

The Lofty Peaks of Central Asia

If the mountain systems of the northern part of the Middle East appear to belong to a single family, no such idiosyncrasy may be said to distinguish its rivers, and, whether the area concerned is the steppe of Eastern and Western Turkestan, the Iranian plateau, the elevated tablelands of the Himalayas, or the Great Plain and Deccan plateau of the Indian peninsula, there is very little reciprocity between the respective systems of drainage. In connection with the former the Tarim River constitutes Lob Nor the basin of Chinese Turkestan by draining the northern watershed of the Tian-shan, Mustagh, and Kun Lun mountains, much as the Aral Sea receives through the Amu-daria and the Syr-daria the drainage of Russian and Afghan Turkestan. At the same time, while the flow from the northern slopes of the Pamir plateau, the Hindu Kush and the Paropamisus goes to the Aral, the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush drain to the Arabian Sea through the Indus river, in the drainage system of which North-eastern Afghanistan is embodied.

Afghanistan boasts a three-fold system of drainage. Although the areas already mentioned drain to the Aral and to the Indus, a much larger proportion of the country, at least 200,000 square miles in extent, drains into the Seistan Lake, in the main through the Helmund river. Unlike Afghanistan, Baluchistan possesses no particular system, inland or seawards, and in many respects is as waterless as the Sahara. East of the Hindu Kush, at its meeting with the Mustagh, the presence of the water parting is manifested by the southern flow that is here given to the drainage of the watershed. From this point the main conduit southwards to the Arabian Sea is the Indus; further east the Ganges carries the drainage of the Himalayas, and the Brahmaputra that of the Tibetan highlands and their more remote hinterland, to the Bay of Bengal.

The Great Watersheds of Asia

From the base of the Himalayan slopes a triangular peninsula projects southwards to Cape Comorin, possessing, between the delta of the Ganges-Brahmaputra on the east, and the delta of the Indus on the west, a length of 1,900 miles on each face. Breaking away from the foot of the mountains is the Great Plain of India, with an extreme elevation of 1,000 feet and an area of 500,000 square miles, but draining entirely to the Indus and the Ganges. South of this plain there rises the Deccan tableland, with a general level

of about 2,000 feet and of a vast dimension. There is much that is distinctive about these two features of the Indian peninsula. The deltaic area is conspicuous for its richness and size, while the plateau is no less remarkable from the manner in which it preserves a continuity of character undisturbed by the encroachments of various containing hills. But the Ghats, which enclose the Deccan on the eastern and western sides, and the Nilgiris, which fulfil a similar purpose at its southern extremity, do not complete the mountain system of Southern India.

Beyond the Nilgiris the orographic formation of the peninsula is carried on by the Palni Hills, while the highest elevations that are to be found south of the Himalayas exist in the Anamalai Hills, 9,700 feet. Occupying the apex of the Indian triangle, by means of Adam's Bridge, these hills link together the Indian and Cingalese mountain systems. The most remarkable feature of the Southern upland, however, is the pronounced individualism which characterises its fluvial drainage. Unlike the central tableland in the north, which drains seawards only through the three rivers, Indus, Ganges, and Brahmaputra, the Deccan is scored by no less than fifty separate systems. In spite of this, the central tableland dismisses to the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal respectively a greater volume of water in any one of its three streams than the Deccan discharges to any source throughout its entire system. In this connection, too, it should be borne in mind that the Indian peninsula drains always to the sea, an inland—to the Aral Sea and Lob Nor—as well as a seaward flow, describing the systems of Mid-Asia.

Character of River Systems

Although Eastern Assam has been indicated as the termination of the main water divide of the northern part of the Middle East, there is such an appreciable watershed connection between the Himalayas and Further India that the orographic influence of the mainland can be said to have penetrated the Indo-Chinese peninsula for some considerable distance. In a strictly scientific sense it has yet to be shown whether Further India possesses an independent highland system. If there is any doubt about the precise connection between the ranges of the Indo-Chinese and those of the Tibetan mass, there is no doubt that the rivers of Northern India and Indo-China, as well as the Yangtse and Hoang-ho of China Proper, find their origin in the Tibetan plateau.

In a region as vast as the Middle East, there is necessarily much diversity in the systems of natural economy that apply to it. Extremes are touched in so many directions, and under such a variety of subjects, that comparison is liable to beget confusion rather than to add to our general knowledge of this division of the Asiatic continent. None the less, the salient features of the Middle East present an attractive study and in many places disclose considerable unsuspected uniformity throughout vast areas. An example of this is to be noticed in the similarity of the climatic influences which affect the Aral basin on the one hand, and the Pamir, Tibetan, and Tian-shan uplands in another direction. Although the former is only slightly raised above sea-level, and the altitude of the latter varies between 12,000 feet and 18,000 feet, the climatic conditions of either area preserve the same fierce heat, identical periods of protracted drought, and the same intense cold.

Climatic Influences in the Region

India and Further India naturally respond to a different set of circumstances in the composition of their climates. India particularly is held at a disadvantage, since, although retaining the phenomena which produce a brisk climate, the benefit of possession is destroyed by the conflicting physical conditions of the peninsula. While the effects of tropical latitude, therefore, are tempered by the elevation of the Deccan tableland, great heat prevails everywhere because through their extreme altitude the Himalaya highlands intercept the cooling currents from the northern tablelands and, reflecting the solar rays, intensify the fiery blasts which proceed from the furnaces of the Indian deserts. In spite of an all-pervading heat, there is an even distribution of humidity over the entire peninsula. Arising from the Indian Ocean during the incidence of the monsoon, neither the Deccan plateau nor its circumambient ranges are high enough to arrest the passage of the rainclouds, which, spreading farther and farther inland, ultimately precipitate their contents against the southern slopes of the main continental divide.

Heat and Rain in India

Save in the extreme north, on the uplands of the Burmo-Chinese frontier, Further India is subject wholly to tropical conditions, exaggerated rather than improved by the oceanic environment of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. Unendowed with sufficiently modifying elevation, an excess of moisture is accompanied by enervating heat, while the absence of a cold-weather season, resembling that which bestows such a boon upon India, renders the climate of Indo-China peculiarly trying.

Climatic Conditions Around India

Examination of the climatic conditions of the Middle East would not be complete without a brief glance at the countries affected by the Iranian plateau. Although extremes of temperature distinguish both Afghanistan and Baluchistan, by reason of the proximity of the Arabian Sea there is much greater humidity in Baluchistan than in Afghanistan. At the same time, while the heat of Afghanistan is more intense than that which prevails in many parts of Bengal, no district of Asia is hotter than certain parts of Baluchistan. Yet, so long as terrific heat is unaccompanied by moisture, the prevailing conditions of climate are usually salubrious, although the heat of Baluchistan is aggravated by devastating sand storms. In this connection it is only in the lowland districts between the Oxus and the northern slope of the Hindu Kush that fevers are endemic in this part of the Middle East.

The orological traverse formed by the three systems, Hindu Kush, Mustagh, and the Himalayas, establishes not only the water parting of this section of the Asiatic continent, but the line of demarcation between the northern and southern flora, fauna and ornithology. Although the bleakness of the Asiatic highlands and their accompanying expanses of barren plain precludes a plentiful arboreal growth from distinguishing the heart of the Middle East, the region is by no means unproductive.

Vegetation in High Altitudes

The extreme altitudes are necessarily destitute; the valleys are stony and the mountain sides denuded of vegetation, but plateaux of 12,000 ft. are covered with rank grasses, while the secondary elevations are marked by an extensive distribution of mountain ash, poplar, pine, and larch. It is impossible to observe a definite line between tropical and non-tropical flora in Central Asiatic highland areas since, owing to the vagaries of the climate of the Middle East, subtropical life occasionally breaks out in the so-called temperate zones.

It is not until the mountain systems of the north have been exchanged for the sweltering plains of the Indian peninsula or the deltaic valleys of Indo-China, that a genuinely distinctive element appears in Mid-Asian vegetation. Although signal success attends in the almost tropical areas of the Great Plain of India, the cultivation of cereals, vegetables, and plants, that are characteristic of a cooler region, the main interests centre in the growing of crops of a distinctly tropical complexion —rice, tea, coffee, jute, indigo, cinchona, betel, poppy, oilseeds, in addition to a variety of aromatic products, eliciting indiscriminately the attentions of the *ryots*. No less notable is the change to be found in the trees and palms which, as indigenous to the Indian peninsula, and ignoring the species common to temperate as well as torrid zones, include ebony, teak, sandal-wood, mango, banyan, date, palmyra, and bamboo.

The Tropical Vegetation of Further India

Unlike the Indian peninsula, less than half of which actually lies within the tropics, Indo-China or Further India is entirely tropical, a fact which an exuberant vegetation quickly makes patent. Vanilla, sugarcane, cloves, pepper, sago, ginger, cinnamon, cotton, rice, tobacco, tea and coffee, besides products everywhere interchangeable, flourish in the cultivated lands; while in the primeval forests eaglewood, teak, gum, gutta-percha, cardamum, coco-nut, and bamboo abound.

As comprehensive in its flora as it is in the character of its mountain systems and in the nature of its rivers, plains, and climate, it is only in its fauna and ornithology that the Middle East allocates to itself a number of specific types. Prominent among the species of the central uplands and along the line of the water parting there are in wild state the yak in Tibet; the ass, the camel, and the dromedary in Eastern Turkestan. Further to the south there are the elephant, lion, tiger, leopard, rhinoceros and crocodile in India and Indo-China; the lion, tiger, leopard and wolf in Afghanistan and Baluchistan. Common to the entire area are the usual domestic animals — buffalo, horse, ox, sheep, and dog; while, in addition, the dromedary, camel, elephant, the water

buffalo, the ass, and the yak have been reduced to the service of man.

Although the Middle East itself is not concerned with all the philological and racial distinctions of Asia, a very confused ethnic distribution does fall within its narrow limits. Roughly divided between Mongolo-Tatars and Aryan-Caucasic peoples by the line of the water parting, the first fusion of the two races took place within the western limits of the Aralo-Caspian and Lob Nor basins, when an intimacy arose between the Turki, who frequented the unarable steppes of Eastern and Western Turkestan, and the Tajik, who tilled the western cultivable zone, which so modified the Mongolic features of the Turki that the race now resembles the Aryan Tajik in everything but speech. In the east and south of Lob Nor, continuing along the northern slopes of the watershed, a more Mongolic caste prevailed, which now betrays itself in Bhutan and on the Tibetan plateau; while in Further India it is represented by the assortment of Tibeto-Burman, Tai, and Chinese-Annamitic tribes that now occupy the northern and north-eastern frontiers of the peninsula. Although the presence of the mountains prevented a Mongolic descent upon the plains of India from the east from taking place, frequent Mongolic irruptions broke over the west, the residue of which has added so much to the ethnographic perplexities of the Middle East. In this direction the line of mountains was pierced by two passages, the Kabul Valley on the north-west, and Makran on the west, with the result that Mongolo-Tatar stock predominates in Northern Afghanistan. In Afghan-Turkestan the Hazaras, although now a Persian-speaking people, are marked out by their physiognomy as of Mongolic ancestry; while the Kizzil Bashis of Kabul are Persian-speaking, and the Ghilzais Pushtu-speaking, Turki tribes. In addition, there are the Usbegs and the Turkomans, equally possessing Turki descent. In Baluchistan, too, the Brahuis, an aboriginal and numerous race occupying the eastern highlands, whose identity was long mysterious, are now believed to spring from Mongolic or Dravidian progenitors.

The Races of the Middle East

Excluding the Baluchistan highlands, Afghan-Turkestan represents the extreme limit of Mongolic movement towards India. South of the Hindu Kush, an Aryan element prevails in the tribes forming the population in Afghanistan and Baluchistan, as well as towards Persia and the northern plains of India. It is, however, in no way surprising that Aryan stock should underlie the ethnography of the southern areas of the Middle East, since the earliest habitat of this great racial division were the valleys and mountains of the Oxus watershed. Retiring before the pressure of the Mongols, the Aryan peoples crossed over the main divide of Asia into the Peninsula. Although the last to arrive from the north-west, they did not penetrate much beyond the northern plains, remaining principally within the region covered by the basins of the Indus and Ganges. Elsewhere, indeed, were other races—the Dravidian in the Deccan and Ceylon, and the Kolarian about the central ranges, the latter being either the absolute aborigines or the first arrivals in the country. These latter branches of the human family represent, in point of fact, the only distinctive stock that India has produced, the Tibeto-Burman, Chinese-Annamitic, and other Mongoloid reductions along the Himalaya system, the Assam highlands and the Indo-China frontier being even more alien to India than the Aryan tribes themselves.

The Peopling of the Middle East

While the Kolarians belonged to the lowest grade of human culture, and were wholly unresponsive, the Dravidians were susceptible to the elevating influences of the Aryans, who ultimately applied to their own purpose the Dravidian alphabet. To-day, moreover, the Dravidian and Aryan peoples of India are unified in a common system of caste that extended throughout Southern Asia, the ethics and principles of which were devised originally by the Aryan leaders as a precaution against their numerical inferiority in the face of the more numerous indigenous element. To the four original degrees of caste at first proclaimed an infinite variety has been added until the institution, which in its earliest conception referred to colour, now possesses hardly any relation to its original form.

The Caste System

Following their invasion of India, the Aryans passed into Persia, where they imposed their own forms upon the Semitic structure of civilisation already there.

Much as the Aryan language developed into Sanscrit in India, so in Persia it gave birth to Pehlevi, in which the Zend Avesta of the Zoroastrians is written. In Baluchistan, the Baluchis, as opposed to the Brahuis, are Aryan; and, north of Baluchistan, extending from the axis of the mountain system in an indefinite westerly direction across Afghanistan and Persia, are areas in which the Aryan races exercise, if not unchallenged, at least uninterrupted, sway. Many subdivisions of the Aryan family exist in Afghanistan under the guise of Afghans, Galchas, and Tajiks. Of these the Afghans, or Pathans as they are called in India, are the most important. Claiming to be Ben-i-Israel, and insisting on descent from the tribes who were carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, they are a Pushtu-speaking people, possessing, with all Pathans, the bond of a common speech, although they do not admit other Pushtu people to be Afghan. Further east, along the crests of the watershed, an Aryan population occupies Nepal, while there are Caucasic-Aryan indications among the tribes in Southern Siam and Cambodia.

Descent of the Afghans

Although the races of the Middle East may be classified broadly under one or other of the four branches, Caucasic-Aryan Mongolo-Tatar, Dravidian, and Kolarian, each group is divisible into several subsections. In many cases, too, these subsections, while physiologically in harmony, have developed complete linguistic independence. In this way, and considering each division as a complete racial unit, the Caucasic-Aryan peoples are affiliated with six stock tongues: (1) Kartveli; (2) Cherkess; (3) Chechenz; (4) Lesghian; (5) Aryan; (6) Semitic—the first four of which appertain solely to the Caucasus region; while the Mongolo-Tatar races are identified with eight: (1) Tibeto-Burman; (2) Khasi; (3) Mon; (4) Tai; (5) Chinese-Annamitic; (6) Koreo-Japanese; (7) Ural-Altaic; (8) Malayan. The affinities with Dravidian and Kolarian are more doubtful; but it is held by those most competent to judge that, owing to constant fusion of the species, there is now only a slight philological disparity between many Dravidian and Aryan dialects.

Languages of the Middle East

The existence of so much linguistic difference among races now forming the branches of a single racial family should not be astonishing when the divergent characters of the original tribes are borne in mind, nor is it remarkable that the Aryan peoples should produce greater evidence of common linguistic origin than the Mongolic or even the Caucasic races. Less subject to conditions which necessarily imposed changes upon speech than the nomadic northerners or the more polyglot communities from the Caucasus, the Aryans rapidly evolved a state of civilisation in which language, manners, customs and race type were identical, and through which Aryan domination over Southern Asia was established long before Mongolic peoples began to play havoc with the Middle East. It was, of course, by reason of this ascendancy that the Aryan language became a mother tongue to so large a part of primitive mankind. In many ways, therefore, the rise of these areas to their present importance dates back to the earliest age. Ever the cradle of the human race, they have aroused in turn the attentions of brown, yellow, and fair peoples, while their possession has stimulated the ambitions alike of the Moslem, Christian, and Hindu. The further consideration of the Middle East concerns the commercial and political aspect of the region more than its general structure. At present the rights of three Powers—Russia in Central Asia, France and Great Britain in Further India, and Great Britain in India as throughout the areas lying to the south of the main water divide—prevail in the several sections appropriated to them. France in Further India, however, is committed to a policy which aims at the annexation of the whole of Indo-China, while Russia is no less intent upon the absorption of Chinese Turkestan. The complexion which the Middle East will wear for the future promises to be of unusual interest, for the realisation of their aims by Russia and France foreshadows a considerable alteration in the *locus standi* of Great Britain. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that trade, no less than prestige, would be affected by any modification of the traditional powers which Great Britain has so long exercised there, since, if Russia and France were confirmed in a paramountcy over Chinese Turkestan and Further India, the transfer would probably presage our exclusion from the markets of the region.

Commercial and Political Factors

ANGUS HAMILTON

THE SUPREME LAND OF MARVELS

BEAUTIES OF NATURE AND TRIUMPHS OF ART IN INDIA

AN ANCIENT HINDU TEMPLE AT HULWUD IN GUJERAT

THE GREAT MOSQUE ERECTED BY SHAH AHMED AT AHMEDABAD

ENTRANCE TO THE GREAT CAVE OF ELEPHANTA, NEAR BOMBAY

THE GREAT HINDU TRIAD IN THE CAVE TEMPLE OF ELEPHANTA

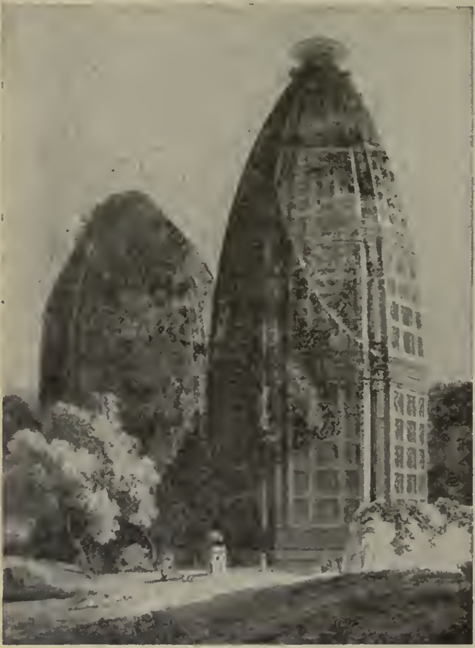
THE FAR-FAMED ROCK TEMPLE OF ELEPHANTA

TEMPLE ON THE ISLAND OF SALSETTE

INTERIOR OF THE TEMPLE OF INDRA

THE GREAT EXCAVATED TEMPLE OF ELLORA

THE CAVE TEMPLES AT ELLORA AND SALSETTE



HINDU TEMPLES AT BINDRABUND

KASHMIR TEMPLE OVER 2.000 YEARS OLD

A FAMOUS HINDU TEMPLE AT BENARES ON THE GANGES

NOTABLE EXAMPLES OF HINDU ARCHITECTURE

TOMBS OF THE KINGS OF GOLCONDA

THE MAUSOLEUM OF ZUFDIR JUNGE AT DELHI

THE TOMB OF IBRAHIM PADSHAH AT BEJAPORE

TYPES OF MOHAMMEDAN ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA

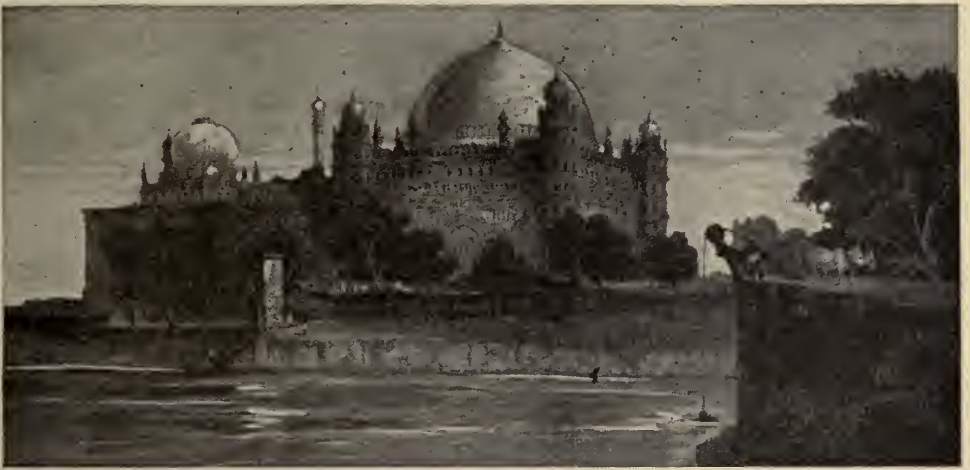
MOSQUE OF A SLAVE OF SHAH AHMED

MOSQUE OF SHAH AHMED'S WIFE

THE JUMMA MOSQUE, WITH HINDU PORCH IN CENTRE OF THE SOUTHERN COLONNADE

THE MOSQUES AND TOMBS OF AHMEDABAD

THE TOMB OF HYDER ALI AT SERINGAPATAM



SULTAN MAHMUD SHAH'S TOMB AT BEJAPORE

THE TOMB OF AKBAR, INDIA'S GREATEST EMPEROR, AT SECUNDRA

TOMBS OF THREE GREAT INDIAN RULERS

THE MOSQUE AT FATTEPUR SIKRI, NEAR AGRA, BUILT BY AKBAR

THE MOSQUE OF AURANGZIB AT BENARES

THE JUMMA MUSJID, OR GREAT MOSQUE, AT AGRA

THREE OF INDIA'S MOST FAMOUS MOSQUES

THE KUTUB MINAR AT DELHI

THE FAKIR'S ROCK ON THE GANGES

AURUNGABAD SEEN FROM THE RUINS OF AURANGZIB'S PALACE

SOME PALATIAL MONUMENTS OF THE PAST

LOG-PIER BRIDGE, WITH HOUSES, NEAR SRINAGAR, KASHMIR

WOODEN BRIDGE AT BHURKOTE IN THE HIMALAYAS

ROPE BRIDGE AT SRINAGAR, THE CAPITAL OF KASHMIR

TYPES OF NATIVE BRIDGES IN NORTHERN INDIA

FISHING BOATS IN THE MONSOON NORTH OF BOMBAY HARBOUR

PILGRIMS ON THE GHAT, OR LANDING-PLACE, AT HARDWAR ON THE GANGES

BY SEA-SHORE AND RIVER IN INDIA

GANGOOTRI, THE SACRED SOURCE OF THE GANGES

THE SACRED SOURCE OF THE RIVER JUMNA IN THE HIMALAYAS

SOURCES OF INDIA'S TWO GREAT SACRED RIVERS

VIEW IN THE BORE GHAT, NEAR BOMBAY

VIEW FROM TOP OF THE BORE GHAT, NEAR BOMBAY

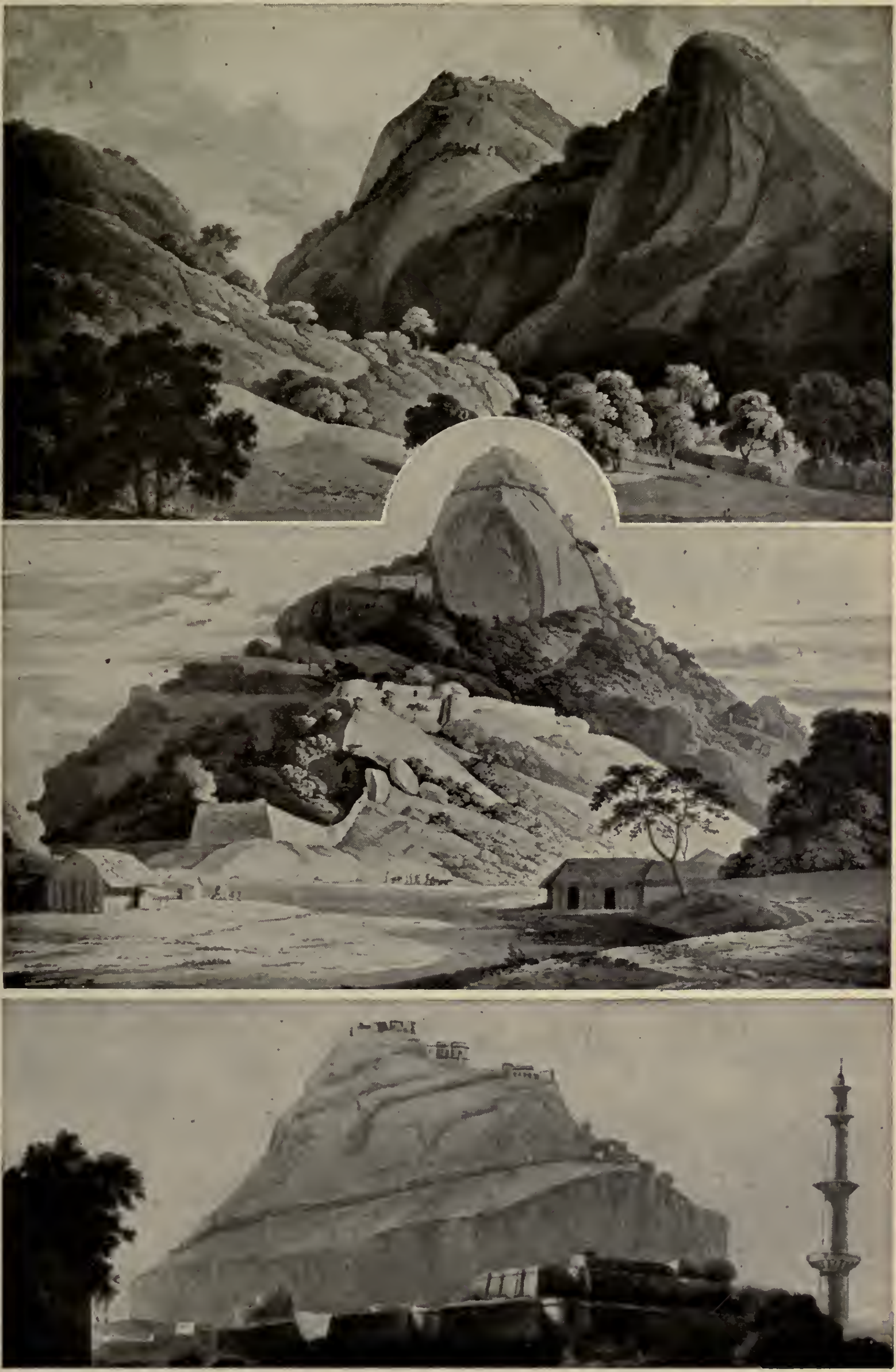
THE SPLENDID MOUNTAIN SCENERY OF THE EASTERN GHATS

VIEW IN THE KOA-NULLAH

THE FALLS OF DHUAH KOONDE

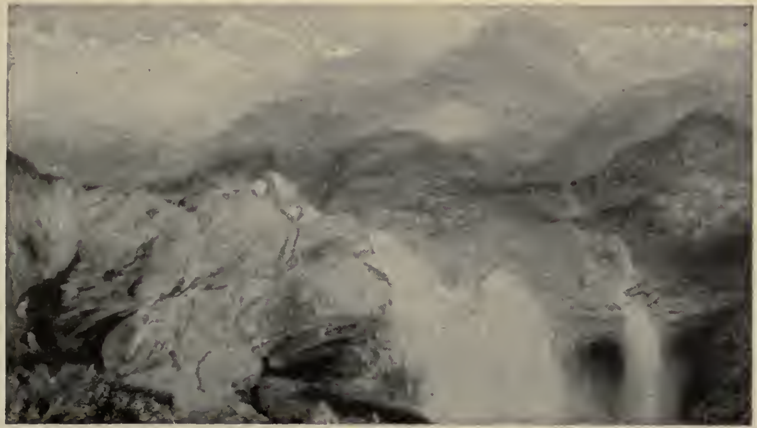
BETWEEN NATAN AND TAKA CA MUNDA IN THE SRINAGAR MOUNTAINS

THE MOUNTAINS AND GORGES OF KASHMIR



1. Jag Deo and Warrangur, in the Barramahal. 2. Ryacotta in the Barramahal. 3. Daulutabad, the ancient Deo Gurh.

HILL FORTS IN SOUTH AND CENTRAL INDIA



FALLS NEAR THE SOURCE OF THE JUMNA

THE GREAT "SNOWY RANGE," FROM MARMA

A WONDERFUL VIEW OF VALLEY AND MOUNTAIN NEAR JUBBERA

THE ABBEY AND HILLS, FROM NEAR MASURI

SCENES IN THE HIMALAYAS, THE GREAT MOUNTAIN BARRIER OF THE NORTH OF INDIA

INDIA

THE SUPREME LAND OF MARVELS

BY SIR WILLIAM LEE-WARNER,
DR. E. SCHMIDT AND A. D. INNES

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

THERE is no tract of the earth's surface whose story appeals to the imagination so vividly, so intensely, as that of India. India is the supreme land of marvels, of mystery, of the supernatural; of miracles which appeal to us not as the figments of superstitious ignorance, but as manifestations of the incomprehensible.

The Land of Myth and Mystery

A land vast, unknown, unknowable, where the keenest of Western minds, after a lifetime of endeavour, profess that they know no more of the inner being of the people than they did at the beginning. A land full of the grotesque, yet whose grotesqueness has a terrific quality—fantastic, yet solemn. A land of countless revolutions, where yet there seems to brood, changeless, eternal, the spirit of an immemorial past.

Utterly remote from the ideas and the civilisation of the conquering races of the West, India is, nevertheless, the first recorded home of a vast migratory wave of that same Aryan stock from which, in later ages, those conquering races sprang. Rome and Athens were yet in the womb of a far-off future, Troy and Mycenæ were unborn, the great Sheikh Abraham had not founded his race, when the fair Aryan folk were sweeping over the plains of Hindustan. Before David sang, or Homer, their ballads were commemorating the deeds of their national heroes; in the Land of the Five Rivers mothers were telling their children tales which sprang from the same sources as Grecian mythology, Celtic folk-lore, and Teutonic legend. The ancient language of the conquerors was the eldest branch of that primal stock which in other regions and ages developed distinctive perfections in the utterance of Plato, of Virgil, or of Shakespeare.

But through the ages those Eastern Aryans were severed from their Western kinsfolk; they worked out their own development apart. Once, East and West clashed when Alexander pierced the barrier, and led his victorious army into the Punjab; but the contact was brief. Again the veil fell. The centuries rolled on, Imperial Rome rose and crumbled, a second Rome achieved and held a spiritual domination which was already tottering, ere Europe traced out the untrodden highway of the ocean, and the veil was raised.

Lifting of the Veil

In the interval—a period of some eighteen hundred years—all that Europe knew of India was derived from hearsay among the peoples of Western Asia, and the reports of an occasional enterprising traveller; fabulous tales, for the most part, of splendour indescribable and wealth incalculable; tales which were the magnet that drew Columbus along the ocean path

that led to an unknown continent instead of to the Indies he sought; and took Vasco da Gama by another way round Africa to the very shores of India. Yet all but two and a half centuries were still to pass before the Europeans were to be anything more than traders, with groups of offices and warehouses here and there on the fringe of the great peninsula. For almost simultaneous with the coming of the Europeans was the coming of the Mughals, or Moguls, who established over all the northern portion, or Hindustan, an empire perhaps the most gorgeous the world has known, which was presently extended over the southern portion, or Deccan. It was the disintegration of that great empire which gave the British an opportunity of establishing a territorial dominion in two provinces; which, once founded, they were soon compelled, in self-defence, to expand into a general ascendancy, and then a practically universal supremacy. The rule of the British in India has been a unique experiment, without precedent or parallel in the world's history.

Mogul and European Inroads

Thus, before the sixteenth century of the Christian era India had dwelt apart, like China, as far as Europe was concerned, untouched by her influence, save for one brief moment; and with a civilisation of her own, already advanced and highly organised before any appreciable culture began to leave its records in Europe. In those early centuries an Aryan race acquired a complete domination over all the primitive peoples of the lowlands, and an ascendancy even in most of the highland regions which could not be effectively conquered. The previous occupants were not wiped out, but survived—here and there in separation almost complete even to the present day—for the most part as subjects, but also intermixing largely with the newcomers. Over the whole great area a common religion and a common social organisation prevailed, though with immense local modifications; and these led to a hereditary and permanent differentiation between those social groups or castes which, comparatively at least, preserved their purity of blood—the sacerdotal and military castes, the Brahmans and Rajputs—and the rest. Everywhere all the castes were to be found, though Brahmans in one district and Rajputs in another might be numerically preponderant.

Early Aryan Civilisation

But this system did not involve the development of an organic Indian state, or of Brahman states, or Rajput states. Instead, it produced an aggregate of kingdoms with ever varying boundaries and without individual sense of nationality, the masses of the population passing under the lordship of alternate conquerors without other interest in the change of rulers than depended on the accident of their personal characters. But throughout all, the Rajput retained his prestige and the Brahman his spiritual ascendancy.

The old religious conceptions became degraded, absorbing into themselves the baser superstitions of the primitive inhabitants. Hence, for some centuries the new moral scheme of Buddhism became dominant; but this in turn became corrupted and degraded, and lost its hold utterly. Hinduism revived, but for the most part in a baser form than of old; filled, as concerned the common people, with gross and often hideous superstitions.

Upon this India broke, about the year 1000 A.D., the storm of Mohammedan invasion. Islam had gripped both the Iranian Aryans and Semites beyond the mountains, and the Mongolian Turkomans of Central Asia; Turkish and Pathan or Afghan conquerors swept over the northern plains; Moslem empires and kingdoms were established, and planted new empires and kingdoms in the Deccan also. Rajput princes struggled to maintain a precarious independence often lost and often more or less recovered; but the Mohammedan aliens, always a minority, dominated the peninsula as a whole, as a ruling race. Yet still the old principle prevailed. There was bitter race antagonism between the Moslem and the infidel, the Hindu and the foreigner; but no national organisation, no Indian State, no countries having political unity, presenting an object for patriotic sentiment. Though an empire might extend its temporary sway over a vast area, it never attained an organic homogeneity.

The Islam Invasion

A conqueror from beyond the mountains, the so-called Mogul Babar, founded the Mogul dominion just when Europe was in the first throes of the Reformation. His grandson, Akbar, made the empire a mighty reality, and adopted within it a policy more enlightened than any of his European contemporaries could compass. While the Spanish Inquisition was at the height of its power, Akbar, virtual head

of Eastern Mohammedanism, was ruling on principles of universal toleration, and treating Mussulmans and Hindus with complete impartiality. His son and grandson neither altogether maintained nor entirely deserted that policy; but a Mohammedan supremacy was definitely re-established. Their successor, Aurangzib, was a fanatical Mohammedan, and in his day the old hatred between the rival faiths was fully restored. The possibility of educating Moslems and Hindus into one nationality was lost for ever. With his death, the break up of the Mogul Empire was already assured. Hindu Powers were already coming into being who would soon grasp at dominion, and the great provincial governors were on the verge of turning themselves into virtually independent sovereigns.

Before forty years had passed the French and British mercantile settlements were vieing with each other to obtain ascendancy at native courts. Fifteen years saw the decisive end of that contest, and the British, almost by an accident, masters of Bengal. India was no more one than the Teutonic or the Latin nations of Europe are one. The Sikh, the Mahratta, and the Bengali are as far apart as the Portuguese, the Italian, and the Frenchman. The Mohammedan, indeed, was not and is not more akin to the Hindu than the Spaniard is to the German. But to both Hindu and Mohammedan the European is alien, as the Turk is alien alike to the Spaniard and the German, who, for the purposes of resisting Turkish domination, would feel themselves akin. In India, more than nine-tenths of the population are either Hindus of one kind or another, or else Mohammedans. There are computed to be about four Hindus to every Mohammedan, and rather more Mohammedans than the whole number of subjects of British race in the entire British Empire outside of India. Yet for more than a hundred years the alien ascendancy has been acknowledged, and for fifty it has been unchallenged. That it has been welcome is as questionable as that it has brought incalculable benefits to the masses in India is indisputable. The ruling race has felt the responsibility of dominion; it has accepted the white man's burden. The schoolboy said of a certain famous headmaster—his natural enemy—"He is a beast, but he is a just beast." It would take a very hostile critic to refuse that measure of praise to the British dominion in India.

British Power in India

Few countries in the world contain within well-defined boundaries a greater diversity of geographical, anthropological, and ethnographical conditions than those displayed by the Indian peninsula. India is indeed a world in miniature; those natural conditions which modify the progress of civilisation are varied in the extreme, and the civilisation of the inhabitants of this country is characterised by divergences which are the inevitable result of conformation to so varied an environment.

Natural Conditions of India

The points of contrast are intensified by their mutual proximity; broad alluvial plains are followed by the highest mountains in the world, burning tropical heat by the everlasting frost of the snow-clad peaks, the extremity of drought by the greatest rainfall in the world, tropical luxuriance by appalling desolation. Side by side with savages living entirely on the products of the chase, and by agriculture of the most primitive character, we find Brahmans devoted to the contemplation of the deepest problems of human existence. Black Dravidians, yellow-skinned Mongols, brown Asiatic Aryans, Hindu or Afghan, representatives of the white European races—all are parts of the population of India. Her history is a history of the struggles for predominance between these different peoples and races.

Nearer India owes its name to the river upon its north-west frontier, the "rushing" Sindhu of the Aryans, a name which was extended to include all the territory beyond the river by the old civilisations of Europe when they first came into contact with this distant land. India is the central of the great peninsulas which project southward from the continent of Asia. The southern portion of the country lies within the tropic zone, while its northern regions advance into the temperate zone beyond latitude 35°. Its frontier position has separated it from immediate communication with the steppes and deserts upon the boundaries of Asia proper except upon the north, the north-east and north-west; its coasts, running south-west and south-east, are bounded by broad seas impassable to peoples in the lower stages of civilisation. Upon the

India's Geographical Position

extreme south the island of Ceylon lies so close to the mainland that the intervening straits are rather a means of communication than an osbtacle to intercourse.

Extent and Population of India

The area of India is nearly equivalent to that of Western Europe, if a line of division be drawn passing through the eastern frontiers of Norway, Denmark, Germany and Austria. In respect of population, it considerably surpasses the district thus defined (293,000,000 as compared with 240,000,000); while its population is more than double that of East Europe (125,000,000).

The configuration of the country in horizontal section is simple; its long coasts are broken by but few capes or gulfs, and these are of little importance. The largest gulf is that of Cambay, or Khambat, which was of high importance at an early period as a commercial centre. Good harbours, such as Bombay and Goa, are comparatively few in number. Upon the west coast, landing is a difficult operation, as the Western Ghats descend abruptly to the sea; while on the east, the coast, though flat, is lashed by formidable seas during the monsoon season. Lagoons have been formed only in the south of the peninsula on each side of its extremity. These facilitate communication along the coast even during the unfavourable monsoon season. On the north-east and north-west of the coast line, the Indus, the Ganges, and the Brahmaputra, which bring down large quantities of sediment, have pushed out formidable deltas into the sea, communication through which is impeded by the constant changes in the course of the various mouths and the heavy deposits of silt. One arm of the Ganges alone has attained to political and commercial importance during the last 150 years. The Indian frontier with respect to the rest of Asia is defined with no less simplicity than the coast line. The configuration of the country, considered in vertical sections, is more complicated. Here we meet with three great districts characterised by sharply contrasting features, the great mountain range on the north of India, the lowlands in the north of the peninsula, and the tableland in the south.

Configuration of the Country

The northern frontier of India, which divides the country from the tablelands of Central Asia, is formed by the highest mountain range in the world, the "home of snows," the Himalayas. Bounded on the east and on the west by the openings made respectively by the Brahmaputra and the Indus, this range has a length of 1,500 miles, with a nearly uniform breadth of 137 miles; its area is almost equivalent to that of Germany. Its importance for India consists in the climatic protection it affords against the influence of the waterless districts of Asia, in the large rainfall which it collects, in the supply which it affords to the great fertilising streams of Northern India, and in the protection it gives to the country against the invasions of the restless inhabitants of the steppes. Not only does the range contain the highest peaks in the world, but it is as a whole almost impassable for large bodies of men. Never has there been an invasion of India from Tibet across the Himalayas by great armies or large bodies of people. The mad attempt of the Sultan Mohammed ibn-Tughlak to attack China by land ended with the total destruction of the army of Hindustan in the mountain snow-fields (1337). The few passes which exist can be traversed only at rare intervals and by small bodies; the merchant and the missionary make their way across them. From a remote period a certain number of Mongol immigrants have very gradually trickled into Northern India by this route—Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal—by which also Buddhism made its way to the north.

The Great Mountain Barrier

Mountain systems join the Himalaya at each end, completely excluding India from the rest of Asia. On the north-west we have the mountains dividing India from Afghanistan and Biluchistan, which run from north to south, decreasing in height as they advance southward, and broken by several important passes. These long, narrow valleys have provided the route for all those foreign invaders, Aryans, Greeks, Scythians, Afghans, Mongols, Persians, who from earliest times have acted as modifying forces upon the historical development of the Indian populations.

On the eastern side, the Himalaya range is joined by a number of high, steep mountain chains running north and south, divided by deep valleys, through which the rivers of the Irawadi, Salwén, Mekong, Yangtse Kiang, flow southward, a barrier

of extraordinary strength preventing any communication eastward. The most westerly member of this mountain system sends one of its spurs south-east to the Bay of Bengal, the Patkai Mountains, 5,666 feet in height. Thus, upon the east, India is also shut off by a mountain wall surrounding the low-lying plains of the lower Brahmaputra in the shape of a horseshoe. This wall is passable only upon the south, and by this route has undoubtedly entered that infusion of Hindu-Chinese blood which is plainly recognisable to the anthropologist in the mixed races of Assam, Lower Bengal and Orissa.

The second great region of India is composed of two great river systems, those of the Indus and of the Ganges-Brahmaputra. The Indus turns at right-angles to the mountain range, taking the shortest route to the sea, which it reaches in a rapid descent—a fact of no less importance for the nature and the inhabitants of its valley than the fact that the long channels of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra run parallel to the mountain range. While the Indus passes the spurs of the Himalâya, and is fed by tributaries from these sources, a sufficient supply of moisture is available for the cultivation of the ground. The earth then showers her gifts upon mankind with such lavish bounty that the Punjab, the district of the Five Rivers, even in the grey dawn of history, was the goal of the ambitions of the nomad tribes inhabiting the dry steppes of Afghanistan and Central Asia.

India's Great Rivers

On the other hand, in the valley of the lower Indus the arable land is restricted to a narrow belt on each bank of the stream, which here runs so rapidly that navigation is almost impossible; while it brings down such heavy deposits of silt that its delta is continually changing, and the arms of the delta, and the sea in their neighbourhood, are with difficulty accessible on account of the outlying banks of sediment. Eastwards from this arable country, upon the Indus, stretches the Great Desert, across which communication is almost impossible. It extends southwards to the sea, and northwards almost to the foot of the Himalayas, at which point alone a narrow strip of land makes communication between the two river systems possible. Hence it was at this spot that peoples advancing into India from the west came into collision with the inhabitants already settled in the valley of the Ganges. This district has repeatedly been the scene of those decisive battles which predetermined the history of India for long periods.

The eastern, which is the larger portion of the plains of North India, is far more favourably situated than the western. The Ganges and Brahmaputra run parallel to the mountains, though they are so far apart from the Himalayas, from the heights of the Deccan on the south, and from the frontier mountain range about Burma, that on each side a wide declivity is available for copious irrigation by artificial means. The whole river valley is alluvial land; but a distinction must be made between the earlier and the later deposits. The line of demarcation between these begins at the Ganges delta. Up to that point the land falls away so rapidly from the west that the soil is dry and fruitful. Everywhere irrigation can be provided in sufficient measure to satisfy the most zealous cultivator of the soil, which also receives new deposits of rich manure from the silt-laden waters of the rivers. Navigable streams cross this district, which is more suitable than any other in India for the development of important towns. The characteristics of the eastern portion of the river valley are wholly different; in the delta of the Ganges, and in the whole of Assam, the deposits of silt have been so recently made, and the ground in consequence lies so low, that drainage works are impossible. The country is almost everywhere in a swampy condition, and the malaria of the district is dangerous to human occupants.

The Ganges Valley

Navigation is difficult, as also is communication by land, for the ground is not sufficiently firm to permit the laying down of roads. Hence the civilisation of this part of the Ganges-Brahmaputra valley was in a comparatively backward condition before the rise of the English power in India; Aryân and Mussulman influences made themselves felt comparatively late, and it is only during the last one hundred and fifty years that the greater intellectual power and energy of Europeans has brought prosperity to the delta of the Ganges.

Civilisation of the Ganges Delta

In the southern part of India the table-land known as the "South Land," the Deccan of the Aryans of North India,

rises in isolation. It forms a great elevated highland with steep walls, which fall sheer into the Arabian Sea at the Western Ghats; on the eastern side the plateau is somewhat lower and lies at some distance from the Bay of Bengal, from which it retires gradually as it advances southward. In this district between the highlands and the sea rise individual isolated plateaus and numerous single peaks, by which the plains are diversified. The tableland attains its greatest height on the west coast with the mountains of Anamalai, 8,977 feet high, and of Nilgiri, 8,477 feet high, falling gradually away to the eastward. Hence, most of the rivers of the Deccan run eastward—for example, the Son, Mahanadi, Godavari, Kistna, Kaveri, Tanghabadra; two streams only, the Narbada and the Tapti, have worn out deep gorges in their westward career. These, together with the mountain ranges of the Vindhya and Satpura running parallel to them, divide the highlands into the great southern section, or Deccan, and the northern, or Central India; which for a long time proved an obstacle to the advance of the Aryans, more by reason of its malarial swamps and its jungle vegetation than because of its mountainous nature. All the above-mentioned streams are unimportant as means of navigation and communication, on account of the variable water supply and the rapids and waterfalls by which they are broken when they reach the precipitous edge of the highland. The line of the Narbada, or Nerbudda, carried across the peninsula, is commonly held to be the boundary between Hindustan and the Deccan.

Features of the Deccan

Friedrich Ratzel has laid great emphasis upon the importance of geographical position to natural history; the position of India has exercised a most decisive influence upon the whole course of development of the natural products of the country and also of its population. The position of this central peninsula of Southern Asia, situated as it is with reference to the enormous dry, waterless districts of the desert and the steppes on the one hand, and on the other hand to the tropical sea with its moisture-laden atmosphere, determines the amount of the rainfall and its distribution, and therefore also the fertility of different parts of the land, which again influences the population. In the spring and summer the great deserts and steppes of Central Asia are scorched by the sun, which then attains its greatest altitude; the barometrical pressure is low and the currents of air with their burden of moisture from the tropic Indian seas travel in a north-easterly direction across India, a deviation due to the revolution of the earth. In the southern portion of the country these clouds then meet the steep wall of the Western Ghats and deliver a large proportion of their moisture, breaking in violent thunderstorms upon the mountain wall, to return again to the sea in rushing torrents and streams.

Importance of Geographical Position

The air currents, however, after crossing the watershed of the Ghats, become drier, and provide but a scanty rainfall for the eastern district where the highlands slope away. Not until they reach the giant wall of the Himalaya do they drop all the moisture which they have retained. For this reason the mountains of Assam can boast the heaviest rainfall upon the earth; the rainfall of Cherra Punji in the Hsia Mountains of Assam amounts to 444 inches during the summer and 520 inches for the whole of the year. On the other hand, during the winter months a high barometrical maximum prevails over Central Asia, while South Africa and the Indian Ocean, which are then scorched by the sun, show a low average barometrical pressure. The currents take a backward movement, and blow from the great dry continent as the north-east monsoon, bringing to India but little moisture, and that at uncertain intervals. Consequently the wide districts to the east of the Ghats as far as the Himalaya Mountains suffer greatly from droughts, and, should the rains of the east monsoon fail, are confronted with terrible famines.

Heaviest Rainfall in The World

The fertility of the country depends upon the amount of natural or artificial irrigation which it receives. Vegetation, apart from human agency, flourishes most luxuriantly on the Malabar coast. Beyond the range of the Western Ghats different conditions prevail. A forest country is first met with, where the deciduous nature of the trees is a protection against the excessive drought of the dry season. Vegetation then conforms to the character of the steppes in general, and agriculture is restricted to the immediate neighbourhood

of springs or tanks, to the river banks, or to the river deltas. The steep wall of the Western Ghats ends upon the north with the river Tapti, so that at this point the moisture-laden currents penetrate more deeply into the country. The remoter heights of Central India produce a heavier rainfall; though the forests are more extensive in that district, the prevalence of malaria is an obstacle to human occupation. The great plains in the north of India receive a diminishing rainfall in proportion as they are removed from the delta of the Ganges on the west; compensation is, however, afforded by the works of artificial irrigation which distribute the streams falling from the Himalaya, and, in some degree, those which rise on the north wall of the Deccan. The delta of the Ganges and the lower ground in the valley of the Brahmaputra suffer from an excess of rainfall and ground moisture.

The cultivation of the country, especially as regards the growth of cereals, is primarily conditioned by the existing facilities for irrigation. Where copious supplies of water are to be had, rice is the staple product of agriculture, as it is on the whole of the Malabar coast, on the deltas of the Deccan rivers, of the Indus and the Ganges, and in Assam. Under proper irrigation, land containing less moisture will produce a heavy yield of wheat, as is the case in the Punjab, the British North-west Provinces, Oudh, the Central Provinces, and certain favoured parts of the presidency of Bombay. Where irrigation is difficult, several kinds of cereals and other subsidiary products flourish. Where the land is too dry for these plants, as is the case in large districts of the southern Deccan, stock breeding enables mankind to make a living at the expense of some hardship; the caste of the shepherds (Kurumbas), which is now scattered and decayed, played an important part at an early period.

Variety of India's Cereals

The population of India is distributed according to the fertility of the soil. The mineral wealth of the country is comparatively small. Coal is by no means common and has only recently been worked upon any large scale; iron ore is widely distributed, but was used by the natives only to a very small extent, and the importance of this industry has been practically extinguished by the competition of the great European undertakings. The riches of India in precious metals and stones have been considerably exaggerated; the real wealth of the country does not lie within the soil, but grows upon it. Consequently the population is almost entirely of a peasant character; the last census, after the opening of the twentieth century, showed only 2,035 towns properly so-called among 717,549 settlements; of this number, 1,401 had less than 1,000 inhabitants, 407 had between 10,000 and 20,000, and 227 had a population above 20,000. Only twenty-nine towns had more than 100,000 inhabitants in 1911, and only four—Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Haidarabad—more than 300,000. In England, 53 per cent. of the population live in 182 towns of more than 20,000 inhabitants, whereas in India this holds good only of 4·84 per cent., distributed in 227 towns of 20,000 inhabitants. The collective population of the country—303,017,320 inhabitants upon 1,560,080 square miles, excluding Burma—gives an average of 194 inhabitants to the square mile. In individual districts of some size this average varies between 24 and 1,395; it is larger in British India than in the native states, a fact apparently due to European influence upon the country and still more to the circumstance that England has occupied all those states where the soil is more than usually fertile.

Distribution of India's Population

A systematic ethnographical examination of the population of India is an extremely difficult task; no universal lines of division can be drawn including all the most important phenomena of divergent nationality. The differences, moreover, by no means run in parallel lines. The most important points to be noted are physical characteristics, language, religion, and social peculiarities, together with the characteristic signs of national feeling which these differences imply. The many changes in Indian history pre-suppose the impossibility of any physical uniformity throughout the population. Apart from the infusions of Portuguese, Dutch, and English blood during the last four centuries, foreign representatives of the white or yellow races have frequently invaded the country through the north-west passes. However, as far as the Mongol princes are concerned, almost every trace of their existence has disappeared

Introduction of Alien Blood

from the ethnological characteristics of the modern Indian. The white races have, however, exercised a permanent modifying influence, and their descendants form one of the main racial elements of the country. From a remote period vigorous commercial relations were maintained on the west coast with the western continents, which have left their traces upon the physical characteristics of the coast dwellers; the Semitic type of countenance common among the Mohammedans of the Malabar coast is derived from the Arabs. Fugitive Jews have repeatedly entered the country in bodies, such as the Jews of Cochin (now 1,300 in number), who, according to their traditions, left their country after the destruction of their great sanctuary by Titus (70 A.D.); another instance is the Jewish colony in Bombay, which was expelled from its former settlements by Mohammedan fanaticism. Similarly, a large number of fire worshippers fled from Persia in the year 1717 before the zeal of the Mohammedans, and the coast of Bombay is now inhabted by 90,000 Parsees who remain true to the religion of Zarathustra. In many cases their Semitic cast of features recalls the representations of the kings in ancient Nineveh, whereas others remind us of the modern representatives of the white races in the Armenian highlands.

Jewish Colonies in India

The east coast has been peopled rather by Indian migrations directed especially towards the opposite coast of Burma than by immigration from abroad. A strong infusion of Mongolian blood has, however, entered from the north and north-east. The southern slopes of the Himalaya to the east of Dardistan are peopled by a mixed race of Mongol Indians apparently formed by the slow infusion of Mongols from Tibet over the extremely difficult mountain passes. A similar population is to be found in Assam and in many of the tribes inhabiting East Bengal and Orissa; though here the Mongol element probably entered the country by the easier route through Burma rather than by crossing the extremely difficult mountain ranges which run in parallel lines to the east of Assam.

The Mongol Element

All these infusions of foreign blood, however, excluding the mixed Indo-Mongolian population, form a very small and almost unappreciable element in the racial composition of the country. The two main component elements are the representatives of a white race, which entered the country from the north-west at a comparatively early period, more than four or five thousand years ago, and a dark race, which may be considered as directly descended from the original population. This race is recognisable by the dark colouring of the hair, eyes, and skin; it is of universal distribution, and is often intensified into the deepest shades of dark brown; a further characteristic point, reminding us of the black negro races of Africa, is the moderate size of the skull and the short, broad nose. The race, however, is differentiated from the negro type by the shorter and more upright stature, and especially by the hair, which, though black, is but moderately crisp, and while often found in curls or waves, is never of a woolly nature. The representative types of this race usually attain a stature which is considerably less than the average height of the Teutonic stock. Races living under very unfavourable conditions, with an insufficiency of nourishment, such as many of the dwellers in the mountains and jungles, and the slave castes, are so far below this average stature that they may be considered as dwarf tribes, though it is impossible to make this characteristic a line of demarcation between them and the other dark races of India.

The Dwarf Tribes of India

The white races in India are distinguished from the dark especially by their complexion, which in pure-blooded types is no deeper than that of the Europeans about the Mediterranean. Their average stature is considerably higher, while their features are smaller, and their noses, with higher bridges, are more prominent than in the case of the black races.

An examination of the geographical distribution of the different Indian races will begin with what are, comparatively speaking, pure representatives of the fair races of the north-west, immediately adjoining the population of Afghanistan and Biluchistan, which has been more or less modified by infusions of Semitic blood. Such influence is less prominent in Kashmir, in the hill country, and in the Punjab, as far as the upper course of the Ganges; on the other hand, further eastward, in the centre, and especially in the lower course of the Ganges, a deeper complexion may be observed in

many of the subordinate grades of caste and settlement. Further east again, in Assam, the characteristics of the fair race disappear by degrees, and are but moderately pronounced among the higher castes; the chief element of the population is formed by the fusion of the black and yellow races.

Of similar composition are the numerous small mountain tribes of the Himalaya as far as Dardistan. Southward the fusion of black and yellow come to an end about the frontiers of Orissa; at this point the characteristics of the fair race are again strongly marked in the higher Brahman castes. In Central India is found a belt of almost purely dark-complexioned population; further south again, in the Deccan and the plains upon its frontier, the black races are greatly preponderant, though in individual castes varying infusions of white blood may be observed. On the west coast, on the other hand, besides the small colonies of foreigners—Jews and Parsees—closely united bodies of white inhabitants are to be found concentrated among the dark population.

Purity of Caste and Race

Individual branches of the Brahman caste—the Konkanath, Nambutiri, and Haiga Brahmans — zealously preserve the purity of their caste and race; a warrior caste of the Nair and the caste of the Temple Maidens are distinguished from the surrounding population by their fairer complexions.

Indian languages display the utmost variety. Philology has distinguished three typical forms of language—the isolating, the agglutinative, and the inflectional. These three types are represented in India, and, in general, coincide with the three racial types there represented—the mixed Mongolian and dark-skinned races (Hindu-Chinese), the unmixed dark races (the Dravidians) and the white race (the Aryans). If a straight line be drawn from Goa in a north-westerly direction to the beginning of the Ganges delta, the agglutinative languages will lie chiefly to the south-east of this line, the district of the inflectional languages extending on the north-west into the Ganges delta and the valley of the Brahmaputra, while the isolating languages are found at the edge of the southern slopes of the Himalayas and the mountains of Southern Assam.

The boundary between the Aryan and Dravidian languages is not to be conceived as a sharp line of demarcation; the Dravidian languages are sporadically found within the district of the Aryan tongues. The early disruption of the Dravidian peoples has naturally brought about great differences of grammatical form, and many dialects have borrowed numbers of foreign words from neighbouring languages.

The Languages of India

These isolated Dravidian tribes invariably live hard lives upon a low plane of civilisation; they include the Khonds, in the mountain districts of Orissa, Ganjam and Cuttack; the Gonds, a tribe which has been broken into several isolated linguistic units, between the Narbada and Godavari; the Oraon in Chota Nagpur; and finally the most northerly representative of this division, the Mal Paharia, established upon the lower Ganges in the mountains of Rajmahal, whose language, though greatly differing from the other Dravidian tongues, must none the less be included within the Dravidian family. Whether the Brahui, who inhabit the district from the lower Indus to Biluchistan, should be added to the Dravidian family is an unsettled question. Assuming that they are members of this family, the strong differences between their language and that of related tribes may easily be explained as the effect of the different migrations which had passed over their country. Philologically their language resembles in such respects the Dravidian languages of South India.

The Kolarians, about 3,000,000 in number, in the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and the Central Provinces, are an ethnological puzzle; they have been broken into isolated communities, and their language, which was undoubtedly widely distributed at an early period, has been broken up and confined by the advance of the Aryan and Dravidian languages. Their language is to be distinguished from the Dravidian

A Tribe that Puzzles Scientists

tongues — though physically they closely resemble the Dravidian type—by an entirely different vocabulary, and by an embryonic inflectional system. As yet, however, very little is known of them, and further research will no doubt modify the views now held upon their philological position and dialectical division. It has been said, but by no means proved, that they are philologically related to certain tribes of Further India.

The construction of a scheme to illustrate the distribution of the different religions is by no means facilitated by the fact that sharp distinction between them is often impossible. The simple conception of a divine being, inherited and obstinately retained from the earliest periods of tribal development, is in every case the primitive underlying idea, and is manifest even in the most advanced religious systems. While the Hindus assert their faith now in Vishnu, now in Siva, at the same time none are found to deny the existence of demons, upon whom the religious fears and veneration of lower tribes are entirely concentrated; and these powers have also been recognised within the Hindu heaven. Consequently, statistics of the adherents of the various religions are extremely unreliable; their variations as compared with the known populations of different nationalities frequently show the lines of religious demarcation to be extremely vague and unstable. For the lowest of these faiths, the demon worship, the census of 1890 gives a percentage of 2·64 of the whole population of British India, and of 5·20 for the other parts of the country.

Root Idea in Indian Religions

The greater proportion of the inhabitants of India (72½ per cent.) are worshippers of one or other of the great divinities of the Hindus. Where this average is not attained we find that Hinduism has had to struggle with Mohammedanism, and also with demon worship, or other special forms of religion. Such cases are shown in this table, giving the percentage of adherents of the two religions.

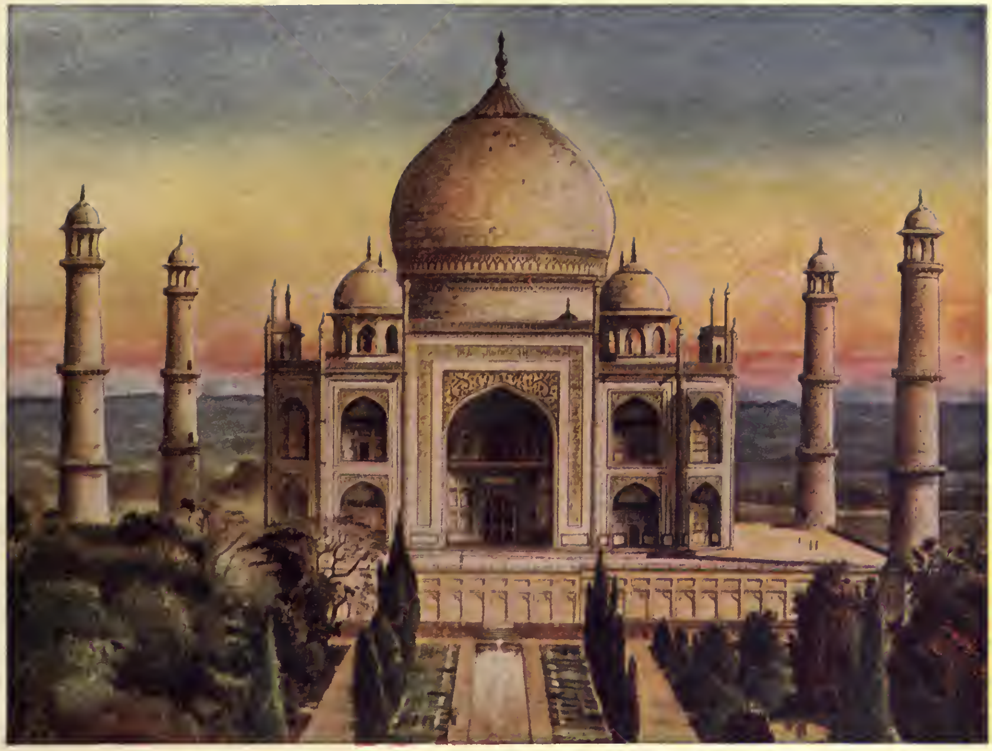
Province	Hindus	Mohammedans
Punjab ..	37·1	55·7
Kashmir ..	27·2	70·5
Assam ..	54·7	27·0
Bengal ..	63·4	32·8

The whole number of the followers of Mohammed has been estimated at 243,000,000; and of this total 66,000,000—that is, over a quarter (27·1 per cent.), belong to India. This belief is represented in every part of India; the tolerance displayed by the Mohammedans toward the caste system gives them the advantage of being able to maintain commercial relations with every branch of society in the country, though naturally to a larger extent in the older Mohammedan towns. Consequently, the North-west Provinces and states, where Islam entered the country, are most thickly populated with Mohammedans or Mussulmans. In the south, the numbers of the Mohammedans diminish considerably. The faith is practically unknown to the tribes of the Central Provinces, and a very small percentage is found in Mysore and Haidarabad.

Buddhism, at one time so widespread in India, has now degenerated into Hindu-polytheism in the mountainous countries of the north—the Himalaya and Kashmir valleys; and on the north-east—the frontiers of Tibet and Burma. Few adherents survive of the northern branch of this religion, and in Kashmir alone they scarcely amount to one per cent. of the whole population. The Jain religion, which is related to Buddhism, is better represented in certain provinces, though nowhere has it retained a higher average than five per cent. of the whole population.

Of other religions we may mention that of the Sikhs, which is almost exclusively confined to the Punjab (3,100,000, nearly one per cent. of the whole population). They form a Hindu sect, which has rejected various restrictive principles such as that of caste, and has developed rites peculiar to itself. Other religions which have entered India from abroad are very weakly represented; such are the Parsees, on the west coast of India, with Bombay as their centre, and with 100,000 adherents—that is, 0·03 per cent.; the Jews, early colonists in Bombay and Cochin, together with scattered Jews of various origin throughout India, numbering 17,200 souls (0·006 per cent.), and the Christians with 3,876,000 (0·8 per cent.). Of these last 3,449,600, that is, 89 per cent., are converted natives, while 80,000, that is, 2 per cent., are half-breed Indians, and 168,000, that is, 4·3 per cent., are Europeans. More than half of these Europeans are soldiers with their relatives. The caste system has exercised so deep an influence, is so characteristic a phenomenon of Indian social life, and is, moreover, an institution of such infinite diversity in its details that its true nature can be understood only in connection with its historical development as a part of the national history.

Alien Religions in India



THE PEERLESS GEM OF MOHAMMEDAN ARCHITECTURE: THE TAJ MAHAL AT AGRA

THE SACRED CITY OF THE HINDUS: BENARES ON THE GANGES

ANCIENT INDIA

THE ARYAN INVASION AND THE CONQUEST OF THE NATIVE RACES

THE history of India is a drama in three great acts. The first of these is occupied by the struggles of two races for predominance; the second, by the struggles of two religions; and the third, by the conflict for the economic exploitation of the country. In the first period, Aryans are opposed to Dravidians. The result of their struggle is a development of a mixed race of people whose political, social, and religious institutions are to be explained partly as the result of fusion, and partly as due to the predominant influence of one or the other element. The mixed people which was thus developed supported the Hindu religion and theory of existence. The Semitic, Turanian, and Mongol tribes who entered the country from the north-west brought the Mohammedan faith with them; the struggle of these two religions forms the second period. In the third act Europeans appear upon the scene, and the economic struggle for the wealth of the country ends with the total collapse both of Mohammedan and Hindu independence, victory remaining with the side that possessed superior intellectual power, clearer foresight, and greater strength. From the prehistoric period to the end of the first thousand years after Christ forms the period of native Aryan - Dravidian development, the period of ancient India. For about 700 years the struggle of Hinduism with the foreign religion continued, and forms the "mediæval" period; while the "modern" period covers little more than the last 150 years, in which, however, the whole people has undergone far more fundamental changes than any that all previous centuries have brought to pass.

The Great Drama of India

We have first of all to consider the two races whose struggle composed the first period of Indian history, together with the mutual influence which they exercise upon each other.

The original inhabitants of India have left us neither written nor traditional records of their existence during the prehistoric period. Traces of human agency during this period have, however, been discovered in India. As in Europe, discoveries of stone implements, of lance and arrow heads, of knives, razors, hammers, made of jasper, agate, and chalcedony—flint proper not occurring in India—show that an earlier age of human development preceded the time when metals were employed. Whether this period goes back to the Tertiary Age, as many investigators suppose, is still a doubtful question.

Traces of Early Indian Development

The most ancient tombs contain no examples of metal work; those, however, that are found in sepulchres of later date display high technical skill, and enable us to infer a considerable advance of civilisation in general, such objects being revealed as iron arrow-heads, knives, lamps, tripods, stirrups. In many cases women or men were beheaded at the funeral of a dignitary and buried with him. Rarely has any definite tradition of the person buried in the grave been preserved. The earliest literature, Dravidian and Sanscrit alike, has not a word to say upon the subject of these graves.

On the other hand, the poems of the Aryans, who were making their victorious invasion of India at the dawn of history proper, provide us with much information upon the life of the original inhabitants, who are naturally described from a hostile point of view. They are contemptuously known as "slaves," "low class," "people talking an unintelligible jargon." They

are described as being of black complexion, their figures small and ugly, in spite of their heavy ornaments of gold and precious stones, their noses broad, and their eyes small. They were indeed a complete contrast to the Aryans, who must have been particularly impressed with these points of difference in the enemy, as their own stature was tall and proud, their complexion fair, their noses boldly formed. "With beautiful noses" is the title which they give to the images modelled in their own likeness. The enemy are said to have been driven back into the mountains, whence they made reprisals, attacking the herds and the property of their oppressors as "robbers" without harm to themselves. Magical arts were attributed to them, including the power of drying up the streams and rivers which bring fertility and verdure to the plains. Mysterious also is the power of the gods to whom they prayed; hence these were soon considered as demons, or "Yakshu," who disturbed the fire of the Aryan sacrifices, and for whom no sacred flame was ever kindled.

Records of Invading Enemies

This description of the original inhabitants in the old Aryan poems entirely corresponds with the appearance of the mountain and jungle tribes of the present day, and also with that of the lowest castes of the population in modern India. Like their savage ancestors, the tribes of the present day carry on their existence under conditions of the greatest difficulty, and their general civilisation is as low as their environment is rough. In many cases their sole agricultural implement is a stick with the point hardened in the fire, with which they grub up the scanty roots and bulbs of the jungle; at a somewhat higher stage of development, agriculture is carried on by burning down a portion of the forest every year and planting in the fructifying ashes the seeds of the native cereals or tubrous plants, a scanty harvest which ripens rapidly. The tribe then sets out upon its wanderings to choose a new piece of forest for its next harvest. A few goats or sheep and the small pariah dog alone accompany it; from the climbing plants or the bark of the trees nets are woven; the waters of the tanks or pools are poisoned with leaves or fruits, and the tribe thereby obtains a meal of fish. The arrows of the savage wanderers lay low the forest game which fall into their traps and snares; wild honey provides them with the sweets of their meal. They roast their food at a fire which is kindled by the rotary friction of two sticks; comparatively few of the forest tribes have learned the art of pottery. A roof of leaves or an overhanging rock is their shelter, an apron of grass or leaves or of tree-bark is their clothing, the scantiness of which serves to emphasise the weight of the ornaments with which they load every possible part of their bodies.

Primitive Conditions Surviving

Though the poverty of the life of these tribes may arouse our sympathy, yet their character demands our hearty respect. All who have come into contact with them and learned their habits, praise their independent spirit, their fearless bravery, their truth, honour, and fidelity. They are true to their plighted word, true to their wives and to their race. The arrow of an absent chief, given by his wife as a means of recommendation into the hands of an English ambassador, secured for this emissary security and hospitality among all the members of this wild tribe, even in the remotest districts. Family life has often developed upon other lines than among modern civilised peoples; but however much the form of marriage may have changed, man and wife yet remain true to one another within the limits of that family life which custom has consecrated, and woe to him who would break faith or attempt to seduce another's wife. Both patriarchal and matriarchal organisations occur; that is to say, either the father or the mother may be considered as the centre of the family and tribe. In the latter case, relationships are reckoned through the female line. Under the patriarchal system monogamy prevails, and marriage continues until dissolved by the death of one or other of the parties. A man acquires his wife by purchase or capture, though the latter is only conventional in form. Only in rare cases does the man take a second or several wives. In many cases it certainly happens that upon the completion of a marriage the husband's brothers become *ipso facto* husbands of his wife—as in Kurg among the Todas and the Kurumbas. To be distinguished from this kind of polyandry, where the

Family Life Among the Modern Tribes

THE LIVING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRIMITIVE PEOPLES OF INDIA

The types of natives seen in this page are living representatives of the earliest known indigenous peoples of the country, over whom the incoming Aryans prevailed. 1. Kurumbars, or hill people of the Nilgherries. 2. Forest people, or Yenadies. 3. Bedur, or Veda, of Southern India. 4 and 5. Toda men and women, hill people of the Nilgherries.

man always remains head of the family, is the primeval custom, still prevalent among certain castes on the Malabar coast, which allows the wife to choose her own husband, to dismiss him at pleasure, and to take another without thereby incurring any stigma. Marriages which can thus be dissolved are entirely legitimate, as also are the children of them. The man, however, remains a stranger to the wife's family, and the children reckon their descent from the mother. Consequently, in these cases descent is reckoned through the female line, whereas in the patriarchal system descent in the male line is the fundamental principle of those larger social organisms, the hordes, consisting of several families, which again may develop into a tribe at a later period. In the latter case, the head of a tribe is sometimes a hereditary chieftain, and at other times is chosen by the heads of families. He is the representative of the tribe and directs its general policy. The tribe forms an exceedingly close corporation in its dealings with the outer world; attacks made by strangers often lead to blood feuds, and peaceful intercourse and barter of goods is conducted, as among the Vedda in Ceylon, by the so-called silent trade.

Recognition of Maternal Descent

The mountain and jungle tribes are obliged to carry on a hard struggle for existence. The climate alternates between seasons of burning heat and terrible rain storms, and a tribe driven into the jungle or on to the thirsty plains of the steppes obtains but scanty nourishment; often enough, even those tribes which enjoy more favourable conditions of life are hard pressed by the extremities of famine. In the jungle the tiger and the poisonous snake lie in wait for them; their scanty crops are destroyed by wild animals, elephants, pigs, and porcupines; leprosy, malaria, cholera, and other diseases make their way to the remotest settlements, and Death plies his scythe with ruthless power. Encompassed as he is by hostile powers, how could the savage conceive of the supreme Beings which guide human destinies as being friendly to man? Evil demons pursue him from his birth to his grave, thirsting for his blood. Everywhere they lie in wait for him, in earth, in water, and in air; in the rocks, in the darkness of the forests, upon the dry steppes; at night they rush through the darkness to destroy whomsoever they may meet. They thirst for blood and can therefore be temporarily appeased by bloody sacrifices of fowls, goats, or even of men; their anger can also be averted by those magic arts which the Shaman priests employ against them in their frenzied dances. Can we be surprised that such men were considered as demons, as Yakshu, as Rakshasa, by the Aryans, whose bright and heavenly gods were their stay and counsel?

Hardships of Jungle Tribes

The most ancient Aryan poems do not, however, display to us these miserable savages as the only opponents of the invaders; we gain information upon other tribes in higher stages of civilisation. Together with the unsettled and nomadic Kikata settled tribes also existed, the Nishada, who lived under a regular social organisation, and were even envied and hated by the Aryans for their wealth. The gods, and especially Indra, the destroyer of cities Purandara, are constantly praised for overthrowing hundreds of cities of the Black Dasyu; these latter indeed are said to have possessed not only fortifications to protect them against the enemy, but also "winter retreats," autumn rain and cloud castles on their mountains, where they might take refuge from inundations in the plains or from dangerous miasmas. The tribes of the Naga, who worshipped snakes, were to be destroyed on account of their wealth and valuable possessions. Their capital, in which their prince, Wasuki, rules, is said to abound in treasures and fair women; the prince possesses a talisman which can even bring the dead to life. "The treasure chambers in the rocky ground are full of cattle, horses, and good things; the warders, the Pani, are faithful watchmen."

War Gods of Indian Peoples

At the same time, these tribes are represented as cunning traders, ever ready to take advantage, and bringing to the Aryans for barter the products of Nature's bounty or of their own skill in handicrafts. The trade indeed is welcome, but hateful are the traders, the "hateful misers," the men "without faith, without honour, without victims," and Indra is called upon to stamp down the greedy merchants with his feet. Upon the further advance of the Aryans we learn that there were important native kingdoms in the country

and that the conquerors entered into friendly relations with these. When the conquerors made their way into the central district between the Jumna and the Ganges, they appointed the King of Nishadi, a vassal of the kingdom of Ayodhya, to guard the sacred district of the confluence of these two streams; at a later date Aryan Brahman missionaries came upon the flourishing Pandya kingdom in the south of the peninsula.

The old Aryan songs and myths provide no further information upon the civilisation of the more advanced native tribes; the language, however, of the dark races who belong to the Dravidian family enables us to draw many further conclusions as to the civilisation to which they had attained.

This language is certainly modified by Aryan elements (Sanscrit), but the non-Aryan portion of its vocabulary provides an accurate picture of the pre-Aryan civilisation of those races. According to Bishop R. Caldwell, who lived among the black population and devoted more than a generation to the study of their language,

Historical Evidence of Languages

the original vocabulary of the Dravidian races enables us to conclude that before they came into contact with the Aryans they possessed kings who lived in permanent dwellings and ruled over small districts. They had bards who sang songs at their feasts, and it also appears that they were in possession of an alphabet, and that they were accustomed to write upon palm leaves with a stylus. A bundle of these leaves formed a book.

There were no idols, no hereditary priesthood, and the primitive Dravidians appear to have been entirely unacquainted with the ideas of Heaven or Hell, of sin, or of the soul; they believed, however, in the existence of gods, which they named ko (king), an absolutely non-Aryan word. Temples were erected in their honour, known as ko-il (house of god); no conclusions as to the nature of their divine service can be drawn from their language. The Dravidians of that period possessed laws, but no judges; doubtful cases were decided by precedent. Marriage was a permanent institution among them. The most important metals were known to them with the exception of tin, lead, and zinc, as also were the greater planets, with the exception of Mercury and Saturn. They could count up to a hundred, and in some cases to a thousand; higher numbers such as the Aryan lakh (100,000) or crore (10,000,000). were unknown to them.

Medicine was practised among them, though medical science or doctors were unknown. Hamlets and villages existed, but no large towns. Boats, great and small, and even decked ships able to keep the

Early Dravidian Life

sea, were employed; these, however, did not cross the ocean, consequently, foreign countries, with the exception of Ceylon, were unknown to them, and their language appears not to recognise the difference between continent and island. Agriculture was a professional occupation, while war was their chief delight, their arms being bows and arrows, swords and shields. Manufactures were highly developed, especially the arts of spinning, weaving, and dyeing; and their pottery had been highly perfected, as is indeed plain from the examples found in the graves. Little was known of the higher arts and sciences; no word exists to signify sculpture or architecture, astronomy or astrology, philosophy or grammar. Indeed, their vocabulary is singularly lacking in words which imply intellectual pursuits; their only word for spirit is "diaphragm" or "the inside"; there certainly exists a Dravidian word for "think," but no special words for thought, judgment, consciousness, or will.

As against this last sentence, however, we must not forget that the overpowering influence of the Brahmans and their highly developed terminology for abstract mental operations may very well have superseded many native expressions. Comparative philology does not provide wholly conclusive results, even in religious matters; and a comparison of those elements common to the early Vedda and to all Dravidian races, even to those at a high stage of civilisation, plainly shows that the fundamental beliefs and religious

Limitations of Dravidian Vocabulary

conceptions of the jungle tribes were not confined to those we have mentioned, but were the common property of Dravidian religious thought and practice from the very outset. Whatever view may be taken of the prehistoric period in India, the fact remains that the dark-complexioned inhabitants of the country, of whom the Dravidians were by far the strongest element, formed the original population of India.

In the year 1833, Franz Bopp, observing the close connection of Sanscrit, the language of the Brahmans, with most of the ancient and modern languages of Europe, was able to establish the affinity of these languages beyond all dispute. He pointed out that Sanscrit was closely related not only to the old Persian (Zend), but also to almost all the other languages of Europe, the only exceptions being the Basque and certain isolated groups of Ural-Altaic languages in the north and east of Europe. How was this similarity to be explained? Peoples thus connected by the tie of language might easily be conceived as connected by the tie of blood—that is, as descended from a common ancestral tribe. The Grimms and others lent their support to the theory that this primitive people had lived in Asia, a supposition which became almost an article of faith. The ancestral tribe there settled was said to have been gradually broken up, the component parts migrating in different directions, for the most part westward, even as the solar system is conceived to have been formed by the separation of the planets and their satellites from the primal nebula. At a later period the influence of the Darwinian theory made the genealogical table illustrating these descents somewhat more complex. The idea, however, that Asia has been the common cradle of these Indo-Germanic or Aryan families of peoples continued to maintain its ground. In more recent times philological and anthropological evidence has led investigators to place the common origin of all these peoples in one or another part of Europe, but there is no real consensus of judgment on the point.

Relationship in Tongue and Blood

We may, indeed, doubt the intrinsic probability of the fact that any single district of the enormous steppe country extending from Central Asia to the North Sea could have been the cradle of so large a family of peoples. Natural boundaries are unknown upon the steppes, and the peoples inhabiting them spread outward without let or hindrance. The nomads inhabiting those districts prefer to follow the natural changes of season, climate, and consequently of vegetation, wandering abroad at their will and pleasure. The language of the Yakuts in the north-east of Siberia is closely connected with that of the Ottomans in the extreme south-west of that great continent.

Where is the Cradle of the Indian Races?

It is waste of time to inquire at what point the first immigrants entered the steppe district. It is highly probable that as soon as a tribe had secured a footing there, it did not confine its movements to a small district, but, finding no barriers to oppose its passage, rapidly extended its settlements over a wide area uniform in development, though sporadic in distribution. Not until then did isolation of position, difference of environment, and foreign influence, begin to produce divergences in physical characteristics, language and customs. Thus in different provinces similar peoples, occupying widely distributed settlements, developed into individual tribes more or less strongly differentiated. In 1872 Johannes Schmidt conceived the development of the Indo-Germanic languages in the following manner: "I should like to replace the genealogical tree by a diagram of waves expanding in concentric circles at a distance from a central point, the rings becoming weaker in proportion to the distance to which they spread from the central point." With some such theory the facts as known to us most nearly coincide, in so far as the peoples and the languages in close local connection show stronger mutual affinity than those at a remoter distance.

How Languages Spread from one Centre

The westerly development of the wave circles after radiation from the central point does not concern us here, and we need follow only the history of the most eastern, or Indo-Iranian group. Our investigation into the date, locality, and the mode of life of this original circle depends upon information derived from comparative philology, and from the traditions and the earliest literature of the peoples which have proceeded from this centre. Such an investigation will show that the two peoples of the Iranians and Indians, between whom all outward connection has now disappeared, broke away from their common centre only a few thousand years before the outset of historical chronology. The comparatively late date of this separation is proved not only by the close simila ity of the old Iranian language Zend) to the language of the earliest Indian hymns, but also by the wide similarities existing in manners and

MAP OF INDIA

1911

customs, especially those concerned with religion, language, mythology, and worship. Both peoples are called by the same proud name of Aryans, the noble, or the lofty; in both peoples the arrival of the youth at man's estate was marked by the custom of girding him with a string. Both religions contain the same names for the deities worshipped—Mitra, Indra, Siva, Yama, Asura. However, the deep gulf dividing the two peoples is apparent in the different manner in which these beliefs have developed; the gods worshipped by the Indian branch as the chief deities have sunk to low estate and lost their sanctity among the Iranians; the bright, shining, glorious, all-helping Indra of the old Indian faith and the great god Siva became in the Persian pantheon evil-minded gods or hostile demons, as does Asura in India. The figures of the gods have remained unchanged, and only the faces have been altered, while to the highest deities the same sacrificial drink, the soma, is still offered.

Lessons from Manners and Customs

The traditions and the language of the two peoples point to a former common settlement in the north, and there is good reason for accepting the generally received theory which considers their early home as situated in the land watered by the Oxus and the Jaxartes. The civilisation of this early settlement can be inferred in its general features from the vocabulary in use by its descendants. As might be expected in a country of steppes, the chief food supply depended upon cattle breeding. The wealth of the population consisted in herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, and in the keeping of these flocks the dog was the faithful companion of man. The horse was also bred, but only for traction, not for riding purposes. War chariots drawn by horses played an important part in the struggles of the Aryans upon their immigration to India. The possession of waggons enables us to conclude that the Indo-Iranians were not exclusively a shepherd people. The fact that they were able to build houses of wood, and that their animals were driven into permanent courtyards, justifies the conclusion that they were to some extent a settled race. The cultivation of cereal plants, barley, wheat, and millet was common throughout the Indo-Germanic family in primitive times. Most probably, when the Aryans entered the fertile district of the Five Rivers they had already acquired the knowledge and practice of regular irrigation from experience on the banks of the Oxus and Jaxartes. Cattle breeding provided their chief sustenance of milk and flesh, as also their clothing of wool and skins. Of metals, copper and bronze were known, while iron is rarely mentioned. Horn was used more often than bronze for the arrowheads, which the Aryans smeared with poison. Besides the bow and arrow their offensive weapons included the club, the axe, the sword, and the spear.

Wealth in Flocks and Herds

There must have been a considerable amount of peaceful intercourse. Straight roads existed traversed by wagons drawn by horses, while rafts and rowing boats passed over the rivers; commerce by barter was established, and hospitality readily granted to the stranger who came in peace. Generally speaking, the morality of the Indo-Iranians reached a high pitch of perfection. Family life was pure; the relations of the members of the race among themselves were regulated by established custom, which insisted upon truthfulness and good faith; in their dealings with foes the race were high-spirited, bold, and warlike. The father was the head of the family, but the wife also was highly respected and honoured. At the head of the tribe or community, the chief was placed not only to conduct the temporal affairs of his tribe, but also to represent the tribe before the powers of heaven. There was no special priestly class, but the whole people was inspired with a profound religious feeling.

Conditions of Primitive Morality

We have no knowledge of those causes which induced the Indian Aryans to migrate from their original settlements. Increase of the population above the number that the land could permanently support; the hostile attacks of other steppe tribes, either of remote Indo-Germanic peoples from the west or of nomadic Mongolian tribes from the east and north; those internal dissensions which ultimately led to the definite separation of the Iranian and Indian branches; possibly also the reports of the fabulous fertility of a great land on the south—any or all of these causes may have led to a great national movement. For this, of course, no accurate date can be given; modern experts are inclined to

place it about the middle of the third millennium B.C., or considerably earlier.

The route followed by the migrating people led southward. Here, indeed, they were confronted by a high mountain wall—the Hindu-Kush and the Pamirs; but these districts could easily be traversed by a hardy, mountain-bred shepherd people, who would be able to drive their flocks over these chains and to reach the plains beyond, the fertility of which must have seemed an attractive paradise to a people of the steppes, hard pressed by the stern necessities of existence.

It is by no means improbable that the Indian Aryans may have entered the country both by the Pamirs and the Hindu-Kush. At a point further eastward they could without difficulty have crossed by Chitral or Gilgit to the Indus and the lovely district of Kashmir, as well as to the upper Punjab. The western road over the Hindu-Kush led them into the Kabul district of Northern Afghanistan. Here the earliest of their extant sacred hymns seem to have been composed; here also the last links between the Iranian and Indian branches of the Aryans may have been severed. From the frontiers of the Afghan highland the spectator could behold the fruitful plains of the Five River Land, and an advance to the plains through the natural passes of the mountain wall was easy. It was, no doubt, by this route that the main branch of the race reached its new home; not, however, in one great column, but in detachments, tribe following tribe at long intervals. Powerful was the impression made upon those who crossed the mountain range reaching to the heavens, and long did the recollection of those snow-clad peaks remain among the people; they alone were considered worthy to support the throne of the gods on high. Magnificent also were the results of the migration when the Aryans arrived in the Punjab, that district watered, with what was to them an inconceivable abundance, by streams swollen with rain and melting snow—a guarantee of inexhaustible fertility. The poets sang the praises of these rivers with high enthusiasm.

Gateways of Early Immigration

Not without a struggle did this fair land fall into the hands of the immigrants; the dark-skinned inhabitants whom they found in possession did not tamely surrender. The Vedas, the Sagas of that period, ring with the din of battle and the cry of victory; the great gods of the Aryan heaven are called upon to strike down the wicked Dasyu, and are praised with cheerful thanks for overthrowing hundreds of the cities of the despised and miserable slaves, the Dasa. Serious friction occasionally occurred between different tribes of the same race when newcomers demanded their share of the conquered territory. The Aryan masses pressed successively further eastward. We can trace their advance from their resting-place on the heights of the Afghan frontier to the Jumna, the most western of the Ganges streams, across Five River Land. This river is often named in the later Vedas, but the Ganges not more than once or twice. Such an upheaval of the different tribes, and so great a rivalry for the possession of the fertile soil, must necessarily have led to collisions. Many tribes and their kings are mentioned by name, especially the federation of the "Five Peoples" in the north of the Punjab, the Yalu and Turvasa, the Druhyu and Anu, together with the Puru, who were situated farthest inland on the banks of the main stream, and headed the confederacy, which originally included the two first-named tribes, and afterwards the third and fourth. Beyond the boundaries of these five confederate peoples who inhabited Arya Varta, or Aryan land proper, the Tritsu, a branch of the powerful ambitious warrior tribe of the Bharata, advanced eastward, and bloody conflicts arose between them and the western peoples of the Punjab. The allied tribes were driven back, were confined henceforward to Five River Land, and gradually lost their common interests and the consciousness of their kinship with those of the Aryans who extended further eastward. Most of them disappear from our view; only the Puru (King Porus) held out for a long time on the Indus. In the general civilisation of those Aryans who migrated into the land of the Five Rivers, that progress may everywhere be observed which is connected with a higher development of agriculture and results in greater prosperity, greater security, and greater expansion in other directions. The Aryans now no longer lived a nomadic life on the boundary steppes, but were settled in permanent

Hymns of Historical Import

Echoes from Remote Battlefields

habitations upon arable territory, with well-defined boundaries.

Cattle breeding continued to be vigorously pursued; the ox was the unit of value, not only for the purposes of trade, but also for estimating the rank of individuals. The title of a tribal chief was even then "Possessor of Cows," and battle is still called "desire for cows." Milk, either fresh or in the form of butter-milk, cream, butter, and curds, was still the staple article of food; the flesh of domestic animals was rarely eaten; and hunting was carried on chiefly as a sport, or for protection against wild beasts; while fish as an article of food was still despised. A flesh diet was replaced by the use of corn, chiefly of barley, to a less extent of wheat, while rice is not yet mentioned. The plough and sickle were more important implements than of yore. Corn was threshed, pounded in the hand mill by the women, and made into bread, cakes, or porridge.

Settlement Supersedes Nomadism

The house was now a permanent habitation, and built on a new and stronger plan. A roof of vegetable fibres, tree bark, or straw kept out the rain; in the centre of the main room blazed the hearth, round which seats were arranged—probably of earth, as at present; these were covered with animal skins and served as sleeping-places. Earthenware pots, brazen caldrons, and hand mills for the corn were the most important kitchen utensils. Close to the house stood the fenced yard where the herds were penned, and in which the threshing-floor was laid out. The house was the special care of the woman. Here she cooked food for the whole family, spun the wool for thread, and wove artistic fabrics; here she made beautifully adorned cloaks of the skins of the animals killed; here under her care grew up the daughters and small boys. The man's business lay outside in the field, on the pasture and the corn land, at hunting or in war. It was his part to ply the handicrafts which were now increasing in number and rising to a higher level of skill; the waggon builder made strong vehicles; the smith blew up his fire with a fan made of birds' feathers, and wrought not only bronze, but also the iron which the original inhabitants probably brought to him in its raw condition, after smelting it out of the ore (the native Indian form of pocket bellows does not seem to have been in use among the Aryans); the goldsmith produced bright decorations, artistic plates, bracelets, and rings to be worn in the ears, round the neck, and upon the wrists and ankles of the women.

Conditions of Life and Industry

The relations of man and wife were regulated by sound moral principles. To bring forth sons, worthy members of a tribe and an honour to the parents, was the highest ambition and the greatest pride of the father and mother. Respected, and on an equality with her husband, the woman was mistress of the house, though the man as being the stronger was the natural head, protector, and leader of the family. The man wooed the maiden on whom his choice had fallen through friends and relations; if his suit was approved by the girl's parents, the marriage took place before the hearth of the house in which the maiden had lived hitherto under the protection of her parents. The bridegroom took the girl's hand and led her three times round the hearth; the newly-married pair were then conveyed to their new home in a chariot drawn by white steers, the former ceremony was repeated, and a meal in common concluded the festival. Polygamy was exceedingly rare, while polyandry was utterly unknown to the ancient Aryans. If a death took place in a house, the body was buried or burnt—interment in both forms is mentioned in the early Vedas—widows never followed their dead husbands to death, either voluntarily or as a matter of social custom.

Early Marriage Customs

The houses stood in groups, forming separate hamlets or villages. Some of these places were fortified against hostile attacks by walls of earth or stone (place names ending in *pur* meaning "fortified"). Men and animals were often obliged to flee into fortified settlements, which were usually uninhabited, before the outbreak of floods or hostile incursions. A group of villages formed a larger community, while several of these latter became a district. The district belonging to one tribe formed a corporate whole, each of these groups having its own special chief, while at the head of the whole stood the king (Rajan, the "reigning."). The title was hereditary, or the king might be elected, but in either case a new king must be recognised in the general assembly of all men capable of

bearing arms. In the samiti were discussed all those matters which affected the whole tribe, especially questions of war and peace. The inhabitants of the district or the village met together in special halls, which served not only for purposes of discussion and judgment, but also for conversation, and for social amusements, such as dice playing. As the race was thus organised for the purposes of peace, so also the army, composed of all men capable of bearing arms, was made up of divisions corresponding to the family, village, and district group, each under its own leader. Famous warriors fought in their own war chariots harnessed with two horses and driven by a charioteer, while the main body of the people fought on foot.

The king was the leader in war; he was also the representative of his people before the gods; in the name of the people he asked for help or offered praise and sacrifice. He was allowed in certain cases to be represented by a Purohita, who conducted the sacrifice, while anyone who possessed high poetical gifts and a dignified appearance might permanently occupy this position. Other nobles, princes of districts, etc., might appoint Purohitas, whose influence was increased in proportion as formal prayer took the place of extempore petitions, and worship became stereotyped by the growth of special uses and a fixed ceremonial. Here we have in embryo the separate classes of king and priesthood, an opposition which was to exercise the most far-reaching influence upon the further development of the Aryan people.

The Rise of the Kingship

The Aryan people brought from their primal home one precious possession—a deep, religious feeling, a thankful reverence for the high powers presiding over Nature, who afforded them a secure and peaceful existence by assuring the continued welfare of the flocks and of the crops planted by man. The good and kindly gods were those who sent to man the fertilising rain and sunshine, bringing growth and produce, and to them, as to high and kindly friends, man offered his faithful prayers and pious vows. To them he prayed that his flocks might thrive, and that he might be victorious in battle, that he might be given sons and have long life; they, the bright, the all-knowing, and the pure, were the protectors of morality and the wardens of the house, of the district, and of the whole tribe. Certain gods belonging to primeval times appeared in the Pantheon of the Aryans who conquered the Five River district, bright figures worshipped in common by the Iranians and the Indian Aryans. But among these latter they grow pale and lose their firm outlines, like the misty figures of dim remembrance; they become many-sided, secret, uncanny, diabolical, and other gods of more definite character come into prominence. Three gods are of special importance—Indra, Surya, and Agni. Together they form the early Indian Trinity (Trimurti). In the hymns which have come down to us, Indra is most frequently mentioned; he was the atmospherical god, especially favourable to the Aryans, who gave the rain and the harvest, and governed the winter and the thunderstorm. We can easily understand how the god of the atmosphere became the chief Aryan divinity; as the Aryans learnt upon Indian soil to observe the regular recurrence of atmospherical phenomena, especially that of the monsoon winds and the thunderstorms upon which their prosperity depended, the deeper and stronger became their gratitude and reverence to this god. It is Indra who sends down the water of the heaven, who divides the clouds with the lightning flash before which blow the roaring winds, the Maruts, especially the fierce Rudra, the hurricane, which rushes immediately before the thunder clouds.

Pantheon of the Aryans

The second of the three chief gods is Surya, the bright sun god, giving light, warmth, and life, an object of high veneration. Ushas, the morning dawn, opens for him the doors through which he passes to traverse the heavens in his chariot with its seven red horses. After these two gods the third of importance is Agni, the fire born from sticks when rubbed together; this god lights and warms the hearth of the house, drives away all things evil and impure, and watches over the morality of the household. As the sacrificial flame upon the altars, he is the means of communication between mankind and the other gods; in his destructive character he devastates the settlements of the enemy and the hiding-places of their demons in the depths of the forest.

The Chief Gods

The worship of these gods is characterised by a feeling of lofty independence. Not only does man receive gifts from them, but

he also gives them what they need. They, indeed, prepare for themselves the draught of immortality, the Amrita; but they hunger for sacrifices and cannot do without them. Especially do the gods love the honey-sweet draught of Soma drink. Almost presumptuous appears to us the prayer in which Indra is invited to partake of the Soma offering:

Minor Gods of Aryan Mythology

"Ready is the summer draught, O Indra, for thee; may it fill thee with strength! drink the excellent draught which cheers the soul and conveys immortality! hither, O Indra, to drink with joy of the juice which has been pressed for thee; intoxicate thyself, O hero, for the slaughter of thy foes! sit thou upon my seat! here, O good one, is juice expressed; drink thyself full, for to thee, dread lord, do we make offering."

Though Indra is here invited in person, yet the personifications of early Indian mythology were much less definite than those of the Greeks. Imagination and expression vary between the terms of human existence and the abstract conceptions of the natural powers of fire, thunder, sunshine, etc. Consequently the god as such is somewhat vague and intangible in the mythology of the old Aryans of India; the characteristics of one deity are confused with those of another, and the different attributes of any one god often reappear as separate personifications.

A large number of the hymns to the gods have been preserved to us (1,017 in all); these form the earliest body of evidence upon Indian life, thought, and feeling. The earliest of these songs were undoubtedly sung by the Aryans upon their migrations. At first the unpremeditated outpourings of a pious heart, they gradually became formal prayers; thus these hymns were preserved in families of bards and faithfully handed down from generation to generation until at a much later period they were reduced to writing. In many of the Vedas belonging to the earliest period we find a deep longing for truth, a struggle for the solution of the deepest mysteries of existence—in short, a speculative spirit of that nature which marks a later stage of Brahman development; other songs, however, are pure and simple prayers for victory, children, and long life, while others, again, contain promises of sacrifice and praise if the help of the gods should be granted. The general collection of all these hymns was made at a considerably later period, subsequently to the occupation of the Ganges territory, and not before the seventh century before our era.

How Aryan Hymns have been Preserved

SCENE IN THE PUNJAB, OR "LAND OF THE FIVE RIVERS"

The Punjab was the first part of India to come under Aryan civilisation, and the Sutlej, one of the five rivers, is seen in the middle distance of the picture, which also shows the "Persian wheel," used for irrigating fields, being turned by a couple of bullocks, the driver seated at the end of a beam supported over a horizontal wheel.

THE ARYAN EXPANSION
AND THE GROWTH OF BRAHMANISM

BRAHMANISM IN THE NORTH

THE most important events at the conclusion of the Vedic age took place on the frontier line between the Indus and the Ganges. Here was developed the opposition between the warrior and priestly classes which was afterwards to lead to important results. At the head of the allied tribes in the Punjab stands the proud King Visivamitra, who combines the functions of king and priest in his own person and invokes the help of the gods for his people. Among his adversaries, however, the King Sudas no longer commits the duties of prayer and sacrifice to his own priests, but to a special class, the white-clothed, long-haired priests of the Vasishtha family, and their prayers are more effectual than those of the priest-king. This event is typical of the second stage of early Indian development, which ends in the complete victory of the priests over the warrior class and the establishment of a rigid hierarchy. The date of this social change coincides with that of the expansion and establishment of the Aryans in the Ganges territory.

The Rise of the Hierarchy

The sacred books are of less value for the external history of this period than are the songs of the Rig-Veda for the preceding age; nevertheless, many of them, such as the Brahmanas, contain important evidence concerning individual tribes, their settlements and history. A large body of historical evidence is, however, contained in the second great epic poems of this period, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana; the riotous imagination of the composers has given a strong poetical colouring to the whole, and the lack of definite purpose which is apparent in their construction makes careful and minute criticism imperative.

The Mahabharata in its present state is the longest poem of any people or age. It contains 110,000 double lines, and each one of its eighteen books is enough to fill a large volume. The historical basis of the great poem of the Bharata rests upon early tradition. The enthusiasm inspired by heroic deeds found its vent in poetical composition, and the praise of heroes was passed from mouth to mouth. This epic poem in embryo may be earlier than the first thousand years B.C.; but when that period of turmoil and confusion was followed by an age of more peaceful development, the memories of these exploits grew fainter in the minds of successive generations. The old songs and ballads were collected and worked into one great epos; many of the events and figures are the additions of later poets, such as the story of the Five Pandu brothers, while the whole poem is marked by the brilliant overflow of a luxuriant imagination and by ruthless compression of the historical facts; the histories of nations become the victories or defeats of individual heroes; long years of struggle with warlike tribes are reduced to one lengthy battle. To this quasi-historical part of the Mahabharata were added at a later time a series of lays more extensive than the original poem and written from the Brahman point of view. If the non-epic elements be removed from the poem the following story remains.

Longest Epic in the World

At the point where the two streams of the Jumna and the Ganges leave the mountains and flow through the plains, the powerful Bharata tribe of the Kuru had established themselves upon their eastern and western banks; even to-day the district on the right bank of the Jumna is known as the Kuru-kshetra, the sacred Kuru land. This royal tribe divided into two branches. Of the two sons of King Santanu, the elder, Dhritarashtra,

was born blind, and the royal power was therefore conferred upon his younger brother Pandu. To the latter five sons were born, and to the former a hundred; and the struggles of these two groups of cousins formed the substratum of the epic.

When Knighthood was in Flower

All these brothers were admirably instructed in knightly pursuits by the Brahman Drona, "in the use of the bow and club, of the battleaxe and the throwing spear, of the sword and dagger, in the chase of the horse and elephant, in conflicts from chariots or on foot, man to man or in combination." In the elder line, Duryodhana, the eldest of the one hundred brothers, was especially distinguished for his skill in the use of the club; Bhima, the second son of Pandu, was famous for his superhuman strength. The third son of Pandu, the beautiful long-haired Arjuna, excelled with all arms, but especially in the use of the bow and arrow. In one of the tournaments which concluded the education of the princes he outstripped all competitors; after a contest with many other princes, he won the hand of the beautiful Krishna, the daughter of Drupad, King of Pantshala. By his victory she also became the wife of the other four brothers, a polyandric marriage which is represented by the Brahman poet as the result of a misunderstanding with the mother of the Pandu brothers.

Duryodhana, who had meanwhile been crowned king, dreading the military power of his cousins and of the Pantshala, with whom they had allied themselves by marriage, divided his kingdom with the eldest of the Pandu brothers, Prince Yudhishthira. At the moment of his coronation Yudhishthira played a game of dice with the enemies of his house, the Kaurawas, at which he lost not only his crown, but also the freedom of himself and his brothers, and the wife whom they possessed in common. But by the decision of the blind old prince Dhritarashtra, the forfeit was commuted for a banishment of thirteen years. The Pandu brothers, with their wife, spent this period in solitude, need and misery in the forests, and then demanded their share of the kingdom. To this proposition the Kaurawas declined to agree, and both parties secured the support of numerous powerful allies. The Kaurawas were joined by Karna (another Siegfried or Achilles), who distinguished himself in these battles by his splendid bravery and military prowess; the Pandawas enjoyed the advantage of the cunning advice of the Yadawa prince, Krishna, who placed his services as charioteer at the disposal of Arjuna. A fearful battle ensued of eighteen days' duration, in which, after marvellous deeds of heroism, all the warriors were slain with the exception of the five Pandu brothers. From this time onward the whole of the kingdom was in their power, and Yudhishthira ruled for a long period after the manner of an ideal Brahman prince. Thereafter they retired from all earthly splendour and became ascetics with no temporal needs, wandering from one holy shrine to another, until at length they entered the heaven of the gods opposite the holy Mountain of Meru.

Gambling for a Kingdom

However large an element of the Mahabharata may be purely poetical, none the less the poem enables us to localise with some accuracy a number of the tribes which were actively or passively involved in the struggle of the two royal houses, and the overthrow of the warrior class to which that struggle led.

Historical Facts in the Great Epic

Of the warrior class the chief representatives are the Kuru, who are represented as settled on the upper course of the Jumna and Ganges, Hastinapura being their capital town; they were also in occupation of the sacred Kuru land to the west of the Jumna as far as the point where the Saraswati disappears in the sands of the desert. The poem places the Pandu and their capital of Indraprastha—the modern Delhi on the Jumna—in the central *Doab* (*i.e.*, the land lying between two converging rivers, above their confluence), the central district between the Jumna and the Ganges. In the lower Doab is settled a federation of five tribes, the Pantshala. Opposite these on the western bank of the Jumna dwell the Surasena, while to the east beyond the Ganges are the Kosala, with the capital town of Gogra, who extended their power after the destruction of the Kuru and Pandu, their later capital of Ayodhya becoming a focus of Brahman civilisation. Below the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges, the sacred Prayaga, where at an earlier period Allahabad had become a centre for pilgrimages, the northern bank of the main stream was occupied by the Bharata

tribe of the Matsya, while to the south-east of these, in the district of the modern Benares, lived the Kasi; on the southern bank the native tribe of the Nishada formed a defence against the Aryan tribes in the north. East and north of the Ganges, together with the Kosala, were also settled the mountain tribes of the Kirata, who were in alliance with the Kuru, while further to the south were the Pundra Banga and Anga, the Mithila, the Wideha and Magadha.

The action of the great epic poem is laid within the district of these various tribes. Several centuries must have elapsed since the battle of King Sudas, during which the Aryans had formed states in the fruitful central district, the Madhyadesa, and had extended to that tributary of the Ganges now known as the Garuti. In the earlier period of Indian antiquity, the chief historical events take place in the country between the Ganges and its great western tributary the Jumna; whereas at a later period pure Brahman civilisation is developed in the kingdoms formed further to the east—namely, north of the Ganges in Wideha (capital town Mithila, the modern Muzaffarpur), and upon the southern bank of the great river, in Magadha and Wihara (the modern Behar; capital town Pataliputra, the modern Patna). During this period at any rate the eastern frontier of these states was also the eastward limit of Aryan occupation. That national movement ceased at the point where the first arms of the great delta of the Ganges diverge from the southern bank of the river behind the mountains of Rajmahal; the almost impenetrable malarial swamp districts which then composed the whole delta remained for a long period in the undisputed possession of the wild jungle tribes and noxious and poisonous animals. However, the last offshoots of the stream of Aryan immigration turned southward to the fertile districts of Orissa from Magadha at the period when Brahmanism had reached its culminating point. Here the north-eastern arms of the Mahanadi delta mark the extreme limit of the territory then in Aryan occupation, which consequently extended to the sea upon the east.

Great National Movements

At a yet earlier period the Aryans had reached the Western or Arabian Sea. Immediately after the occupation of the Punjab, the waves of the migration passed down the Indus valley, and the Aryans became acquainted with the districts at the mouth of the river, to which also they gave its name (Sindhu). Their settlements in that district did not, however, become a point of departure for transmarine migration. The coast was ill-suited for the navigators of the period, and a far more favourable spot was found further to the south-west in the Gulf of Cambay; settlements were made here at a period considerably subsequent to the arrival at the mouth of the Indus. The Great Desert and the unhealthy swamps which intervene between this gulf and the Indus district prevented any advance in that direction; moreover an easier route was discovered by the tribes advancing from the Punjab to the Ganges district along the narrow frontier between the two territories. Consequently, new arrivals found the land already occupied by settlers who had taken this route, and bloody conflicts may have been of repeated occurrence. Driven on by tribes advancing in their rear, hemmed in before by earlier settlers, they found a favourable opening of escape in the strip of fertile territory which extended southward between the desert and the north-western slopes of the Central Indian highlands, the Aravalli Hills. This path could not fail to bring them to the Gulf of Cambay, which here runs far inland; and, on its western shores, the rich districts of Gujerat and those at the mouth of the Narbada and the Tapti lay spread before them. This was the most southerly point on the western side of India at which the Aryans made any permanent settlement.

The Line of Least Resistance

Hence, during this period Aryan India included the whole of the north-western plains extending in a south-westerly direction as far as Gujerat, and eastward as far as the Ganges delta, its extreme south-easterly point being the delta of Orissa. The highlands of Central India formed a sharp line of demarcation between the Aryan and Dravidian races. The district was, however, not entirely secluded from Aryan influence, which at the outset of that period had begun to put out feelers across the frontier line. The Aryans had already become acquainted with the sea, which was for them rather a means than a hindrance to communication; the

Extent of Aryan India

fact is proved by the similes occurring in the old battle songs, wherein the hard-pressed warrior is compared to a sailor upon a ship staggering under a heavy storm upon the open sea. The Aryan colonisation of Ceylon took place before the power of the warrior class had been broken and the social organism stamped with the impress of Brahmanism. On comparing this period with that during which the Aryans advanced into the Punjab, we find a fundamental change in the conditions of Aryan life as they are displayed in all these struggles and settlements. Nomadic life under the patriarchal system is replaced by feudal principalities surrounded with all the splendour of chivalry. Changes in other conditions of life had necessarily effected a fundamental transformation in the political and social condition of the people. A more settled life, and the advance of agriculture at the expense of cattle breeding, led to a more comprehensive subdivision of labour; though, when occasion demanded, the peasant left the ploughshare for the sword, yet it was no doubt at an early period that that warrior nobility arose which made war its business and profession. The leadership of the tribe as the latter flourished and increased became rather a professional post; in place of the tribal elder appears the king in possession of full royal powers and standing high above and apart from his people. The position of both king and noble must have advanced to more brilliant development in the greater area of the Ganges territory. In the Mahabharata the battles and the names connected with them are no doubt in large part the result of poetical invention; but the description of the civilisation then existent cannot be wholly imaginary, and the royal courts with their knightly organisation, however romantic in appearance and akin to the institutions of mediæval Europe, may be considered as definite historical facts. No greater change can be imagined than that apparent in the latter condition of those peoples whose history we have traced throughout this proud and warlike period. Gone is the energy of youth; gone, too, the sparkling joys of life and struggle; the green verdure of the Aryan spring has faded, the people has grown old. The nobility has yielded the pride of place to the priesthood, whose ordinances shackle all movement toward freedom and independence. The new power appears in the garb of the deepest poverty, but its spiritual influence is all the more profound; the ambition of the priests was not to be kings, but to rule kings.

Settled Political Systems

Influence of the Priesthood

The origins of this great social change go back to a remote period. Even during that period when the Aryan power was confined to the Punjab, the seeds of opposition between the temporal and spiritual powers are found in existence; in the great battle in which King Sudas conquered the confederacy of the Punjab, the opposition becomes prominent for the first time. At an earlier period it was the natural duty of the tribal chieftain to stand as mediator between his people and their gods. But it was not every powerful prince or general who possessed the gift of the inspired poets and musician, and many kings therefore entrusted this sacred public duty to their Purohita. His reputation was increased by his power of clothing lofty thoughts in inspiring form, and the position passed from father to son together with the more stirring hymns which were orally transmitted. Thus priestly families arose of high reputation whose efforts were naturally entirely directed to secure the permanence of their position; the most certain means to this end was the creation of a complicated ritual for prayer and sacrifice which could be performed only by a priesthood with a special training. The scene of sacrifice was prepared with great attention to minutiæ, the altars were specially adorned on every opportunity, and the different sacrifices were offered with scrupulous respect to ceremonial detail; there were priests who recited only the prayers from the Rig-Veda, others who sang hymns from the Samaveda; a high-priest stood at the head of the whole organisation.

Order of Hereditary Minstrels

Consequently the character of prayer, sacrifice, and indeed the whole body of theology underwent a fundamental transformation. Originally the victim had been the pure offering of a thankful heart, while prayer had been the fervent yet humble expression of those desires which man in his weakness laid before the almighty powers of heaven. Gradually, however, the idea of sacrifice had been

Siva, the Destroyer, the second of the Hindu deities

Ganesha, the god of success, invoked on every necessity of daily life

Agni, the guardian deity of the south-east part of the earth

Surya, the sun god, one of the gods of the early Indian Trinity

Indra, the king of heaven and one of the ten guardian deities of the earth

Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity, wife of Vishnu

Vishnu, one of the three principal Hindu deities

Saraswati, goddess of learning, Vishnu's second wife

THE CHIEF BRAHMAN AND HINDU DIVINITIES

modified by the theory that human offerings to the gods were not only welcome but also necessary and indispensable to those powers. In the sacred writings of a later date passages repeatedly occur, stating that the gods are growing weak because the pious priests have been hindered by evil spirits from making the necessary sacrifices. Indeed, it was only by means of the sacrifices that the gods, who had formerly been subject to death like men, had acquired immortality. "The Gods lived in the fear of death, the strong Ender, and therefore they underwent severe penance and made many offerings until they became immortal."

Growth of the Idea of Sacrifice

Hence was developed the further idea that by means of sacrifice man could gain a certain power over the gods themselves and thereby extort gifts and services from them; and ultimately the sacrifice was conceived to be a thing of immense magical power before which all the other gods must bow. The all-compelling power of the sacrifice was in the hands of the priests, the Brahmans, and became the firm foundation of their increasing predominance. An Indian proverb says: "The universe depends upon the gods, the gods upon the Mantra (the formula of sacrifice), the Mantra upon the Brahmans, and therefore the Brahmans are our gods."

Tradition is silent upon the details of the process by which the dominant power passed from the hands of the nobility to the priesthood. It was to the interests of the priests to obliterate historical facts as rapidly and completely as possible from popular memory, and to inculcate the belief that the high position of the Brahmans had been theirs from the outset. The history of the period has been thus designedly obscured, and only at rare intervals is some feeble light thrown upon it. The epos of the fall of the great race of the Bharata shows us how the power of the nobility was worn away in bitter struggles; many priestly figures, such as Drona and his son Aswatthaman, take up arms and join in the destruction of the nobility.

A fact throwing special light upon the acerbity of the contest between the two struggling powers is the appearance in the poem of the mythical figure of Rama, who was considered an incarnation of Vishnu at a later period, a Brahman by birth, and armed with the axe. The balance of fortune did not, however, invariably incline in favour of the Brahmans, as is plain from the many maxims in their ritual and philosophical writings conceived in a very humble tone: "None is greater than the Kshatriya (the warrior), wherefore the Brahman also makes sacrifices together with the royal offerings to the Kshatriya." The issue of the struggle began to prove doubtful from the Brahman point of view, and therefore the myth claimed the personal interference of the powerful god Vishnu, who usually became incarnate in times of greatest need, and therefore descends for this reason to the aid of his special favourites, the Brahmans. After an infinite series of bloody conflicts, he gains for them a brilliant victory; thrice seven times did Parasurama purify the earth of the Kshatriya.

Help of the Gods in Battle

THE BRAHMAN SYSTEM AT WORK

NOTWITHSTANDING their military capacity and their personal strength, the nobles had been defeated, and the priests, armed with the mysterious magical power of the sacrifice, had gained a spiritual dominion over the people. This power the priesthood at once proceeded to secure permanently and irrevocably by arrogating to themselves the monopoly of all religious and philosophical thought, by the strict and detailed regulation of public and private life in its every particular, by forcing the mind, the feelings, and the will of every individual into fixed grooves prescribed by the priests. The legal books, the earliest of which belong to the course of literature of the old Vedic schools, explain the high ideal which the Brahmans proposed to themselves as the true realisation of national life; an ideal, however, which was hardly ever attained in its reality, or at the most only within the narrow areas of individual petty states.

The position of the priests is defined with the greatest precision and detail in the Dharmasastra of Manawa, a work afterward ascribed to Manu. In order to make this work yet more authoritative, its composers assigned to the personality

of its author an age almost amounting to immortality (30,000,000 years) and divine origin; attempting to identify him with the first ancestor of the Aryans, the mythical Manu. In reality it was not until shortly before the middle of the first millennium B.C. that the Brahman code had developed so large a quantity of precepts defined with such exactitude; in its present form the work of Manu seems to be the result of later re-editing, and to date from the period between the first century B.C. and the fifth century A.D. Buddhist precepts are plainly apparent in it, and many prohibitions of the earlier and later periods are brought together in spite of their discrepancy, as, for instance, the slaughter of animals and the eating of flesh, side by side with the religious avoidance of animal food. Buddhist terms of expression are also found, such as the mention of female anchorites, "an apostate sect," which are evidence in favour of a later date. The book consists of a collection of proverbial sayings which were intended to fix the customary law, as established by the Brahmans, for a district of Northern India of limited area. The work contains 2,685 double lines divided into twelve books; of these books, five are concerned with the rights and duties of the Brahmans, whereas only two books are devoted to the warrior caste and only one to all the other castes put together. Manu expressly proclaims the existence of four castes only: "The Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas form the classes in a second state of existence; the Sudra is in the first state of existence and forms the fourth class; a fifth does not exist." In this division the first point of note is the contrast between those in a first and those in a second state of existence, the "twice-born," a contrast which coincides with the racial contrast between

A Book of Ancient Proverbs

TYPES OF THE ANCIENT BRAHMANS

These figures from frescoes of the second century B.C. are taken from the cave X at Ajantâ (after James Burgess). They bear the Nâma of the Brahman divinities upon their foreheads, and the type of face is rather Aryan than Dravidian; but the ornaments and umbrella are not, as Fergusson and Burgess suppose, signs of low caste.

the Aryans and the original inhabitants; within the Aryan group a principle of tripartition is again apparent, which, in modern language, amounts to the separate existence of a learned, a military, and a productive class.

The Four Divisions of Society

Manu here speaks of only four divisions of society; elsewhere he recognises the existence of other caste subdivisions: the castes of the physicians, astrologers, handicraftsmen, oil manufacturers, leather workers, musical performers, etc., are subdivisions of the fourth class. Properly speaking, however, the origin of these castes is, according to Manu, different from that of the main groups; these latter are of primeval origin, created together with the world and—an important factor—by the purpose of the Creator. A famous hymn of the Rig-Veda, which is a later interpolation, describes the origin of the castes: "The sacrifice Purusha, those who were born at the very first (the first men), they offered it upon sacrificial grass; to it the gods made offering, the Sadhyas and the Rishis. When they divided Purusha, into how many pieces was he cleft? What did his mouth become, and what his arms, what his legs and his feet? His mouth became the Brahman, the Rajanya came forth from his arm, the Vaisya from his thighs, the Sudra from his feet. The world was born from his soul, the sun from his eyes, Indra and Agni from his mouth; Wayu from his breath. From his navel came forth air, from his head the heaven, from his feet the earth, from his ear the districts of the world. In this manner did the gods create the world."

Symbolically, the Brahmans were formed from the same member of the body as the great gods of early India, Indra, and Agni—namely, from the mouth, which speaks "sanctity and truth"; the military

were formed from the arms, whence they received their "power and strength." The thigh bones were the means of mechanical progress, the lowly toil of life; from these, therefore, were the Vaisya formed who go behind the plough and gain material "riches and possessions" by their industry. From the feet, however, which ever tread in the dust of earth, is formed the lowly Sudra, who, from the very beginning, is "destined to service and obedience." Thus, according to Manu, by means of the sacrificial power of the gods and of the sacred primeval Brahmans, were formed the four great classes of human society.

Theories of Caste Divisions

The Brahmans have another theory to account for the subdivisions within the Sudra class, which was explained as mixed castes proceeding from the alliance of members of different castes. It is important to notice that position within these mixed castes is dependent upon the higher or lower caste to which the man or the woman belonged at the time of procreation. Alliances of men of higher castes, and even of the Brahmans themselves, with low-caste women, are legally permissible; the children, however, of such a marriage do not take the father's caste, but sink to the lowest castes. Wholly different is the punishment of breaking caste incurred when a woman has children by a man of lower caste than herself; not only is she expelled from her own caste with ignominy and disgrace, but the higher the caste to which she belonged by birth, the lower is the social depth to which she and her children sink; indeed, the lowest of all castes, that of the Tshandala, is considered by the Brahmans to have been formed by the alliance of Brahman women with Sudra men. On the other hand, the children begotten by a Brahman of a Sudra woman belong to the higher gradations of the Sudra group, while the father in no way loses his own permanent position. Such is the teaching of the Brahmans as laid down in the book of Manu upon the origin of mixed castes. The investigator, however, who leaves the Sanscrit writings, examines Indian society for himself, and judges the facts before him without prejudice, cannot resist the impression that this theory upon the origin of mixed castes is as impossible as that of the creation of the four main castes from the sacrifice. The only mixed caste in the proper sense of the words is that of the temple women, and their children; among these, daughters become temple women, sons temple musicians, or inferior temple servants, etc. But in all other cases where there is no very great difference of caste between the parents, the child takes the lower caste and a new mixed caste never arises. However, in the very rare cases in which a woman of extremely high caste has a child by a man of very low caste, abortion is invariably procured, or the mother commits suicide. The Brahman doctrine upon the origin of the lowest castes is an intentional perversion of the facts.

Penalties of Inter-caste Marriage

One of the most skilful investigators of the caste system, W. R. Cornish, says that the whole chapter of Manu upon mixed castes is so childishly conceived and displays so much class prejudice and intolerance, so appalling a punishment awaiting the Brahman woman who should err, while at the same time the Brahman is allowed so much freedom of communication with other castes without injury to his position, that the intentions of the author become forthwith obvious. These intentions were to maintain purity of blood in the higher castes, and especially in that of the Brahmans, by appointing the heaviest of all punishments upon any woman who should prove unfaithful to her caste. It was not thus that the lower social groups of which we have spoken originated; they are earlier than the laws of Manu. The legislator, however, employed the fear inspired by the prospect of sinking to their degraded position as a powerful instrument whereby he might attain his objects, the preservation of racial purity among the Brahmans.

Reasons for Caste Restrictions

The truth is that castes have arisen from different origins. Differences of race and racial prejudice form a first line of cleavage. Noteworthy in this connection is the old Aryan name for caste, *warna*—that is, colour. The white and the black, the Aryan and the original inhabitant, the "best," the "first" (because the most successful and powerful) in contrast with the low and the common, the Dasyu—these oppositions form the first sharp line of demarcation. At their first meeting the latter class were naturally not allowed the privilege of conforming to the institutions

The figures grouped on this page are representative of the Brahmans of to-day, the first being that of a Brahman priest, or "pundit," and the next a fakir, or devotee, while the young Brahman in the centre displays the mysterious caste marks and is wearing the sacred thread. The lower figures represent, on the left, a Hindu jogi, or mendicant, posing in the attitude of one of the gods, and the last is another Brahman type.

BRAHMAN TYPES OF THE PRESENT TIME

of Aryan society; extermination was the sole method of dealing with them. At a later period, however, as the conquerors became more prosperous and settled, it was found advantageous to employ prisoners or subject races as serfs for the purpose of menial duties. The original inhabitants of the country were thus adopted into the Aryan society, and in that social order the first deep line of cleavage was made. Other differences then developed within the Aryan population. It was only natural that the man who displayed a special bravery in battle should be more highly honoured and receive a larger share of booty, of territory, and of slaves to cultivate that territory. Thus, in course of time, a warrior nobility was formed, the Kshatriya, who rose to power as we have seen in the struggles of the Mahabharata. We have already seen the manner in which a further social division was brought about by the formation of a hereditary priesthood, the Brahmana. In proportion, however, as these two classes became exclusive hereditary castes, so did they rise above the great mass of the people, the farmers, the shepherds, and the handicraftsmen whose occupations were now considered as professions lacking in dignity. The Kshatriya proudly called themselves Rajana, Rajwansi, the Royal, or the Rajputs, the men of royal race, and thought themselves high above the common people.

Rise of a Warrior Nobility

Thus the great castes appointed by Manu had been formed. Further differences arose within these. Only the Brahmans and warriors were able for any length of time to prevent the rise of subdivisions within their own groups. Their narrow and well-defined profession, and also, among the Brahmans at any rate, their jealously preserved racial purity, protected them from disruption. But in the two remaining groups, the Vaisya and the Sudra, who had now entered the social organism of the Aryans, a different set of circumstances prevailed; the development of larger political bodies resulted in subdivision within these classes. As existence grew more secure and prosperity increased, the necessities of life increased proportionately. In the simple times of the primeval Aryan period, every tribe was able to satisfy such demands for skilled labour as might arise within it; in the more complex organisation of society within the Ganges states such simplicity was no longer possible. Undertakings demanding technical skill called forth by the claims of a higher civilisation necessarily brought about the subdivision of labour and the creation of technical professions; manual labour in its several branches became hereditary among individual families of the lower castes, as other professions had become hereditary among the Brahmans and Kshatriyas.

Subdivision of the Castes

It is possible that similar caste divisions corresponding to the various professions may have existed among the original inhabitants of the country before they came into contact with the Aryans. The natives were by no means, in every case, uncivilised savages; some of their tribes were superior in technical skill to the Aryans themselves, and bartered the products of their higher knowledge with the Aryans through merchants. The existence of caste divisions among them at an earlier period is supported by the enumeration in the code of Manu of the manufacturing castes in the lower divisions of the Sudra—astrologers, oil makers, leather workers, musical performers, and so on. It is inconceivable that the Brahmans, when formulating the rules of Indian society, should have troubled to arrange these numerous subdivisions of the many castes of the Sudra, the more so as they were accustomed to avoid any possible connection with this unclean stratum of society; far more probable is it that those differences of caste within the Sudra which coincide with professions existed before the Aryan period.

Division According to Occupation

The political relations of the Aryans to the non-Aryan natives also contributed to the development of the Aryan caste system. The deadly hatred of the black, snub-nosed people which inspires the hymns of the Rig-Veda was laid to rest; during the struggles between the several Aryan princes and states political necessities often led to acquaintances, alliance, and friendship, even to racial fusion with the native tribes. In the Mahabharata we find a Nishada prince appointed guardian of the important river ford at Prayaga; we find Dravidian races fighting side by side as the equal allies of pure Aryan tribes, while the names of certain personalities famous in the great epos,

together with peculiarities of character and custom, are evidence for the close connection between the distinguished Aryan warrior and the native inhabitant. Krishna, "the Black," is the name given to the Yadawa prince who appears as the firm ally and friend of Pandawas.

The attempt has been made to explain this name by the hypothesis that his tribe had entered India earlier than the other Aryans, and had therefore been more deeply burned by the sun; to this, however, it may be replied that the complexion of a tribe may be deepened rather by fusion with a black race than by exposure to the sun. In character also Krishna appears unlike the Aryans; he is full of treachery and deceit, gives deceitful counsel, and justifies ignoble deeds by equivocation methods wholly foreign to the knightly character of the Aryan warrior. The Pantshala princess is also entitled Krishna, "the Black"; the fact that she lived in true Dravidian style with the five Aryan princes in a polyandric marriage shows the close relations existing between the Aryans and the native peoples.

Similar relations are also apparent in the history of the colonisation of Ceylon; the Aryan ancestor Vijayas had married a Dravidian Kalinga princess, and his grandson, together with many of his companions, took native women to wife without any exhibition of racial prejudice. Thus, since the time of the Aryan immigration, an important change had taken place in the relations of the two races. The rapidity with which the racial fusion was carried out is apparent at the present time in the physical contrast between the peoples of the North-west and the Ganges territory; in the Punjab, in Kashmir, and to some extent in Rajputana, hardly a trace of the black population is to be found, a result of the deadly animosity with which the war of conquest was prosecuted; further to the east the mixed races reappear, and the evidence of darker complexion, broader features and noses, increases proportionately from this point. Such a fusion, and particularly the incorporation of whole races of the native inhabitants within the Aryan society, must obviously have increased the subdivisions within the castes.

Progress of Race Fusion

The Brahmans, who took the utmost precaution to preserve their caste purity, were least affected by the entrance of foreign racial elements; at any rate, in Northern India their caste, even at the present day, has changed but little from the Aryan type. In Orissa, however, and to a greater extent further southwards, even this exclusive sect considered it expedient on different occasions to admit individuals or even whole tribes of the black race within their caste, if they could thereby attain any external advantage; thus at the present day in the Deccan many more dark than fair Brahmans are to be met.

Marriage in the Caste of Warriors

In the warrior caste, purity of blood was thought of less vital importance; among this caste there even existed a legal form of marriage, the "Rakshasa" marriage, which provided that the bride should be taken by force from a hostile, often dark-complexioned, tribe. The nobles thus being by no means averse from marriage with the natives, the common people naturally had the less inducement to preserve the purity of their Aryan blood. At the same time, however, such connections often led to disruption within the caste; the orthodox members refused to recognise the mixed families as pure Kshatriya or Vaisya, avoided communication with them, and by this process a group which had been originally uniform was gradually broken into an increasing number of disconnected castes. The infusion of foreign blood thus acquired seems to have modified by slow degrees the larger part of the Kshatriya and practically the whole of the Vaisya. Thus we have an intelligible explanation of the fact that only in comparatively few districts, as for instance, Rajputana, could particular castes retrace their origin with any clearness to the old Aryan warrior nobility, their proud title of Kshatriya resting in many cases upon fictitious genealogies. At the present day there is absolutely no caste of the Vaisya which can prove its connection with the early Vaisya of the Aryan Ganges states. The modern caste system of India is broken up into many hundreds or thousands of separate groups. However, in early Brahman times the four main divisions of society appointed by the legal codes had an actual existence. Of these the Sudra led lives that can scarcely be qualified as human. Considered as onceborn, a great gulf was fixed between them

Modification of Caste Purity

and those who had advanced to a higher state by virtue of a second birth. To them was forbidden the use of the sacred band with which the youth of the three higher castes were girded as a sign of manhood upon their coming of age (two threads of wool which passed over the left shoulder and the right hip). It was a mortal crime for any of the upper classes to teach a Sudra anything of the sacred proverbs or prayers. A great gulf divided the Sudra from the Vaisya. Upon this latter the two high castes of the priests and the warriors looked disdainfully. The Vaisya was, however, a twice-born, wore the sacred band, and the knowledge of the Vedas was not forbidden to him. It was the common and monotonous nature of his calling that degraded him in comparison with the higher caste. He was not allowed to devote himself to the proud service of arms, or to deep spiritual and religious questions and interests. His lot was to till the soil throughout his life, and upon that level he remained. He was the peasant, the shepherd, the lower-class citizen in the flourishing towns, the manufacturer, the merchant, the money-changer. He often attained to high prosperity, but could never pass the barrier which the stern laws of caste had set against his further progress.

The Peasant Caste

Higher than the Vaisya stood the warrior, the Kshatriya, in the social organism of the Brahmans. The splendour of his profession and of his influence was but the shadow of that which it had been during the first centuries of the settlement upon the Ganges. Moreover, in the more peaceful times which succeeded the period of establishment within that district, the profession of the warrior nobles decayed considerably. The more, however, his real importance decreased, the more anxious were the Brahmans that he should make a brilliant figure before the mass of the people, in order that he might thus become a valuable ally to themselves for the attainment of their own purposes. Thus the nobility continued to enjoy a predominant and honourable position. Their freedom was great compared with that of other castes, and large possessions in landed property secured to them the enjoyments of life, as well as respect and consideration. If the Kshatriya exhausted all the pleasures of his high position and was overcome by weariness of the world, he was allowed to join the company of hermits and to devote the remainder of his life to inward contemplation.

Decay of Warrior Caste

The Brahmans belonged to the same group of twice-born, and wore the same sacred band as the other high castes, but had succeeded none the less in securing for themselves a position that was infinitely the highest in the country. The tremendous principle that they were beings endowed with a special and divine wisdom, and differing in kind from all other men, that they possessed divine power and corresponding privileges, is pushed in their legal books to its uttermost extreme.

The outward appearance of the Brahman in no way represented the power of his caste, in which respect he is to be contrasted with the Kshatriya. Modesty, indeed poverty, characterised his appearance and his mode of life. Lucrative professions, which were in his eyes derogatory, were closed to him. On the other hand, it was the duty of every Brahman to found a family, and his great ambition was to beget sons, who should revere his memory after his death, and provide prayer and sacrifice for his spirit. Consequently, the material possessions of the Brahmans became more and more divided. Moreover, the whole Brahman theory of existence was opposed to the temporal point of view. Not only physical existence, but also material possessions were considered by him as so many obstacles in the way to felicity which his soul would tread when, after purification, it became reunited with the universal element.

Priests that Scorn Wealth

Hence in the eyes of the Brahman the mendicant profession was in no way derogatory, since the whole world already belonged to him. Begging, on the contrary, seemed to him the loftiest of all professions, as it implied the least amount of hindrance in the prosecution of his high tasks. It is true that voluntary offerings, even when the Brahman power was at its height, by no means invariably sufficed to maintain the caste, many members of which were obliged for this reason to adopt one of the lucrative professions. Many gifts were made to them as payment for relief from spiritual duties, for religious instruction, prayer, sacrifice, and judicial pronouncements. If the income from these sources proved insufficient, the Brahman was allowed to plough the fields

or to tend the herds. He might also learn the arts of war and practise them, or carry on commercial business, though money-lending upon interest, the sale of intoxicating liquors, or of milk and butter, the products of the sacred cow, were forbidden to him. It was as impossible for a Brahman to get his living by the practice of the lower arts of music and song, or by unclean occupations, as by the practice of leather working, or any other degrading trade.

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SACRED COWS OF THE BRAHMANS

These mild-eyed beasts are deferentially allowed to do as they please, while the bullocks are used as draught animals. A Hindu would not think of striking a Brahman cow to make her move—it would be a horrid impiety, punishable by the gods with all sorts of personal misfortune.

The life of a Brahman as a whole included several grades, that of the neophyte, the patriarch, the hermit, and the ascetic. Upon his coming of age the youth of this caste was girded with the sacred band and received into the community of the twice-born. His education was passed under the supervision of a spiritual teacher, the Guru, whom he was to reverence more highly than his own father. "If a Brahman pupil should blame his teacher, even though with justice, he will be born again as an ass; should he betray him falsely, as a dog; should he take his property without leave, he will be born as a small worm, and should he refuse him service, as an insect." Under the Guru the young Brahman learned during the long course of his education the sacred books, all the prayers, offerings, and ceremonial connected therewith, and all the laws governing Brahman society. Then came the stage of family life, a burden laid upon him as a member of the earth to maintain the prosperity of his tribe and caste by begetting sons. This task accomplished, the rest of his life was to be devoted to the highest and most beautiful task, the work of redemption and purification of the soul from earthly elements. The Brahman, often accompanied by his wife, leaves his home and becomes a hermit in the forest. There he lives only upon such fruits or roots as his surroundings afford, or upon the scanty gifts of pious devotees, being entirely occupied with the fulfilment of religious precepts and with deep introspective speculation upon the evils of existence and the means of purification.

Education of the Brahman

The highest task of the Brahman's existence is pure and untroubled thought, far removed from all worldly interests, upon the deepest questions which can occupy the human mind. Brahmans of similar interests often united for pious practices; spiritual orders were formed, with rulers to regulate their behaviour, and with the common object of entirely forgetting the world around them and devoting themselves to introspection. Others were not content with such intellectual submergence in the divine, and also sought to suppress and to destroy the earthly element, the flesh, while they still lived. The most ingenious tortures and penances were devised, and the universal ordinances of Manu did not leave this subject untouched: "The penitent is to roll upon the ground, to stand upon tip-toe all day, or to stand up and sit down alternately without cessation. During the hot season he is to sit under the burning rays of the sun between four fires; in time of rain he shall expose himself naked to the downpour, and wear wet clothes during the cold season. By increasing severity of his penance, he is gradually to wear away the temporal element. And when he is sick unto death,

Penances of Brahman Devotees

ne is to rise and walk directly north-east with air and water for his sole nourishment, until his mortal powers give way and his soul is united with Brahma."

The Brahman philosophy has been reduced to writing in the Upanishads, the "mystical teaching of that which lies concealed beneath the surface." These also are considered as sacred writings, but are the exclusive possession of the highest castes, whereas the Vedas were open to the people. Their teaching is spiritual pantheism; the cosmos is one being, a world-soul, Atman or Brahman. The teaching of the Upanishads is explained in detail in the philosophic system of the Vedanta.

Teaching of Brahman Philosophy

The world-soul in its original form, and in its ultimate condition, the "self," is impersonal, without consciousness, in absolute tranquillity, infinite, without beginning or end, and existing by and for itself. As soon, however, as the desire for activity arises within it, it becomes the personal creator—Brahma; this it is which creates the world perceptible to the senses. Everything in the world, the heaven and the foundations of the earth, fire and water, air and earth, suns, plants and all living beings, animals, men and gods are the emanation of that all-pervading spirit, the Brahman, conceived as personally operative. When this latter desires to become creative, its objective appearance in the world implies the production of spirit—apperception, thought and will—and of bodily form, which varies in the case of different living beings, consisting of a material body, which disappears upon death, and a more immaterial form in which the soul remains upon the departure of the body; this latter survives until the soul which it clothes is again absorbed into the impersonal and unconscious Brahman. During the period of earthly existence the universal being by objectifying itself abandons that state of absolute passivity which is its highest form; it sinks, that is, from the highest stage of perfection. Hence is derived the suffering inseparable from earthly existence, and return to the ideal condition of passivity enjoyed by the world soul is the great longing of every creature.

Redemption from the Sin of Existence

The path of redemption is by no means easy. By the iron laws of causation, the operation of the world-soul becomes a curse permanently imposed upon every physical being. Every act, bad or good, leads to some new act, to further separation from the highest existence, and hence to further unhappiness. Every death is followed by a new birth, the soul entering a higher or a lower plane of existence according to the merits of its previous life, becoming a god, a Brahman or a Sudra, a four-footed animal, an insect or a worm. The more practical doctrine for popular consumption also inserted promises of purifactory fires and the punishments of hell, which were painted by Indian imagination in the liveliest possible colours. The chain of transmigrations which the soul may thus undergo is of endless duration, including millions of new births. None the less, a definite goal is set before it, and the reunion or absorption of the personal soul into the absolute passivity and unconsciousness of the primal Brahman is a definite possibility. The way leading to this end is the way of knowledge, the way of understanding, which can be attained only by absolute self-absorption. This pantheistic teaching of the Brahmans emphasises the width of the distinction between the purely spiritual nature of the original Brahman and that of the existing world. Several philosophical systems and schools—six of which have found general recognition—have attempted to solve the great problem by different methods. Of these, two are of especial importance for the further development of Indian thought, the Samkhya philosophy and the already mentioned Vedanta philosophy, the end or perfection of the Vedas. The former considers the external world as having an objective reality under certain aspects, a reality derived from the creative power of the world-soul; whereas to the Vedanta philosophy material existence is purely illusory, and has no value as such. According to this latter, as soon as the Brahman acquires consciousness and personality, it also assumes an imaginary physical form. In its most refined form it appears as the chief divine personality, Iswara. But all such forms are necessarily subject to the conditions of activity, of goodness, and of imperturbability or darkness, so that this highest god appears as a trinity. He is the personally active creator, Brahma; the all-helping, ever operative Vishnu, or the Rudra Siva, the agent of dissolution and destruction

Different Brahman Systems

At the same time, however, these and all the other gods, together with mankind and the whole of the material world, are merely a dream, an idea of the world-soul which is itself the sole existing reality.

It was not easy to appreciate all the difficulties which beset every Indian philosophical system, much less to pass judgment upon the results. The text of the sacred Vedas, the basis of all knowledge, was with the utmost difficulty harmonised with the philosophy. The interpreter was obliged to take refuge in comments and explanations which are refinements of hair-splitting and miracles of ingenuity. Commentators were invariably anxious to surpass one another in learning and erudition, in readiness and brilliancy of exposition. The methodic and the formal finally strangled the material content of the system, and Indian philosophy was thus degraded into a scholasticism with every characteristic of that current in the thought of mediæval Europe.

Conflict of Brahman Authority

The teaching of Brahman philosophy was fully calculated to satisfy the introspective spirit of the Brahman weary of life and tormented by doubt. To him, bound fast in the chains of asceticism, this teaching appeared as truth of the highest and most indisputable order. To the great mass of the people, however, such teaching was unintelligible, and would in any case have proved unsatisfactory. The worker for his daily bread demands other spiritual food than the philosophic thinker. A popular divinity must be almighty and at the same time intelligible to mankind. If the Brahmans did not wish to lose their influence upon the people, a danger threatened by the appearance of Buddhism with its powerful spiritual influence, they were forced to offer to the people gods more definitely comprehensible to the ordinary mind.

The gods of the old Vedas of the military period had lost their splendour and power upon the downfall of the nobility. They had developed under other circumstances, and were unable to conform to the new conditions of life. But in legend and poetry other ideal figures had arisen, the heroes of the flourishing period of the Aryan domination in the west of the Ganges valley. Mythology provided them with a genealogy, bringing them into connection with those forms of Nature which had ever been objects of especial reverence—the Sun and Moon dynasties. The Indian heroic period, however, was historically too near in date to the development of Brahmanism for its figures to attain the position of supreme gods. Other divinities came forward from other directions. The diminution and the importance of the old Vedic gods was largely due to the conjunction and partial fusion of the two races which had originally opposed one another as deadly foes. At that period the Aryan gods had been primarily gods of battle and slaughter. Circumstances now had become more peaceful and tranquil. As, however, under Brahman influence the people lost the proud consciousness of their strength, as they also became penetrated with the sense of the miseries of existence, so did they become more inclined to receive the mysterious and repellent forms of the primeval Indian demonology, which had formed the shadowy spirit world of the original inhabitants.

This change in the belief of the great mass of the people was by no means unwelcome to the Brahmans. In the worship of these gods, in their magic formulæ and incantations, in their objective representations, they found a great deal which corresponded to their own worship; and they had, therefore, the less scruple in forming an alliance with the demon world of the Dravidians. Hence it is that in the later sacred books of the Brahmans, even in the Atharva Veda, the latest in date of the Vedas, numbers of alien and evil spirits leer upon us, of which the earlier books, the Rig-Veda especially, knew nothing. For the Brahmans it was perfectly easy to include these spirits within their own pantheon, for their theory of immanence and emanation enabled them to incorporate within their own system elements the most contrary to the divine nature.

Degradation of Brahman Doctrines

BRAHMANISM IN THE SOUTH

As the Aryan states on the Ganges flourished and extended, as life became more highly organised, so did the Brahmans become ever more inclined to the solitary life. In countries as yet untouched by Brahman teaching, in the jungle deserts and beyond the boundaries of foreign native states, whole colonies of hermits arose, living either in isolation or under some organised constitution. Often, indeed, they had to struggle with the attacks of hostile races. We hear a great deal of the evil Rakshasa, who harassed or disturbed the pious hermits. But they

also met with more civilised and kindlier treatment, and men were found who would gladly make small offerings to the more highly educated foreigners, receiving instruction and stimulus in exchange.

These men thus became the pioneers of Brahmanism, and their monasticism and influence steadily extended southward. The Mahabharata describes how Arjuna, during his pilgrimage from hermitage to hermitage, at length reached the maidens' baths of Komarya at Cape Comorin. Similarly Rama meets hermits everywhere. The name, however, that constantly recurs in all these reports, the man who is ever ready to help all Aryan-Brahman kinsmen with counsel and assistance, the man who possesses the greatest influence in the whole of the south is Agastya. In the myths he appears as one of the greatest sages of the primeval period, the son of Mitra and Varuna, the strong helper in the necessity of the old Aryan gods when they were threatened with conquest by the evil demons, the Asuras. In the south, he is the incarnation of the victorious advance of Brahman culture. The Vindhya Mountains, hitherto uncrossed, bend before him. He is the sworn enemy of the evil demons, the gods of the original inhabitants, and the bringer of civilisation to the Dravidian kingdoms, and consequently the Tamir Muni, the sage of the Tamils.

A Great Figure in Brahmanism

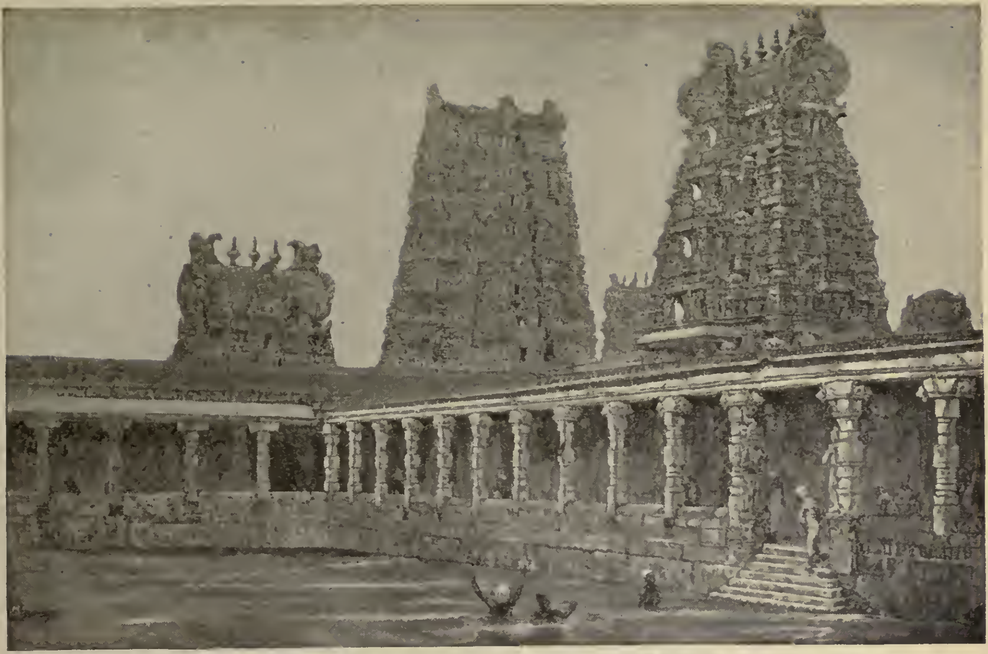
The history of the south before the Brahman period is hidden for us in darkness, penetrated only here and there by the feeblest rays of light. Native legends consider the starting-point of the general development of civilisation and politics to be Korkay (the Greek Colchi) at the mouth of the sacred River Tambraparni in the Gulf of Manaar. This district, sheltered upon the east by the bridge of Adam from the inhospitable Sea of Bengal with its dangerous cyclones, forms a connection between the two rich lands of India and Ceylon on the north and south. Korkay was an old town even when the Greeks first visited it and brought news of its excellence to the West. It owes its origin and its prosperity to the product of that gulf, the pearls, which were highly prized in antiquity, in which this Bay of Colchi has proved richer than any other part of the earth at any period of history. The age of that old trading station is probably identical with the date of the use of pearls for ornamentation among the peoples of antiquity. The ancient ruins of Korkay have been discovered at a distance of several miles from the present coast line, buried in the alluvial soil which the Tambraparni brings down, advancing its delta ever further into the sea, not far from the modern harbour of Tutikorin. The legend relates that Korkay was founded by three brothers, who lived in unity for a considerable period, afterward separating and founding three kingdoms—the Pandya kingdom in the extreme south, the Chola kingdom in the north-east, and the Chera kingdom in the north and north-west.

An Ancient Metropolis

Of these the most important was the Pandya kingdom, which for a long period held the harbour of Korkay as its capital. The totem sign or insignia of its kings was the Fish (carp), a fact confirming the legend, which states that the centre from which further civilisation was developed lay upon the sea. At a later period the capital was placed more in the centre of the country at Madura. When the first Aryan-Brahman hermits advanced into that distant territory, they found flourishing and well-organised states in existence. The later introductions of northern civilisation were collectively attributed to the name of Agastya. He arrived at the court of King Kulasekha, was well received, and wrote books in the language of the country, treating of every branch of science and culture.

An Early Aryan Kingdom

Utterly different from its northern development is the history of the expansion of Aryan civilisation in the south. In the north, it had led to a racial struggle. The rude strength of races more powerful intellectually and physically had been pitted against backward tribes, the consequence being that the latter had disappeared or had been reduced to the lowest stage in the social organism; whereas in the south the struggle was fought with intellectual weapons, the higher knowledge and power of pre-eminent individuals. Brahmanism creeps in quietly and insinuatingly, makes concessions, leaves the people in possession of their language, increasing their vocabulary with elements of the sacred Brahman language (Sanscrit) only where it is incapable of expressing the terms of abstract thought and religious teaching.



THE GREAT HINDU TEMPLE OF MADURA

Showing the court of the sacred tank used for ablutions, which is an important feature of all Hindu temples.

But even then this language is so highly respected that kings and towns consider it an honour to bear a Sanscrit together with their old Dravidian name, which former are known to us only from the later accounts of the Greeks. Moreover, the native name Pandya, indicating the sap of a palm-tree, one of the staple products of the country, so closely resembled the Pandava of Aryan legend that the two were considered identical; and the Pandya dynasty of the southern kingdom was identified with the Aryan gods who had sprung from the Pandu dynasty in the north. The Brahmans even left the people their system of writing. The original native Vattezhat alphabet, a wholly original creation, maintained its ground in the three kingdoms of Southern India until the end of the first millennium A.D., when it was replaced by a more modern system which may be traced back to the Southern Asoka inscriptions.

Results of Brahman Influence

We may, perhaps, assume that the conversion of the south to Brahmanism took place between 1000 B.C. and 500 B.C.

The earliest historical mention of the Pandya kingdom of Southern India occurs in the Buddhist chronicles of Ceylon. The forerunners of the Aryans under Vijaya had already encountered a strong kingdom in that district, to which the north of Ceylon was probably tributary, and it appears that the new Aryan arrivals who took wives from that country were obliged to send the regular tribute of pearls and conchs to the Pandya princes. The reports of Megasthenes at the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century B.C. mention the Pandya kingdom as lying at the extreme south of the Indian peninsula, adding a word upon its productiveness in pearls. Roman coins are occasionally found in this southern portion of India, and confirm Strabo's references to the commercial relations existing between the Romans and the Pandya kingdom and of the embassy sent by the latter to the Emperor Augustus. The boundaries of this kingdom coincide upon the south and south-east with the north coast of the Gulf of Manaar and the Palk Straits. From the north end of these the frontier line advances in a westerly direction to the Palni hills. Upon the west the power of the Pandya king often extended to the Arabian Sea; and even at the present day the language of the east, Tamil, is spoken in the southernmost districts of the Malabar coast. During the

Historical Records of the South

whole of its existence, the Pandya kingdom was distinguished by a brave and warlike spirit. It was continually at variance with its southern neighbours, the Singhalese, and also with the Chola in the north. Generally speaking, its civilisation was far in advance of that possessed by any other state of Southern India.

Early Kingdoms of the South

The north-eastern neighbour of this most southerly state was the state of the Chola, a tribe of almost equal antiquity with the Pandya. Ptolemy speaks of the nomadic Sorai of this district, of the wandering Chola. The chief tribe was that of the Kumruba, a nomadic race of shepherds, and their restless life, perhaps, explains those warlike tendencies which brought them into continual discord with neighbouring tribes. They were also constantly involved in hostile undertakings against the more distant Ceylon. Their capital has often changed its position; Comba, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, now occupy the sites of their earlier capitals.

In the south of the peninsula the kingdom of the Chera, the third of the Dravidian kingdoms, occupied the coast of Malabar from about Calicut to Cape Comorin, though its frontiers at different periods extended eastward beyond the Ghats—Mysore, Coimbatore, Salem—while during other periods portions even of the district on the Malabar coast were occupied by the Pandya kings. On the whole, this branch of the Dravidian States was more peacefully inclined than its eastern neighbours. The fertile character of the Malabar coast favoured a more restful course of development, and rather inclined the inhabitants to tranquillity. The vernacular diverged from the Tamil as lately as one thousand years ago, and must now be considered a special language, though the old Tamil alphabet, the Vattezhat, still remains in use.

Southern India Before the Brahmans

Upon the north of the Chera kingdom the Brahman civilisation at an early period exercised a deeper influence upon the inhabitants of the Malabar coast than in any other part of Southern India. While the age of chivalry was at its height, the Aryans had advanced as far as Gujerat on the Gulf of Cambay; from this point Aryan influence extended eastward. Between the native independent states of the Bhils, colonists were continually advancing, and Aryan manners were extended over the west of Central India, reaching the land of the Mahrattas in course of time. The triumphant colonisation of the west coast, known by the Sanscrit name of Kerala, the land of the Chera, belongs to the later period of Brahman predominance. In the northern half of this district, especially in the modern Kanara and Malabar, a federation of sixty-four cantons seems to have existed before the Brahmans entered the country.

When the Brahmans pressed into this fruitful territory in greater numbers, they maintained the existing constitutional forms while securing their own recognition as the royal masters of the country. A legend of Brahman origin ascribes their arrival to the help of the Brahman god, Vishnu, incarnate as Rama, with the battleaxe. The legend represents him as a son of the Brahman sage, Jamadagni. During the absence of this latter, a sacrificial calf was stolen from his cell by the Kshatriya Prince Kartavirya, and the son avenged his father by killing the Kshatriya.

How the Brahmans Won Power

In the feud which resulted, Jamadagni fell a victim, and Rama swore vengeance upon the whole order of the Kshatriya, and exterminated them—"He purified the earth thrice seven several times of the Kshatriya." The gods rewarded him for his piety with a promise that the country should he his as far as he could hurl his battleaxe. The weapon flew from Gokama to Cape Comorin. Thus the whole of the Malabar coast was gained and settled by the Brahmans, to whom Parasu Rama presented the district. At the present day the Malabar chronology begins with that throwing of the axe and the creation of the country, which is dated 1176 B.C. The legend was invented as a foundation for the claims which the Brahmans raised upon entering the country. Their theory was that they were the actual possessors of the land, which they had restored to its old masters only upon lease, and that therefore the warriors must reverence them and swear to them oaths of allegiance. Even at the present day the superior Brahman castes on the whole of the Malabar coast enjoy a far higher position than those upon the east coasts of the peninsula.

THE FOUNDING OF BUDDHISM
AND DECLINE OF THE ANCIENT RELIGION
BUDDHA AND HIS TEACHING

An examination of the state of India about the sixth century B.C. shows the prevailing conditions to have been as follows. The Aryans had risen to a high prosperity, their social life had rapidly developed, states large and small had been formed, populous towns were adorned by the splendour of their royal courts and by the wealth of the inhabitants; agriculture, industry, and trade were flourishing. National feeling among the ruling race had also undergone a change, and in some respects a change for the worse; the bright spirit of youth, the sense of power, the pride of freedom, were things of the past. Society was divided or cleft asunder by the institution of caste. Any feeling of equality had given way to the spirit of caste, which induces the lofty to look down with contempt upon the humble, precludes all possibility of common action for the public good, and therefore makes national feeling impossible. For every caste its every action was accurately prescribed, while the highest activities, those of thought, were monopolised by the Brahmans. The latter claimed to have sprung from the head of the first man, and in actual practice were the head of society.

Brahman Claims to Superiority

But speculation had undergone a fundamental change since the period of Aryan immigration. The priests continued to offer formal prayers to the old gods in which no one any more believed. A deep sense of the futility of existence penetrated every thinking mind, while opinions were divided as to the means which should be adopted to gain release from existence. Schools and orders multiplied continually. It was as if one of the fierce cyclones of Bengal had burst upon the forest. The giant forms of the ancient gods lay dead upon the ground, and from this devastation new cults were rising, each struggling with the other for air, light, and space. Of these, one alone was fated to become a mighty tree, collecting almost the whole of Central and Eastern Asia beneath its branches—Buddhism.

The centres of Indo-Aryan development slowly changed in the course of ages from west to east. Advancing over the north-west passes in the third millennium B.C., the Aryans occupied the Punjab, the Land of the Five Rivers, during the second millennium; about the middle of this period may have occurred those struggles on the frontier between the Punjab and the Ganges district, when King Sudas defeated the allied tribes of the west. The end of the period may be considered to include the flourishing times of the principalities on the Jumna and the upper Ganges, whose struggles have provided a foundation of historical legend for the great heroic poem of the Bharata.

Rise of Aryan States

Another 500 years and the centre of gravity has again moved eastward to the countries which end where the Ganges delta begins and where the town of Benares rises. Here about this period were formed a number of principalities and free states, among them the powerful kingdom of Magadha with the old capital of Rajagriha, in that district of the modern Behar which lies to the south of the Ganges.

We should know exceedingly little of the different petty states lying on the northern side of the Ganges opposite Magadha were it not for the fact that here was the home of that religious teacher Buddha, whose doctrine is to-day accepted by hundreds of millions of men. Upon the spurs of the Himalaya, on the stream of the Rohini, the modern Kohani, had settled the tribe of the Sakya, within which the Kshatriya nobility still played an important part in the continual friction

that occurred with the neighbouring petty states. To this class belonged the chieftain of the tribe, Suddhodana of the Gautama family, the father of Buddha, who resided in the capital of the country, Kapilavatthu—in its Sanscrit form, Kapilavastu. According to the Buddhist legend, Suddhodana had married two daughters of the neighbouring Koyla prince, on the other bank of the Rohini, who was also a Kshatriya. For a long time he remained childless, but in his forty-fifth year the elder of his wives, Maya, became with child. As, according to the custom of the period and of her order, she was journeying homeward to her father's house, there to await her confinement, she was surprised on the way in the grove of Lumbini by the birth of a son, who was named Siddhartha. This is the personal name of Buddha, who is often known by his family name of Gautama. All his other titles are additional names, the number of which is proportionate to the reverence and admiration of his devotees. In every case, like the titles of Redeemer, Christ, applied to Jesus, they are merely descriptions of his personal characteristics. For instance, Sakya Muni means the sage of the Sakya family; Bhagavat means the reverend; Sattha, the teacher; Jina, the conqueror. Buddha also is but one of these titles, meaning "The Enlightened."

Birth of Buddha

The birth of Siddhartha is placed with some probability between the years 560 and 557, and his death between 480 and 477 B.C. On the seventh day after his birth his mother died, the child being then carefully tended and brought up by his aunt, Prajapati. According to the custom of the time, the young Siddhartha was married in his nineteenth year to his cousin, Wasodhara, a daughter of the Kolya prince, and their union was blessed after ten years by the birth of a son, Rahula. Any other man would probably have been contented and happy in the position of Siddhartha. He had everything and was everything which a noble Kshatriya could desire to have or to be. But in his twenty-ninth year a sense of dissatisfaction came upon him. Amid all his external prosperity, his lofty and serious mind could not refrain from the contemplation of the futility of existence.

His thoughts on the woe of the world and the means of liberation therefrom take in the legend a personal and objective figure. A god appears to him first as an old man in his second childhood, then as a stern tyrant, again as a corrupting corpse, and finally as a reverend hermit. It was the birth of his son which determined him to put into execution a long preconceived resolve. He saw in the child a new bond which would fetter him to the world. The story of Siddhartha's flight is the most moving picture in the whole legend of his life. Only once was he willing to look upon that which is the dearest thing in this world, only once would he press his new-born son to his heart. Quietly he glided into the bed-room where his wife and child were resting; but the mother's hand lay upon her child's head, and he could not take the child in his arms without waking her.

Flight of Buddha

AN EARLY INDIAN BUDDHA

The image of the Buddha here reproduced is from a very ancient Indian sculpture in clay.

Thus he left wife and child without a word and went out into the night with no companion but his charioteer, whom he presented with all his ornaments and ordered to inform his family of his resolve. He then cut his hair short, exchanged his rich garments for the rags of a passing beggar, and made his way alone to the capital of the Magadha kingdom, Rajagriha, near which pious hermits had settled in the caves of the rock. To these he joined himself, hoping to learn from them the solution of the great riddle of existence. But Brahman metaphysics brought no consolation to his soul. Neither from Alara Kalana nor from Uddaka Ramaputta could he obtain the object of his search—the path to freedom from the pain of existence. He left both teachers and turned to the forests of

A FAMOUS STATUE GROUP OF BUDDHA AND HIS PUPILS
This unique representation in stone of the great Indian sage, seated amidst his pupils, is one of the most famous religious curiosities of Siam, and is to be seen in the great pagoda of Vat Suthat at Bangkok.

Uruvela, near the modern Buddha-gaya, in which five Brahman hermits were already living a life of asceticism. For six years he surpassed them all in the cruelty of his penances until his former powerful and beautiful frame had been worn to a shadow. The reputation of his extraordinary self-torture spread far and wide, but he himself became the more unhappy in proportion as others esteemed him far advanced upon the road to salvation.

He fell in a swoon from weakness, but on his restoration to consciousness he had found strength to leave the path of error. When he again began to take food like other men he lost the belief and respect of his five companions. They departed and turned to the holy town of Benares to accomplish their purification in more sacred surroundings. The man they left behind had now to undergo a severe mental struggle. Buddhist legend represents the conflict between his intellect and his sympathies as a battle between bright and dark spirits who struggled in conflict so that the world trembled and was almost moved from its foundation. Siddhartha was left alone, wrestling for enlightenment by the banks of the Nairanjara. The prospect cleared and the mysteries of suffering and of the road to salvation were laid open before him. He had now become the "Buddha," the Enlightened, who had attained knowledge of redemption not only for himself but for the whole world. For seven days Buddha remained in extreme exaltation of mind, in holy glorification under the sacred fig tree. A pair of benevolent men brought him rice cakes and honey, and he in return gave them his greatest gift, his teaching. These two men, Tapussa and Bhallika, were his first converts, who took "refuge with Buddha and knowledge." Doubt then came upon the enlightened sage as to whether the coarse mind of the masses was capable of realising the great truths he taught. But the world god Brahma urged him to preach his doctrine, and Buddha gave way. He went to that very forest where the five companions of his former penance were staying and explained the main features of his doctrine, to them in the "Sermon of Benares." Neither a life of pleasure nor the extirpation of all pleasure could lead to the goal, the true way lying midway between these extremes. In broad outline he shows them the truth upon the question of suffering and the eight-fold road to liberation.

Buddha's Mental Conflict

The First Converts to Buddhism

From this point onward the life of Buddha is entirely occupied with the

teaching and conversion of the people. The persuasion of five nobles of Benares brought about a rapid increase in his scanty congregation, to which fifty adherents were shortly added. The reputation of the new doctrine spread far and wide; the people thronged from every direction and from distant settlements to hear his teaching. Buddha sent out his sixty disciples as apostles: "Go forth, ye mendicants, upon your way, for the salvation of the people, for the good of the people, for the salvation, the advantage, and the prosperity both of gods and men." The Enlightened One did not remain alone after despatching his apostles. Shortly afterward thirty rich youths accepted his doctrine; they were followed by one th usand fire worshippers. The most important convert, however, was Bimbisara, king of the great Magadha kingdom. In him Buddhism gained a powerful patron, and the conversions of lay brothers immediately due to this success were numbered by tens of thousands. Even more important converts were the two most famous pupils of the master, Sariputta and Mogallana.

The Rapid Spread of Buddhism

The conversion of King Bimbisara marks the first step of that policy which was characteristic of this religion in its later developments—that of entering into relations with the ruling powers and invoking their protection. Henceforward Buddhism rises and falls in the several states as their ruling dynasties prosper or decay. The same phenomenon appears in Ceylon, where the Buddhist communities attained to extraordinary prosperity under powerful and fortunate kings, while the political disasters resulting from the war with the Dravidians repeatedly brought the doctrine to the point of annihilation. Toward its patrons Buddhism invariably displayed a considerable amount of adaptability. Its first chief patron, Bimbisara, secured the introduction into the monastic communities of the monthly penances formerly practised by many Brahman monks, the strict observance of the four quarters of the moon, the Poya days of the modern Singhalese, and also of the Uposadha days.

MAYA AND THE CHILD BUDDHA
After an Indian drawing.

When Buddha returned, during his later wanderings, to his native town, where his son Rahula entered the community, at the request of the old prince he added to the rules of the community the regulation that no son should become a monk without his father's consent. The fundamental objections of Buddha to the institution of orders of nuns were overcome only by the influence of his foster mother, Prajapati, who was of royal race and desired to found such an order. On the other hand, the new doctrine thus powerfully supported gained not only popular approval but also material help. Poverty was, as a rule, obligatory only upon individual monks, and from the outset the order was always glad to receive rich presents. The first of such foundations was that of the Bamboo Grove, near the capital of Magadha; and even during the lifetime of the master, princes and rich men rivalled one another in making similar offerings. A long list of large gardens and parks were even then assigned to the order, one of the most famous of these being the garden of Jetawana at Sawatthi. In Ceylon, where the history of Buddhism is more easily followed, the larger and more valuable part of all the arable land eventually fell into the hands of the order.

The Rise of Buddhist Monasticism

Among the pupils who gathered round the person of Buddha, one of the most human figures is his cousin Ananda, who, though not distinguished for intellectual power, engages our sympathy by his loving devotion to his master. But even in that narrow circle which gathered round the Enlightened One, the element of evil

THE CITY OF BENARES, WHERE BUDDHA PREACHED HIS GREAT SERMON

was to be found, even as in the apostolic band of Jesus. Devadatta, a personality swollen with pride and dominated by immeasurable ambition, is, during the time of Buddha, a type of that sectarian spirit which resulted in the repeated schisms of later years; even during the master's lifetime many believers were led astray by him. And as at a later period one sect invariably abuses and maligns another, so here legend even reproaches the ambitious disciple with attempts upon his master's life.

For forty-five years after his "enlightenment," Buddha traversed the country, preaching his doctrine and making thousands of converts; at length a severe illness reminded him that the end of his life was approaching. In deep anxiety his congregation asked who was to follow him as their leader. But the master refers them to their knowledge: "Be your own illumination; be yourselves your refuge, have no other refuge; for the doctrine shall be your light, the doctrine shall be your refuge, and have no other refuge." By sheer will-power the sick man was cured for the time; but he himself prophesied his death at the end of three months. The last days of Buddha are related by the legend with details so realistic that it is probable they contain some substratum of historical truth. He is said to have gone to Pawa with his favourite pupil Ananda, where, with other monks, he received hospitality from Kunda the smith. Tainted pork was set upon the table at their meal, and after partaking of this he fell ill. However, he continued his journey. But in the neighbourhood of Kusinara his strength failed him, and, lying down under two beautiful amyris trees, he awaited death. He thanks his faithful Ananda for all his love and devotion, asks the monks gathered round him three times whether any feels doubt, and, when all have asserted their faith, he speaks his last words, "Of a truth, O monks, I say unto you, all that is must decay; strive for perfection and faint not." Then his life passed into Nirvana. "As the mortal remains of the King of kings are treated, so shall one treat the remains of him who has been perfected," so runs the saying of Ananda when the Mallers of Kusinara questioned him upon the form of burial. The preparations lasted six days, after which the funeral pyre was lighted with the utmost pomp. The ashes of the great departed were collected. Constant demands for relics came in, with proposals to guard them in fitting memorials; and it was at last arranged that the remains should be divided into eight parts and presented to the eight most important states in which Buddha had lived and worked.

Last Days of the Prophet

Death of the Buddha

Later tradition relates that immediately after the funeral the most important monks met together in Rajagaha, under

the presidency of Kasyapa, who defined as accurately as possible the formulæ of the doctrine (the first council of Rajagaha). It is said that the sayings of Buddha relating to the discipline of the order were set forth by Upali, while the general teaching upon the daily life of all, including the lay adherents, was recited by Ananda. This teaching was then committed to memory by 500 monks, and by them handed down to tradition. Exactly 200 years after the death of the master it became necessary to call a second council at Vesali. As a number of monks had supported views which diverged in detail from the original doctrine, a committee met at Vesali and determined the direction of Buddhist doctrine for the future.

Transmission of Buddhist Doctrines

The first council of historical authenticity is the third, that of Patna, about 250 B.C. Dipawamsa, the earliest chronicle of Ceylon, reports upon this as follows: "With the object of destroying infidelity, many of the pupils of Buddha, 60,000 sons of Jina, met together in council. Over this assembly presided Tissa Mogalliputta, son of Mogalli. For the purpose of purifying the faith and formulating the doctrine for the future, the president, Tissa, appointed 1,000 Arahats, choosing the best members of the assembly, and held a synod. The third council was brought to an end after a space of nine months in the monastery of Asokarama, built by King Dhammasoka." In order that the doctrines of the master might be the better transmitted to the disciples, the council formulated his teaching in the canonical books of the Tripitaka, "the three baskets." This council was also responsible for the despatch of numerous missionaries, who introduced Buddhism into Ceylon among other places; from this period begin the monastic annals of the Singhalese, which, at a later period, were worked into the chronicles. In these there is mention made of the names of some of the missionaries who were then despatched, and the credibility of the chronicles has been considerably strengthened by the discovery of the tomb of one of those missionaries in North India.

Despatch of Buddhist Missionaries

Granted that the council of Patna is historically authentic, the same can by no means be said of the two preceding councils. It is indeed true that the council of Vesali was held 200 years after the death of Buddha—that is to say, less than fifty years before the conversion of Ceylon; and we may therefore suppose that later tradition was upon the whole well informed of the events of that time. But the narratives of Ceylon make it plain that that council was not called to formulate the doctrines of Buddhism, but was merely a gathering of Buddhist monks from a limited area to settle certain points of detail concerning monastic morality. Individual monks had put questions to the meeting, for instance, whether it were lawful to eat solid food only at midday, or also in the afternoon until the sun had cast a shadow two ells in length; whether it was lawful to keep salt in buffalo horns; whether it was lawful to sit upon a chair covered with a plain cloth.

We can readily understand that such a gathering of monks may have grown to be considered a council, remembering

A GEM OF BUDDHIST ART
This wonderful carved gateway at Bhilsa dates back to at least 250 years before the Christian era and is considered one of the finest specimens of Buddhist art. It is here reproduced from Fergusson's "History of Indian Architecture," by permission of Mr. John Murray.

Underwood & Underwood, London

A BUDDHIST TOPE, OR SACRED PLACE

There are many of these huge mounds in India, but their precise use is a matter of conjecture. They are flat on the top and surrounded with a wide platform at the foot, while elaborate gateways and enclosing walls encircle the whole. One of the gateways is shown in detail on the opposite page.

the Buddhist method of emphasising important facts by the multiplication of them. Thus, according to later legends, there was not one Buddha only but as many as twenty-four before him; the Buddha of the present age had not visited Ceylon once, but three times, and so on. Hence the canonical teaching required not one, but several formulations, and it was not enough to magnify the synod of Vesali into a council; it was necessary to presuppose another council held immediately after the death of Buddha—that of Rajagaha. This council, indeed, is mentioned only in appendices, which were apparently added to the canonical writings at a much later date.

As the history of the Buddha doctrine previous to Asoka is thus uncertain, we are justified in asking what amount of historical truth is contained in the legends upon the personality of its founder. The attempt has been made to deny the personal existence of Buddha; and this view has been justified by the allegorical meaning of the chief names in the personal history of Gautama. Suddhodana, his father's name, means "The man whose food is pure"; Maya means illusion; Kapilavastu means the town of Kapila, the founder of the Sankhya philosophy; Siddhartha means "He who has fulfilled his task." Such scepticism is, however, far too sweeping. In March, 1895, in the Terai of Nepal, near the village of Nigliwa, in the neighbourhood of Gorakhpur, about ten miles distant from the ruins of a memorial mound, an inscription of King Piyadasi, the "Pious," was discovered upon a pillar. This inscription states that Asoka, in the fifteenth year of his reign, had set up for the second time the memorial of the Konagamana Buddha, the mythical predecessor of the historical Buddha, and in the twenty-first year of his reign had himself visited the spot and there performed his devotions. The Chinese Hiuen Tsang (Yen Tsung), who visited the shrines of the Buddhists about 636 A.D., mentions the memorial and the inscription on the pillar. Moreover, on December 1st, 1896, a pillar was examined near the village of Padeira, thirteen miles from Nigliwa. This pillar had also been seen by Hiuen Tsang. It rose nine feet above the ground, was covered with inscriptions made by pilgrims, while upon the three feet of it below the level of the ground was found an inscription written in very ancient characters in the "Brahmi"—formerly and erroneously known as the Maurya or Asoka—alphabet, dating at least from the year 800 A.D.

Did Buddha Live?

The purport of the inscription was that Priyadarsin, after a reign of twenty years, here makes his prayer in person, expressly designates the spot a birthplace of Buddha, and makes the fact known by the erection of a stone pillar. At the same time, he remits the taxes due from the village of Lummini (the modern Rumin-dei), and makes presents to the inhabitants. Finally, William Caxton Peppé, while making excavations in January, 1898, on his property at Piprawa, in the Terai—that is to say, in the immediate neighbourhood of Kapilavastu, opened an ancient memorial, and discovered a finely-worked sandstone chest covered by a giant slab, which, together with other

Evidences of Buddha's Personality

objects, contained bone fragments in an urn, and bore the following inscription: "This resting-place for the remains of the exalted Buddha is the pious offering of the Sakyas, the brother with his sisters, children, and wives." There is no reason whatever for casting doubt upon the authenticity of the inscription, and therefore we may consider that this latter discovery—the objects are now in the museum of Calcutta, while the bone fragments were given to the King of Siam—included the actual remnants of Buddha himself—that is to say, one of the eight parts into which the carefully preserved remnants of the Enlightened One were divided, which was handed over to the Sakyas of Kapilavastu after the death of Buddha and the cremation of his corpse. It is but a few years since methodical investigation into the field of Indian epigraphy was begun, and researches in this direction will no doubt speedily bring yet more valuable information to light.

The Bones of Buddha

For the rest of the life of Buddha we are forced to depend upon the internal probability of the legendary stories. Of these, the main features are far too simple and natural to have been evolved by the riotous imagination of later times. Especially is this true of the stories of his birth from a noble family, his education, his early marriage, his sympathy with the general sense of the futility of life, his retirement from the world, the penances which he underwent, his renunciation of Brahmanism, and his death. His personality is undoubtedly to be conceived in strict accordance with tradition, for to that personality the new doctrine undoubtedly owed a great deal of its success. Especially credible is that part of the legend which tells us of his dignified bearing, of his high intellectual endowments, of his penetrating glance, the firmness of his convictions, his oratorical power, his gentleness, kindness, and liberality, and the attractiveness of his character. When Ananda informed his master of the fact that the Maller Roya was an influential man whose conversion would be highly advantageous to their party, "He poured such a flow of love upon the Maller that he could not but follow the teacher as the calf follows the cow."

Character of the Great Teacher

The benevolence of Buddha's character more than anything else drew the hearts of mankind towards him. He had, no doubt, a carefully thought-out metaphysical system of his own; he made many rules to govern the life of his apostles, which were either borrowed from Brahman orders or were innovations of his own, but it was not to these that he owed his success. The great difference between him and the Brahmans was the deep, warm love which he bore for his neighbours. In his system under its later form, which still continues in Ceylon, we see only the lifeless labours of his successors. In Buddha himself lived and worked the originality of a high and lofty mind, coupled with the benevolent power of purity and warmth of heart. The influence of these characteristics continued for at least a century after his death, as is proved by the edicts of Asoka.

Asoka was not a Buddhist when he assumed the government of the powerful kingdom of Magadha (269 B.C.). About 261 he was converted, though he did not make public profession of his faith before 259. The humanitarianism of the master finds a strong echo in the decrees dictated by the glowing enthusiasm of his royal convert. Asoka gives expression of his warm love for the whole of humanity. "All men are to me as my children. As I wish my children welfare and prosperity in this and the next world, so I do to men." Many of his numerous inscriptions on rocks or pillars are intended for the instruction of his people upon the nature of true religion. "What is Dhamma? It is to flee from the evil and do the good; to be loving, true, patient, and pure in life." The king forgets none of the essential virtues—moral purity, truth, nobility of heart, kindness in word and deed, goodness to all, respect and obedience to parents, love to children, tenderness to the weak, kindness to all creatures, reverence to the priests, the utmost toleration for other faiths, liberality in almsgiving, the avoidance of anger, passion, and cruelty. How changed is Buddha's teaching in the dead conventionalism of its modern form!

A Great Royal Convert

One of Asoka's edicts, perhaps the last, gives us some indication of the date when Buddha's doctrines first became stereotyped. This is the inscription of Bairat, or Bhabra, discovered in 1840 and assigned by Edmund Hardy to the year 249 B.C. Here the later teaching first makes itself heard, and in this inscription occur only the later expressions

concerning Buddha, his doctrine and the community of his believers, together with the phrase, "Everything that has been said by the exalted Buddha is well said." Here alone is there any reference to the articles of a legal code. The decree of Bhabra was issued after the council of Patna, by which it was influenced, and in this council Buddhist teaching was definitely formulated. The theory is further supported by the despatch of many missionaries shortly after the conclusion of the council. A probable cause of this step was the reformulation of the doctrine. Thanks to this mission, and especially to that of Mahinda, the son of Asoka himself, to Ceylon, where the doctrine had remained unchanged in all essentials, later Buddhism and its history are fairly plain to us.

THE INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM

AND THE CONTEMPORARY RELIGION OF JAINISM

BUDDHISM after Asoka, like the doctrines of the Brahmans, is founded upon a metaphysical basis. The fundamental principle of every Buddhist doctrine is Bodhi (knowledge). The connotation, however, of this term is in no way profound or comprehensive. The Buddhist philosophy, unlike the Brahman, does not seek to probe the reason of all existence, but while recognising that all life is suffering, and that every act of suffering involves fresh suffering, it confines itself to the discovery of release from suffering. The fundamental pessimism thus characteristic of Buddhism is the natural product of the age. The doctrine, however, is content with the fact of suffering as it is. It does not seek to advance to the conception of a supreme being, or even to the thought of an original world-soul in a state of passivity. It does not seek to explain suffering, as did the Brahmans, by supposing a descent on the part of the supreme being to the lower levels of action. Questions of this kind are beyond the sphere of that knowledge which it desires. Hence there is for Buddhism no supreme divinity. Gods certainly exist, but, far from being able to help men, they suffer as men suffer. Thus for Buddha there are no thanks to be paid to God, no prayers or requests, and consequently no mediator between God and man, no priest, no sacrifice, no worship. The fact of a divine existence has been banished from the philosophy of this religion. The problem of life none the less remains to its adherents. What is the individual life? What is the process of its continuance by reincarnation? How can the suffering of life come to an end?

The Great Problem of Life

At this point Buddhist philosophy diverges from the Brahman system, which posited an actual existence for the individual soul. According to Buddhism, there is no being which passes into another upon death. Personal existence is brought about by the conjuncture of a number of different elements which in themselves, and separately, have no personality or soul. These five elements of life are matter, feeling, imagination, will, and consciousness. The union of these is life, the division of them death. Upon death, one thing alone survives, the moral consequence, the final account of the good and the bad that has been done during life, the Kamma, an element of impulse driving the other elements to reunite after death and form another life. Like the beam of the scales, according to the nature of the final reckoning the reunited elements rise and fall to the formation of higher or lower beings. Thus, not to be born again implies the extinction of that yearning for existence. The Kamma being the consequence of actions performed in life, it can be destroyed only if during life man avoids all temptation to action; that is, renounces all desire.

Life and Death

At this point knowledge comes by her own. Only he who has this perfect insight into the true connection of life and suffering can reach this height. Ignorance at the other end of the scale leads to continued action, to reincarnation and further suffering. Thus the most important point is, according to the Buddhist formula, the knowledge of the "four sacred truths." These embrace all that Buddha meant by knowledge. They are most concisely stated in the sermon of Benares:

"This, ye monks, is the sacred truth of suffering; birth is suffering, age is suffering, sickness is suffering, death is suffering; to be joined to one thou doest not love is

suffering, to be divided from thy love is suffering, to fail of thy desire is suffering; in short, the fivefold bonds that unite us to earth—those of the five elements—are suffering; it is a yearning for existence which leads from new birth to new birth, which finds its desire in different directions, the desire for pleasure, the desire for existence, the desire for power. This, ye monks, is the sacred truth concerning the release from suffering; this desire must be extirpated by the entire destruction of inclination, which must be avoided, put away, left behind, and driven out. This, ye monks, is the sacred truth concerning the way to release from suffering; it is this sacred eight-fold path of right belief, right resolve, right speech, right action, right life, right desire, right thought, and right self-absorption."

The Buddhist Creed

He who seeks relief in "Enlightenment" must first of all be convinced of the truth about suffering, and must abhor all temporal attractions. Typical for him must be the horror which seized Buddha upon his flight from the world at the appearance of the old and broken man, of the man with a deadly disease, and of the putrefying corpse. This feeling the Buddhist must carefully cherish. He must cultivate the habit of introspection by contemplation of the thirty-two elements in the human body which arouse disgust, and by meditation on death and corruption, for by these means only will he be brought to that frame of mind for which temporal affairs have no attraction. He alone who retires from the world—that is to say, the monk—can become a perfect Buddhist.

Buddhist monasticism is in immediate connection with the Brahman monastic system. As in the latter case a band of learners gathers 'round a famous hermit, so also in the former. The yellow garment, the shaven head, the alms pot, are borrowings from an earlier period; as also are the days of strict retirement during the phases of the moon, together with the solemn penances and the cessation from activity during the three months of the rainy season. However, from the very first the organisation of the order was as weak and loosely connected as that of Brahman monasticism. Here, too, the master left his pupils to their own resources, a process which might prove successful provided that some clear mind or powerful intellect could be found to command universal respect. This, however, was by no means invariably the case, and the looseness with which the order was organised resulted not only in schism, the chronic weakness of Buddhism, but also in its ultimate defeat upon the revival of Indian Brahmanism.

System of Buddhist Monasticism

A necessary preliminary to the constitution of a monastic order was the existence of non-monastic friends of the Buddhist teaching—the Upasakas. Any form of human activity was in some way a contradiction of the command to leave the Kamma in complete passivity The laity could thus never become Buddhists in the full sense of the term, and belonged only to the second class of the order; the community properly so called consisted only of mendicant monks, who depended for a living upon the benevolence of others, and who considered their name of beggar, or Bhikshu, as a laudatory title. In the course of time certain rules of conduct were formulated for this class and stereotyped according to the usual Buddhist method; they are characterised by a spirit wholly alien to the strong humanitarianism which pervades the teaching of Buddha himself. Ten chief commands were binding upon the monk. It was unlawful to kill any living thing—"either worm or ant"; nothing should be taken except what was given—"not even a blade of grass"; falsehood was forbidden and the use of intoxicating liquors; family ties were to be renounced as "a hateful thing"; food was not to be taken at the wrong time or at night; wreaths or scents were not to be used, and the monk was to sleep upon a mat spread upon the ground; dancing, music, singing or theatrical performances were to be avoided, and gold and silver were not to be used.

Rules for Monks

The order was open to any who desired to enter it. Disqualifications were infectious diseases, such as leprosy, etc., slavery, official posts, the lack of parental consent. The would-be monk must be more than twelve years old; he was obliged to pass a novitiate and receive full instruction upon the doctrine and morality under a monk in full orders; ordination could not be undergone before the twentieth year. The discipline imposed upon the monk the "Middle way," as Buddha had already taught in the sermon of Benares; that is to say, his

life was not to be a course of mortification, but everything was to be excluded which passed the satisfaction of the simplest needs, or could in any way lead to strengthen the ties binding the monk to the world.

The habitation was not to be placed too near villages or towns, the noise of which might disturb contemplation, though at the same time it was to be near enough to enable the mendicants to gain what they required. It was but rarely that a monk dwelt alone in a "Pansala"; in most cases several monks lived together. During the flourishing period of the order great monasteries often sheltered a considerable number of Bhikkhus within their walls. The clothing—the upper garment of yellow—was to be entirely simple, and food was to be received in the alms dish from those who were benevolent enough to give to the beggar. The first half of the day was to be occupied in the task of mendicancy, and for the rest of the time the monk was to devote himself to introspection and pious exercises. Twice during the month, at the full and the new moon, the monks living within any one district collected for their solemn confession; the articles of confession were then read aloud, and an opportunity was thus given to individuals to confess their transgressions of Buddha's commands. In these assemblies new monks were ordained and business questions discussed. During the three months of the rainy season the monk was not to wander about, but to remain quietly in one place, either in his monastery or with some prosperous patron.

The Life of the Monks

Female Monastic Orders

Gautama consented with much unwillingness to the foundation of a female order, considering that it involved great dangers to his doctrine. The supervision of the nuns and the ordinances binding upon them were much stricter than in the case of the monks, who exercised a certain authority over the nuns. The inscriptions of Asoka make mention of many nuns, and under his government the female order was transferred to Ceylon by his daughter Samghamitta. However, it attained to no great importance, either in Ceylon or in India. According to the Singhalese chronicles, it seems to have entirely disappeared from the island as early as the end of the first millennium A.D.

THE SPLENDID JAIN TEMPLE OF SHET HUTTISING AT AHMEDABAD
Dedicated to Dhurmanath, one of the deified mortals whom the Jains reverence as rulers of the world.

An attempt to estimate accurately the importance of Buddhism with reference to Indian civilisation must begin by answering these two questions: Has this doctrine satisfied the religious requirements of the people? What has been the influence of its moral teaching? The Buddhist doctrine of liberation could bring complete satisfaction only to a few

Underwood & Underwood, London

THE JAIN TEMPLE OF MEMNATH ON MOUNT ABU

Built entirely of carved marble, this is an edifice of unrivalled beauty.

dominant minds. It is a doctrine of cold and unsympathetic nature, inasmuch as it offers no recompense for the infinite suffering of which the true Buddhist must feel the sway. It offers no supreme being which can sympathise with and relieve the miseries of human existence; it can promise no state of beatitude where man will be recompensed for his sufferings upon earth; it can promise only mere annihilation and nonentity. The doctrine was of too abstract a character to satisfy the great mass of the people, who desire gods made in the image of man, and yearn for some supreme object of adoration which is at least comprehensible to mankind. The immediate consequence of these desires was the transformation and elaboration of the legend concerning Buddha's life. It was not enough to attribute to Buddha supreme wisdom, almighty power, and thousands of miracles; his personality was also multiplied. When the true doctrines have fallen into decay, and mankind has become evil, there appears at long intervals a new Buddha to resume the teaching of the same doctrines of salvation. The Buddha Siddhartha is said to have been preceded by as many as twenty-four Buddhas, the last of which was Kasyapa; and five thousand years after the passing of Buddha into Nirvana a new Buddha, Maitreya, will arise. Of these personalities legends innumerable exist. The worshipper demands to see them in concrete form, and hence every Buddhist temple and palace is adorned with their likenesses and portraits, and especially with reproductions of Gautama. This desire for some tangible object of veneration appeared immediately upon the death of the master. A general demand arose for some sacred relic of the deceased, and his earthly remains were collected from the ashes of the funeral pyre and divided. In course of time the demand for relics increased in proportion to the distribution of the doctrine, and in every country of Buddhist faith there arose many thousands of shrines containing relics, stupas, or Dagobas, the goal of millions of pious pilgrims.

Legends of Many Buddhas

These relics were, however, purely symbolical. Buddha himself had entered the Nirvana—Nothingness; the people, however, demanded living gods, and Buddha himself had not denied the existence of these. The people, as a whole, were not so penetrated with the sense of the great suffering of existence as were the philosophical monks, although they suffered more than these from the petty cares of life, and their daily occurrence. Their old gods were called in to help in this department. The Buddhist mechanically repeats his formula of refuge; but in practice that refuge is made with the Aryan, Brahman, and Dravidian gods, including the sacred fig-tree and the Naga snake, the sun and the stars, the evil demons of the Dravidian faith, and the bright forms of Vishnu or Siva. All of these deities, together with Gautama, find a place in the broad creed of the Buddhist devotee, and during a solemn procession their grotesque images are carried side by side with the benevolent features of the Enlightened. In reality the earthly fate of the Buddhist is still guided by those old gods whom the master thought to set aside as of secondary importance. They are, no doubt, mere mechanical additions to the Buddhist faith in the southern

The Gods of the Buddhists

VIEW OF THE TEMPLES AND MOSQUES OF SASSUR, NEAR POONA, IN THE DECCAN

A HINDU CUSTOM NOW SUPPRESSED: PREPARATIONS FOR A "SUTTEE"

districts of Buddhism, as, for instance, in Southern India about the year 1000 A.D., and in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam at the present day; on the other hand, in northern Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia the doctrine with which they have been incorporated has been so entirely transformed by their influence that the original system of Gautama is scarcely recognisable.

Ethical Teaching of Buddhism

The ethical teaching of Buddhism is not based upon divine authority, but upon individual egoism; moral duties or virtues as such are non-existent, utilitarianism being the guiding principle. This principle, indeed, inspires the commands respecting personal behaviour, self-restraint, the government of the senses, self-sufficiency, vigilance. Indeed, every command explaining a man's duty to his neighbour, such as the exaggerated care against the taking even of animal life, or the exhortations to sympathy, kindness, and benevolence, spring not from the ground of the heart, but from the purely selfish desire to advance by their fulfilment toward the ultimate goal of liberation. The moral teaching of Buddha, as regards the manner in which it makes kindness and love binding upon all men, is high above the ethical system of the Brahmans and far below the purity and nobility of Christianity. Especially is it lacking in moral force. How, indeed, could a religion provide a strong and energetic ethical system when its chief duties consisted in the entire avoidance of action and its highest aim in total extinction—Nirvana.

The Grand Error of Buddhism

The indolence of the system has been stamped upon the whole Buddhist world; stricken with fear at the thought of suffering, its strength lies rather in endurance and passivity than in action. In a people enervated by such beliefs it is impossible to expect any powerful bond of union, any feeling for the greatness of race or state, any sense of patriotism. We do not forget what the princes did for their people, but at the same time this could be only a drop in the ocean; they cared for the poor and the sick, planted fruit trees on the roads, constructed great works of irrigation, were liberal, especially toward the monastic orders. But this very liberality was a cause of further weakness; the best and the richest districts fell into the hands of the orders, and many strong arms were thereby condemned to inactivity. Meanwhile the people became impoverished, and bore their sad existence with resignation or indifference.

The caste system Buddha no more attempted to set aside than the gods; in his view both of these were necessary institutions as existing from the creation of the world. The great difference between his teaching and that of the Brahmans consists in the fact that he meant his precepts of humanitarianism to be binding upon all the castes. His followers were to be kind and benevolent even to the low-born Sudra, and were not forbidden even to accept food from him. At the same time a caste feeling was deeply rooted in

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A LITANY IN STONE: INTERIOR OF A JAIN TEMPLE

In Western Hindustan Mount Abu rises 6,000 feet abruptly from the desert, and on its top, in the 11th and 12th centuries, the Jains built the exquisitely carved marble temple of Vimala Sah, of which this is an interior view. The marble must have been quarried 300 miles away. The temple is dedicated to a prophet, Parsvanatha, whose image is repeated again and again in the carvings of the temple; indeed, this curious structure is a sort of litany in stone.

Buddha and the whole of his order; though we often hear of the reception of distinguished members of the higher and the highest castes by the master during his lifetime, instances of such treatment of the Sudra Buddhists do not occur. Even at the present day the collective Buddhist sects of Ceylon are recruited solely from the highest castes.

Buddhism and Woman

Buddhism is also open to the further reproach of having done nothing to raise the social position of woman. The founder showed the greatest reluctance, and was induced only by a strong pressure from without, to admit the woman within his community, and even then she was not placed upon an equality with the man. Generally speaking, the only consolation he had to give to the woman in her subordinate position was that she must bear her burden, because it was appointed by the order of things, in the same way as the burden of a Sudra or of a worm.

Severe but true is Bishop Copleston's criticism of Buddhism—that it lowers mankind by the very assertion of man's supremacy.

Buddhism, though the most successful, was not the only religious system which rose during that period of intellectual movement. Contemporary with Gautama was that personality to whom the now existing sect of the Jains refers the origin of its religion; his name was Nataputta, though he was known by his adherents as Mahavira Wardhamana, the revered Jina or world-conqueror. He, too, had his origin in that centre of intellectual movement on the lower Ganges, and his life and teaching are marked by many points of resemblance to his more important contemporary. Like Buddha, he was the son, born in 599 B.C., of a distinguished Kshatriya, by name Siddhartha, who was apparently governor of the outlying town of Kandapura, of Vesali, where the feudal aristocracy was as predominant as among the Sakya.

The Founder of Jainism

On his mother's side he was related to King Bimbisara of Magadha, and, like Gautama, he found in this king a patron of his doctrine; indeed, these two religious systems owe their prosperity primarily to the existence of that great kingdom and its ruler. Until his twenty-eighth year Nataputta lived with his parents; then, however, like Gautama, he joined the Brahman ascetics and lived for twelve years under their rules, surpassing all but one of these in the severest penances as a naked ascetic. Thus he arrived at supreme knowledge or Kewala, and so acquired for his soul freedom from its earthly trammels. The last thirty years of his life (until 527) were devoted to the dissemination of his teaching and to the organisation of the community he founded.

His honorary title of Jina has been taken by the sect which he founded, the Jains. They believe in a great number of prophets of their faith anterior to Nataputta, and pay special reverence to this last of these, Parsva, or Parsvanatha. Herein they are correct, in so far as the latter personality is more than mythical. He was indeed the royal founder of Jainism (776 ?), while his successor, Mahavira, was younger by many generations, and can be considered only as a reformer. As early as the time of Gautama, the religious confraternity founded by Parsva, and known as the Nigantha, was a formally established sect, and, according to the Buddhist chronicles, threw numerous difficulties in the way of the rising Buddhism.

Doctrines Taught by the Jains

The numerous points of correspondence between Buddhism and Jainism are sufficiently explained by the fact that both systems originated in Brahman teaching and practice. The formation of the Jain canon dates from the fifth century A.D., during which period the "holy" scriptures were established at the Council of Valabhi, under the presidency of Devarddhiganin. But this council has been put as early as 154; and according to one authority the writings from which the canon has been formed are as early as the first, and perhaps the second or third centuries B.C.

The Jains, like the Buddhists, accept the Brahman theory of the misery of existence and the necessity for liberation. Where, however, the Buddhist philosophy diverges from the Brahman, they follow the older creed. According to their system, the soul has a real and self-contained existence; during life it is fettered to the base elements of the material body, which it leaves upon death. The soul is then enclosed in a form of ethereal lightness until the Karma—the ethical resultant of the actions performed in life—obliges it to become reincarnate and to resume the burden of suffering.

Buddhist philosophy culminates in the release from this necessity of reincarnation —that is to say, in nonentity—whereas the Jains assumed the existence of an elaborate system of higher and highest beings which claim veneration from mankind. In the different regions occupied by these divine personalities, the Jina, or all-conquerors, take the highest place. They alone, released from death and from new birth, live in eternal and absolute purity. They are the souls, freed from all earthly trammels, of the great prophets, who are far more numerous in this religion than in Buddhism. Time is divided into three parts—present, past, and future; and in each of these divisions twenty-four Jinas appear at long intervals to bring knowledge to the world of those lofty truths leading to salvation. The twenty-third Jina of the present earthly period was Parsvanatha, and the twenty-fourth Mahavira. All of these Jinas, alike by their precept and example, have shown to the world the path to liberation, which consists in purity of faith, in true insight, and in virtue undefiled.

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THE RICHEST TEMPLE IN CALCUTTA

This Jain temple is one of the most magnificent in all India. It was built by a rich merchant, who lives in a palatial house near the temple. The chief material used is white marble, and every square foot of the surface is set with jewels.

True faith consists in belief in the Jina and in the whole system of higher beings; true insight is provided by the philosophical system of the Jains. According to this system, both the world and the soul have an eternal objective existence. The misfortune of the soul consists in its connection with the body, and when its desire for action is extinguished it becomes free. The precepts of pure virtue coincide almost entirely with those of the Buddhist teaching.

The five fundamental precepts of the Jain monks are the same as the first four of the Brahmans, and run as follows: Thou shalt not kill any living being; thou shalt not lie; thou shalt not take what has not been given to thee; thou shalt refrain from intercourse with worldly relations. The fifth precept includes within itself the remaining precepts of the Buddhist monks: thou shalt renounce all earthly possessions, and chiefly shalt call nothing thine own.

While insisting upon the importance of these commandments, the Jain teaching also recognises the value of asceticism in its severest form as an aid to liberation. About the year 80 A.D. this point led to the schism between the two main sects of this religion, which, however, agree upon fundamental principles—the Digambara, "those who are clothed with the vault of heaven"—that is, the naked—and the Svetambara, "those clothed in white."

Centres and objects of worship are numerous, as might be expected from the high importance attached to the divine beings. All Jain temples are placed by preference upon lofty mountains, such as Mount Abu, Mount Girnar, in Gujerat, etc. These buildings are adorned with rich decoration, and with a wealth of designs representing the different Jinas with their tokens—the ox, the ape, the fish, etc.

Everywhere the Jains enjoy the reputation of honourable and capable men; their reliability and commercial industry has enabled them to acquire prosperity and often great wealth. Their benevolence is not without a somewhat comic side, as in some of the hospitals for animals which they have founded, and in their custom of wearing a respirator and carrying a small broom to avoid killing even insects involuntarily.

AN INDIAN NAWAB WITH HIS RETAINERS SETTING OUT FOR THE CHASE

PROFESSOR EMIL SCHMIDT

INDIA FROM ALEXANDER TO THE MOHAMMEDAN CONQUESTS

RECORDS OF THE ANCIENT DYNASTIES

FROM the earliest times the inexhaustible natural riches of the great plains of the Ganges have been a source of prosperity and of misfortune to India. In every age this district has proved a strong attraction to foreign peoples.

The great Aryan immigration was the first movement of the kind of which we hear, but by no means the last. Legends speak of the invasion of Assyrian rulers, of Ninus and Semiramis; and though these may be purely mythical figures, yet those legends undoubtedly rest upon some historical foundation. Diodorus quotes the name of an Indian king, Stabrobates, "the lord of draught animals." It is true that this name appears rather Iranian than Indian. However, upon Assyrian monuments—as, for example, the obelisk of Salmanassar II., belonging to the year 842 B.C.—are representations of the Indian elephant and the rhinoceros, which were led before the victorious king, together with his prisoners. At a later period the Persian Cyrus is said to have undertaken a fruitless campaign to India, and upon his defeat to have retired to the same desert of Gedrosia through which Alexander retreated with his Macedonians. There is no doubt that Darius subdued the races north of the Kabul River and west of the Indus, and explored the course of this latter stream about 510 B.C. Those tribes formed a special satrapy of Persia, and their contingents are said by Herodotus to have fought under Xerxes against the Greeks.

Persian & Assyrian Invaders

The Indian expedition of Alexander the Great is the earliest established chronological fact in the history of India. In the year 327 B.C. he started from Sogdiana and Bactria with about 100,000 warriors. Advancing along the Kabul River he was repeatedly obliged to wage desperate conflicts with the bold mountain races and to destroy many of their fortified posts, but he arrived in the spring of the following year at the Indus frontier of the rich district of the Punjab.

The peoples there settled had changed but little since the time when their brothers had marched eastward into the Ganges district, had there founded states, and had struggled with the rising power of Brahmanism, with which they had eventually compromised. At that time the population was divided into a number of smaller tribes, the warrior caste holding the predominant position. Here Alexander met with a wholly unexpected resistance. Plutarch says of the Indians that the bravest and most warlike of them were the "mercenaries, who marched from one town to another defending each position to the last, and inflicting great loss upon Alexander." So intense was the animosity of the conqueror to this caste that, after promising unmolested retirement to the Kshatriya defenders of a town, he laid an ambush for them and destroyed them during their retreat. And "no less was the vexation caused him by the Indian philosophers, who reviled the kings who joined him and stirred up the free populations; for this cause he hanged many of them."

March of Alexander to India

Though the old bravery remained, the old tribal feuds had by no means died out, and Alexander was greatly helped by the strained relations subsisting between the Gandhara and their eastern neighbours, the Puru, the most important race in the Punjab. The Gandhara king, Taxiles, joined with other chiefs in doing homage to the invader, and supported Alexander's army with his own troops. In the spring of 326 the Greeks crossed the Indus near the modern Attok, and, after receiving the homage of the people, marched against

the Puru prince, Porus. This monarch awaited the Greek advance on the eastern bank of the Hydaspes. The Kshatriya fought with the courage of despair, and the greater portion of the Puru warriors were left upon the field of battle. The aged and heroic prince upon his war elephant retreated only when he found his army destroyed, his two sons slain, and himself seriously wounded. Not only did the Macedonians leave him his kingdom, but they added to it a number of conquered districts.

Check to Alexander's Progress

After a rest of thirty days Alexander advanced upon a fresh campaign; he had received trustworthy information concerning the peoples of the fruitful Ganges district, their populous towns and splendid capitals. However, his army failed him at the Hyphasis in the year 325, and the world-conqueror had come to the end of his victorious career. In boats and rafts he sailed down stream to the mouth of the Indus, and there divided his army into two parts. One of these returned to Persia by sea under Nearchus, while he himself was forced to retreat through the waterless desert of Gedrosia, under a burning August sun, and saved but a few remnants of the other half. Shortly afterward Alexander succumbed to his fatigues, his excesses, and the effects of the climate, in the year 323.

Alexander's Indian campaign had been of short duration, but the irresistible nature of his onset was equalled only by the importance of its consequences to the country; from the various tribes who had resisted the foreigners was formed the powerful Magadha kingdom. Among those who had been brought over to Alexander's side by the hope of personal advantage was an adventurer known as Chandragupta. A Sudra by birth—from his mother Mura, a low-caste woman, the royal family succeeding the Nanda was known as the Maurya dynasty—his position upon the lower Ganges had become untenable for him by reason of his intrigues. The confusion caused by the advance of Alexander into the Punjab seemed to him a favourable occasion for the realisation of his ambitions, and he contrived to maintain connection with both of the two parties.

Results of the Greek Invasion

After the retreat and death of Alexander dissensions broke out among the Greek party remaining in the country; Porus was murdered by a Greek leader, Eudemus, and the Diadochi—the rivals in the succession to Alexander—began a series of quarrels over the division of the empire. Chandragupta then placed himself at the head of the Indian movement, secured predominance in the Punjab in 316 B.C., and in the following year gained possession of the Magadha kingdom, which, under his rule, extended, in 296 B.C., from the mouth of the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges. Seleucus Nicator found Magadha so powerful in 303 that he considered it prudent to secure the alliance of his eastern neighbour by giving him his daughter in marriage and renouncing his claim to Eastern Gedrosia, Arachosia, and Paropamisus. The excellent terms upon which these two princes lived is evidenced by their mutual despatch of ambassadors to the courts of Babylon and Pataliputra.

The first detailed description composed by an eye-witness of India and its people is that for which we have to thank the Greek Megasthenes. Only a few fragments remain to us of his work entitled "Indica"; but even from these we may learn many important details of the conditions of life in the Magadha kingdom. From a Greek point of view the description is highly prepossessing. Megasthenes praises the population for their honesty, uprightness, strength, moderation, and peaceful inclinations, though they are ready to repel invaders by force of arms. The prosperity of the state rested upon agriculture; this occupation was considered so sacred that it was not to be interrupted even in time of war, and the farmer could peacefully till his land while bloody battles were proceeding in the immediate neighbourhood. The kingdom was defended by a numerous well-organised, and highly-trained warrior class—one of the seven classes, or castes, of the people, between which so sharp a line of demarcation existed that they could not even eat together. The land was common property, and one-fourth of the produce was paid to the State to meet government expenses. The Buddhist ascetics were then considered a subdivision of the Brahmans.

A Greek Picture of Early India

The grandson of Chandragupta, the son and successor of Bindusara, Asoka (269 to 232 B.C.), was the most powerful ruler of ancient India; his kingdom

SCENE IN MODERN PATNA: THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF THE GREAT MAGADHA KINGDOM

The city of Patna was founded over 2,000 years ago, and was the capital of the ancient Magadha kingdom. Its most famous king was Asoka, the grandson of its founder, the convert of Buddha and the great protagonist of Buddhism.

extended over the greater half of the peninsula, and his influence far beyond these limits. After thousands of years no king has received such deep veneration as this Magadha ruler, whose name even to-day is deeply honoured from the shores of the Black Sea to the furthest islands of Eastern Asia, and from the shores of the polar ice to the equator. It is not to the greatness of his political power that he owes his fame, but to the gospel of human love, which he substituted for the teaching of Gautama.

The Greatest of India's Early Rulers

The Magadha kingdom, with its capital of Pataliputra, or Patna, founded by Chandragupta in 315 B.C., was not destined to exist long; its most brilliant period is the reign of Asoka, the grandson of its founder, under whom it extended over all North and Central India, and the Northern Deccan. Less than a century after the accession of the great king, and 137 years after the founding of the Maurya dynasty, the last ruler, the tenth of the dynasty, was overthrown by his general, Brihadratha. The succeeding dynasty of the Shunga lasted only 112 years—178 to 66 B.C.; the kingdom of the Kanwa, who succeeded, gradually diminished as the Scythians gained in power.

The natural conditions of the Asiatic Highlands impose a nomadic life upon the inhabitants. Mongolian, Turco-Tartar, and Scythian peoples were continually struggling for the possession of the grass steppes and pasture lands after the immigration of the Aryans. Race collided with race, and, like a wave driven before the stormy blast, confusion reached the uttermost limits of the country. An unusually strong upheaval of this nature had disturbed these nomadic tribes in the second century B.C.

The Mongolian tribe of the Hiung Nu—progenitors of the Huns—living east of the Oxus district in the steppes between Khiva and Khotan, had attacked the Tibetan Yue Tshi, who are, no doubt, to be identified with the Scythian Issedones upon their western frontier. This tribe they had defeated and forced to emigrate. The conquered nation then advanced upon the Græco-Bactrian kingdom, founded about 250 B.C. by Diodotus, a kingdom which had now advanced beyond the Indus into the Punjab. Before the onslaught of these invaders the predominance of the Greeks in Bactria Proper came to an end shortly after the year 140 B.C. A Scythian offshoot, the Sakæ, under the leadership of the king Maues in 100 B.C. and Azes in 70 B.C., turned toward the Indus, and, following the course of this river southward to Sindh, ultimately arrived at Gujerat.

Struggle for the Steppes

Another tribe, the Kushana, followed the Kabul River into the Punjab under the prince Kozulo Kadphises. Here they destroyed the last remnants of the Greek supremacy in the year 25 B.C., and the following king, Huemo Kadphises, extended his power over the larger part of North-West India.

Scythians Embrace Buddhism

The most important ruler of this dynasty was the next king, Kanishka, whose kingdom extended from Yarkand and Khokand to Gujerat, and from Afghanistan as far as the Jumna. From his anointing, on March 15th, 78 A.D., dates the Saka Chronology. Nahapana is sometimes regarded as the founder of this kingdom. Upon their advance into India the Scythian hordes came into contact with Buddhism, and enthusiastically embraced this new religion. Like Asoka, Kanishka called a special council at Kashmir to reformulate the doctrine of Buddha. Supplementary explanations were then added to the three Pitakas of the Council of Patna. From this council it appears that even at that time the old doctrines of Buddhism had not been preserved in their original purity in Northern India, but had undergone considerable changes under the influence of Brahman and Dravidian ideas. At the same time, it is probable that the deities introduced by the Scythians were not entirely without influence upon the conclusions drawn up by the council of the mighty Scythian ruler.

History Seen in Patches

The kingdom founded by Kadphises, like that of Chandragupta, reached its most flourishing period under the second successor of the founder, while its importance begins to decrease after the third century A.D., when other dynasties and states became more prominent. However, the history of India during the first millennium A.D. appears to the modern inquirer like a great mosaic picture, in which only individual or small related groups of stones are now recognisable. Coins, casual reports from travellers, especially Chinese, and inscriptions show us movement and counter movement, rise and decay among states both small and great, but in no case is it possible to reconstruct the history in detail. In many cases, we have only the most scanty sources of information, a few isolated names and events, while other states certainly existed and have left behind not a trace of their career.

The famous Maurya dynasty began to decay shortly after the time of Asoka, but the old splendour reappeared for a moment under the dynasty founded by Gupta in 290 A.D. This king, who had formerly been a vassal of Magadha, made himself independent, and under his grandson Chandragupta I. and his immediate successors the prosperity of the kingdom advanced so rapidly that it included all the territory between Nepal and the Narbada, between Cutch and the Ganges delta. During the sixth century, however, the prosperity of the realm was shattered by the attack of the "White Huns" in 515. These invaders were utterly defeated about 530 near Kahror by Yasodharma. a vassal of the Gupta kingdom. He himself assumed the supremacy and further extended the boundaries of the kingdom, though its history from this point is known to us only by a number of royal titles.

Invasion by the White Huns

A kingdom of larger extent further to the south was also formed during the struggle with the White Huns, who had left their habitations on the Oxus after the year 435 A.D. and had invaded India. In the struggle against their king, Mihirakula, Yasodharma had been anticipated by another vassal of the Gupta kingdom, Sanapati Bhatarka, in 495. This prince was the founder of the Valabhi dynasty and kingdom, which attained a high measure of prosperity under his sixth successor, Dhruwasena. It included Gujerat, extending to the Narbada. The rulers at one time showed special favour to Buddhism, and at another transferred their preference to the Brahmans or to the Jains, who still count many adherents in the old Valabhi district. The canons of this latter doctrine were definitely formulated at the Council of Valabhi.

To the second half of the first millennium A.D. belongs the development of an important Hindu kingdom in the Deccan, that of the Chalukya. This race is considered to have come from Northern India, and the founder of the dynasty, Jayasimha I., established himself about 500 A.D. in the Deccan at the expense of the Dravidian Pallavas. The new Hindu kingdom rapidly increased in size and power, and in the following millennium embraced the greater portion of the Deccan.

In the year 630 it was divided into an eastern and a western kingdom. The Chalukya prince, Vishnuwardhana, obtained the kingdom on the east coast, which included the coast line between the mouths of the Krishna and Godaveri. For a long period he was at war with the Chola on the south, and eventually succumbed to their attacks in 1060. The western Chalukya constituted a flourishing kingdom until the year 747, and were then conquered and reduced to great weakness by the Rashtrakuta. After a long period of depression, Tailapa Deva, the son of Vikramaditya IV., conquered the Rashtrakuta of Malkhed, and also Malava and the Chola, in 973, and became the founder of the later Chalukya dynasty, whose kingdom disappears towards the end of the twelfth century, when it was divided among a number of branch dynasties.

This period of political change and complete racial fusion had gradually obliterated the points of contrast existing between the original races and peoples. The unity of the Indian people, Hinduism as it is in modern times, had been slowly formed from this former ethnical dualism. Its character is marked by two special peculiarities, religious belief and social institutions or castes.

MONUMENT OF AN ANCIENT KING
This temple, on the hill of Takt-i-Suliman, near Srinagar, is believed by the Brahmans to have been erected by Jaloka, the son of Asoka, who reigned about 220 B.C.

Early Indian Religions

During the time of Asoka we find great points of difference existing within the sphere of religious belief. The Brahman doctrine of the nature of the world and the Deity was a purely esoteric system of belief, the other castes, and particularly the great mass of the Sudra, believing in the power of demons. Within the Brahman school of thought a third faith had arisen—Buddhism. This had been at first tolerated by the Brahmans, as they had failed to recognise the points of opposition to their system which its teaching involved. It has largely to thank Asoka for the vigour of its advance. It was preached throughout India by the royal missionaries, and was introduced into Ceylon immediately after the Council of Patna. It also penetrated far beyond the boundaries of its Indian birthplace. During the first century of our era it reached China, where it was recognised as the State religion during the fourth century. In 372 it was introduced from China into Korea, reaching, in the fourth and fifth centuries, Cochin China, Ava, Formosa, Mongolia, and Japan during the sixth century. At an even earlier period that form of it established in the Pali canon had passed from Ceylon to Burma in 450, and afterward became the dominant faith of Siam in 638; it was brought to Java from the Indian continent in the sixth or seventh century. We have a striking example of the powerful influence which its teaching of liberation and its humanitarianism exercised even upon uncivilised nations in the case of the Scythian Kanishka. At the Council of Kashmir the doctrines formulated at Patna were reasserted.

Extent of Buddhist Dominion

But even at that time in the North of India a schismatic movement had begun, due to the introduction of a barren system of dialectic, and also to the perversion of the doctrine and worship by the Dravidian belief in demons. At a later period the belief underwent so great a transformation among the Tartar and Mongolian peoples that the northern Buddhism of the present day is merely a frightful caricature of the pure Buddhist doctrine. The soul, to which Gautama had denied an objective existence, was reintroduced as an element of belief. The souls of the future Buddhas, the Bodhisattwas, especially those of the Manjusri and the Avalokitesvara, were accorded divine veneration, becoming personifications of the mystical religious knowledge and of the spirit of the Buddhist churches; while almighty power was

typified in a third divinity, Vajradhara. Thus the heaven of this Buddhist sect was provided with a trinity, and to this were attributed the most abhorrent characteristics of the lower gods; and Shamanist customs and incantations, together with bloody sacrifices, were introduced into the worship. This incorporation of Indian Dravidian ideas and customs with Buddhism is chiefly the work of the Indian monk Asanga, who lived at Peshawar, in the Punjab, during the sixth century A.D. The resulting doctrine, called by the northern Buddhists the Great Chariot, to distinguish it from that which they contemptuously termed the Little Chariot—the earlier Buddhism—together with the conception that the spirit of the Churches became incarnate in one temporal head, eventually led to the development of Lamaism in the countries to the north of India.

Blending of Religious Beliefs

Next to the Asoka inscriptions the most important sources of information upon Indian Buddhism are the accounts of the Chinese Buddhists who made pilgrimages to the sacred shrines of their religion, especially the reports of Fa Hien (400–414) and of Hiuen Tsang (629–645). From Fa Hien we learn that in the whole of Nearer India the two doctrines, the Great Chariot, or Mahayana and the Little Chariot, or Hinayana, existed side by side, though at the same time the Brahman teaching counted numerous adherents. At the time of Hiuen Tsang, Kashmir was entirely given up to northern Buddhism, while the Little Chariot was predominant in Western and Southern India; in the Ganges district Buddhism suffered greatly from the competition of Brahmanism. Hiuen Tsang was present at the Council of Kanauj, where the doctrines of the northern sect were formulated. Buddha's birthplace was at that time in ruins, but his religion was even then firmly established in those countries in which he had himself been personally active. In the rest of India the old doctrine was still highly flourishing, and only in Kalinga had it been driven back by the rise of Brahmanism throughout that district.

Shortly after the pilgrimage of Hiuen Tsang serious misfortunes came upon the Buddhists. These are most probably to be explained by persecutions, which were at most purely local; Indian Buddhism collapsed more from internal weakness and diversity of growth than from the open hostility of other religions. Soon after the conclusion of the first millennium A.D.—about 1200—it had ceased to exist almost throughout India. The princes of Kashmir and Orissa supported it for a time; but about 1340 its last stronghold, Kashmir, also fell, and when the first Mohammedan kingdom of India was founded, nearly the whole population, with the exception of some few adherents in Bengal and Orissa, together with the Jains, acknowledged the gods of Hinduism.

THE STORY OF LATER HINDUISM

THOSE long-continued political disturbances which we have described proved unfavourable to the strengthening of religious conviction. Among the Brahmans a period of deep metaphysical speculation had been succeeded by a period of repose, while the lowest gods and the rudest forms of worship had been gradually accepted by the people at large. It was not until the eighth century that the reaction began. Tradition names Kumarila, who lived in the first half of that century, as at once the deadly enemy of the Buddhists and the reviver of the Brahman religion. But the first great reformer so called was probably Sankara Acharya. He was born in the Deccan in 788, was chiefly active in Northern India, and died in the Himalayas in 820. He revived the Vedanta philosophy and created the new popular Hindu religion. The esoteric portion of his doctrine acknowledges one unique supreme god, the Brahma Para Brahma, the creator and governor of the world, who is to be worshipped by mystical introspection; the elements of religious thought extant in the people as a whole he united and inspired in the figure of Siva. The great apostle of the worship of Vishnu, on the other hand, was Ramanuja, who lived in the first half of the twelfth century. His doctrines were preached by Kabir (1380–1420) in Bengal, and Chaitanya (born 1485) in Orissa. From the time of those reformers onward, Siva and Vishnu have been the corner-stones in the system of Hindu worship. In the popular religion Brahma retires into the background. The fundamental element in the philo-

Popular Hindu Religions

sophical conception of Vishnu is immanence, so that this kindly helping god becomes properly the god of incarnations, of Avatars. His being permeates all things, and hence he may appear in most different forms. Whenever gods or men are reduced to the extremities of need, Vishnu brings them help in one or another of his manifestations. Legend numbers many of these incarnations, in all twenty-two, but the generally accepted number is ten. In the first three the god appears as the fish, the tortoise, the boar; in the fourth, as the male lion; and in the later incarnations in human form, first as a dwarf; afterward, in the sixth, seventh, and eighth as Parasurama, as Ramatshandra, and as Krishna—that is, in forms taken from the heroic legends of Indian antiquity. Of these incarnations Krishna has become the most popular, the people recognising a national characteristic in the amusing tricks assigned to Krishna by the legend. The representation of Buddha as the ninth incarnation of Vishnu no doubt belongs to a period when an attempt was made to unite Buddhism with the Hindu religion. A later theory also considers Buddha under this incarnation as an agent who tempts the wicked to scorn the Vedas and the laws of caste in order to secure their eventual destruction, and so to free the world of them. Finally, the last incarnation of Vishnu belongs to the future; at the end of the present age the god will appear as Kalki and found a new kingdom of purity.

A God of Many Incarnations

In the conception of Siva, Brahman ideas of "darkness" meet the demon beliefs of the Dravidians. It is among the mountain tribes of the Himalaya that the figure of Siva, the "mountain spirit," originates, borrowed from Kiraata, a divinity given over to sensual pleasures, drinking, and dancing, and followed by a train of lower spirits. The fundamental conception of the Dravidian races of divinity as evil in nature is commingled with the Brahman ideas of darkness in the person of Siva, the god of destruction. As Rudra he personifies the destructive forces of nature; as Mahakala, the dissolving power of time; as Bahirava, he is the destroyer, or destruction as such; and as Bhuteswara, adorned with a garland of snakes and death's-heads, he is the supreme deity of all the demons of the Dravidian belief. Thus Siva is rather a Dravidian Vishnu than an Aryan creation; as, indeed, is manifested by the distribution of their several worships, the devotees of Siva being more numerous in the south and those of Vishnu in the north.

Thus in the northern districts of the Madras presidency the worshippers of Vishnu preponderate by a number varying from ten to one to four to one; while in the central districts of the presidency the number of adherents of each faith is almost equal. In the south, the worshippers of Siva surpass those of Vishnu by a number varying from four to one to sixty-seven to one. In the loftier conception of Siva, Brahman thought becomes more prominent; from death springs up fresh life, from destruction the new and more beautiful is restored. Thus the "destroyer" becomes a benefactor, Sada, Siva, Sankara, Sambhu; he personifies the reproductive forces of Nature, and as such is worshipped under the name Mahadeva, the great god; Isvara, the chief lord. No image is of more frequent occurrence in India than his symbol. Yet more definitely Brahman is the idea of the power of the sacrifice and of asceticism, and in this connection Siva appears in the form of the "Great Penitent," Mahayogin. Personification has not extended so far among the Hindu deities as it did among those of Greece and Rome; consequently, the Hindu pantheon is not composed of one great family of grandparents, fathers mothers and children. Brahma and Vishnu had no son, and only two sons exist loosely connected with Siva—known as Subrahmanya, or Skanda, the god of war, and Ganesa, the god of cunning

Gods of the Hindu Pantheon

BRAHMA WITH HIS CONSORT SARASWATI

In Indian mythology, after a god was personified, he was given a consort. Saraswati is the goddess of learning.

ORIGINAL TYPE OF THE CAR OF JUGGERNAUT

An ancient stone temple, built in imitation of the original type of the Car of Juggernaut, which, in many different forms, has so long figured and still figures in Hindu processions.

and success, who is invoked upon every necessity of daily life, and whose deformed, stumpy figure with the elephant's head is everywhere to be found.

Consorts are assigned to all the more important deities; yet the conception of wifehood has in this case been overshadowed by the personal attributes of the deity, might or power. According to Brahman philosophy, as soon as a supreme being becomes personal, his attributes coalesce into male and female divisions, the latter of which, contrary to our conceptions, is the more operative of the two. In the case of the less active gods, Brahma and Vishnu, this opposition is by no means so prominent. The consort of Brahma, Saraswati, is the goddess of learning and knowledge; while Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu, is the goddess of supreme good and beauty. However, in the worship of Siva the female side of his existence plays a more important part, owing to the fact that the god himself occupies a position of greater activity, and has absorbed a larger proportion of Dravidian deities who were essentially feminine. Each of the chief forms, under which Siva appears, has been intensified by the addition of a wife.

To the narrow circle of the supreme gods is added a number of superior beings, partly drawn from prehistoric legend, such, for instance, as the sacred singers of the Vedas, the Rishis, the Pandu brothers of the Bharata battles, and others drawn from the numerous band of lower deities worshipped by individual tribes. The Hindu heaven is spacious enough to contain any deity of the smallest importance or mystery, and includes stones and mountains, rivers and tanks, weeds and trees, useful and dangerous animals, spirits of the deceased, individual demons, and every variety of atmospherical phenomenon.

The wide differences—in fact, the oppositions—which characterise the manifestations of the divine element are reflected in the worship; the lowest fetish worship exists side by side with the veneration of the purer and higher powers of heaven. Hinduism is particularly distinguished from all monotheistic religion by the fact that its votaries do not constitute a Church, or, indeed, possess a universally accepted creed. A Hindu may worship Vishnu or Siva in one or other of their different forms, as also Ganesa, or one of the many Saktis; his choice depends entirely on the forms of prayer and incantation which he has received from his spiritual tutor and adviser, the Guru. These formulæ vary in the case of individual gods, and any god can be transformed into the patron deity of the Hindu who bears upon his forehead the sign of this special god. Under these circumstances common worship is impossible. Worship, like faith, is purely personal, and is composed of formulæ and spells of magic power, of purificatory rites and sacrifices which the worshipper offers to the gods or induces his priest to offer for him.

CELEBRATION OF THE FEAST OF GANESA AT BENARES

The image of Ganesa, the God of Success, who has the head of an elephant, may be seen in one of the vessels.

Worship of this kind, therefore, demands no great space or building where the congregation may meet together before their god; the sanctuary proper is never more than a small shrine or an unimportant chapel with the symbol or image of the god. The temples, which have increased to enormous size, especially in Southern India, owe their dimensions to the addition of subordinate rooms such as pilgrim halls, side galleries, or tanks surrounded by steps.

Divine worship is carried on under three main different forms. Vishnu, of all the supreme gods, is most like man in shape. Consequently, his statue is tended like a human being by priests specially appointed for the purpose. The worship of his image may be compared to the playing of a small child with its doll, and the offerings made to him are those things which delight the Hindu heart—rice, coraco, pastry, and flowers or decorations of pearls and precious stones. Siva, on the other hand, the lofty and often terrible god, dwells at heights unattainable by humanity. It is exceptional for his temple to contain a statue. However, worship is rendered everywhere to his symbol, the lingam, which is bathed in holy water, smeared with butter or covered with flowers. The worship of the third group of gods, Dravidian in origin, necessitates a bloody sacrifice. Goats are slaughtered before the altars, and the images and temple floor are sprinkled with the blood of the animal. Poorer people offer a cock to these, or to other lower divinities. The human sacrifices prevalent at an earlier period are now practically abolished, though survivals in a milder form occur even at the present day.

IDOLS IN A TEMPLE OF JUGGERNAUT

To these forms of daily worship, prayer and sacrifice, must be added the religious festivals which occur upon the days dedicated to numerous individual gods. Scarce a people or a religion can be found which celebrates so many pious festivals as the Hindus. Specially meritorious is a pilgrimage carried out under circumstances of unusual difficulty to the source of some holy stream—such as the Ganges or the Narbada—or to one of the great sanctuaries of Siva or Vishnu. As Brahmanism had already sowed the

seed which was to develop into Hinduism and its religion, so upon the social side the Brahman caste regulations provided a practical basis for organisation. The caste system has been promoted by many influences and checked by many others. Even Buddhism showed a tendency to equalise and level the sharp barriers existing between the castes. When at a later period Mohammedanism was introduced, its adherents declined to recognise caste, and many Hindu sects in imitation laid down the social equality of all men as a fundamental principle.

Religions and Caste System

On the other side influences existed which furthered the persistence and multiplication of the castes. During antiquity the incorporation of members of foreign races must have produced subdivisions within the several castes; newcomers would be regarded with some contempt by the older members, and differences of this nature grew in course of time to absolute division. Within the warrior caste this process was constantly repeated; and in the same way deep schisms often arose within the Brahman caste, especially in the south. It was a common occurrence for a caste or some part of it to claim and acquire a higher position by means of falsified genealogies or other evidence, though without obtaining absolute recognition. Local separation of the members of one and the same caste naturally results in a multiplication of castes. The divided parts mistrust one another, especially on the point of purity of descent, and ultimately the sense of their common unity is lost, and that which had been one caste becomes two. Caste divisions of this nature are especially common among nomadic shepherd tribes or trading and agricultural castes, which are driven from time to time by outbreaks of famine to change their dwelling-place and to divide their forces; divisions may also be brought about by war and the shifting of political boundaries. A man who has arrived at high prosperity often attempts, and with success, to break away from his caste brothers, and to assume the name and the special customs of a higher caste. Religious divisions are also a frequent cause of caste disruption.

Increase of Caste Divisions

One of the commonest causes of caste increase is change of profession, which often results in a change of circumstances or social conditions. Under European supremacy it is a phenomenon of daily occurrence that the Hindu who enters the service of a white man thinks himself better than his former caste brothers, and new castes of coachmen, water-bringers, grass-cutters are constantly arising in this way. At the present time separation of profession is the main characteristic of the caste system, profession being invariably hereditary. This custom tends to preserve the purity of blood; no one who belongs to one caste may marry with the member of another caste. Among the higher castes mere contact defiles, or the breath of a low-born man even at a considerable distance. Eating with a member of another caste is absolutely forbidden. Stern precepts thus regulate individual behaviour. Castes have their own presidents and inspectors, appoint pecuniary fines or expulsion as punishment for grievous offences, and also watch over the welfare of the whole, by maintaining the rate of wages and the hours of labour, by organising strikes upon occasion, and by supporting the poor and maintaining widows and orphans. Almost as great an obstacle to national development as caste influence has been the low position held by the woman. Among the Aryans and also among the lower native tribes the woman was respected and honoured. During the epic period she was the central point of interest in the brilliant tournaments of the Kshatriya, and was the equal companion of man for the poets of the succeeding age, whereas now she is but a miserable creature, an oppressed and hard-worked slave.

Position of Women in India

Here, too, Brahman influence is to be traced in the repression of the woman. The Brahmans considered that the safest means of securing racial purity, the fundamental precept of their social organisation, was to limit the freedom of the woman to the closest possible regulations. The only task left to her was to present her husband with descendants of pure blood, and to this task everything that may raise the esteem in which woman is held was ruthlessly sacrificed. Contempt and stern compulsion accompany her from birth to death. Should a son be born to a Hindu the festival conch-shell is blown, and the friends bring congratulations and cheerful offerings; but when

the child is a girl, the father looks upon the ground in embarrassment, while his friends offer him condolences instead of congratulations. Special festivals are arranged only in honour of boys and never of girls. After the birth of a son the mother remains unclean for three weeks, but for four weeks after the birth of a daughter. The boy is instructed by his spiritual tutor in accordance with his father's position; the girl receives no instruction at all. Whatever she learns she learns from her mother, who knows nothing more than a few texts and prayers for the possession of a faithful husband, and a few curses against polygamy and infidelity.

At the age of seven to nine years old the girl is married to a boy of from twelve to fourteen years of age, or even to an old widower, without any attempt being made to consult her inclination; often she meets her husband at the ceremony for the first time. After the ceremony is concluded she remains for the moment in her parents' house, to be transferred to her husband upon the first signs of puberty.

Practice of Child Marriage

Mothers of thirteen and fourteen years of age are by no means exceptional in India. How unfavourable an influence must be exercised by early marriages of this kind upon the physical and intellectual welfare of the nation is sufficiently obvious. Upon her marriage a girl begins a miserable life of slavery within the prison of the woman's apartments; she must cover her face before every male member of the family, she may not speak to her husband for days together, she may not call him by name or eat with him; her existence is passed in deadly monotony. Before the period of the English supremacy the woman's ideal was to be cremated with her dead husband. These suttees are now a thing of the past, but the lot of the widow is almost worse than death by fire. The death of her husband is ascribed to her ill deeds committed in a former state of existence, and her remaining days are weighted down by hatred, severe penance, mortification, and the burden of the heaviest tasks.

Such is the lot of woman in those strata of society which profess to fulfil the ideal of Hindu existence. In reality, these severities are often tempered by mildness and affection. Among the poorer Hindus of the lower castes the wife is obliged to share the task of procuring sustenance for the family, and thus rises to be the equal of the man, and gains self-respect by the consciousness of being of some use in the world, though at the same time even in this class of society the wife is considered an inferior being.

In the subordination of civil society as arranged by themselves, the Brahmans retained learning and science as their prerogative, and were themselves under the special protection of the goddess of learning, Saraswati, the chief wife of Brahma.

Brahman Claims to Learning

The Brahmans have left their special mark upon the whole religious, scientific, and artistic literature of India by the creation of a learned language, Sanscrit. The earliest hymns of the Vedas, dating perhaps from the third millennium B.C., are written in an ancient but highly-developed language; from this the popular tongue gradually diverged as in course of time it was broken into different dialects. The priests considered it of high importance that the language in which they spoke to the gods should be higher and more perfect than the vulgar tongue. As they gradually rose above the common people to power and influence they transformed the language of religious thought and worship by a strictly logical and scientific procedure into the Samskrita, the "perfect language," as distinguished from the vulgar tongue or "original" language, the Prakrita. They can pride themselves upon including in their number the greatest grammarian of all time, Panini, who flourished apparently about the middle of the fourth century B.C. The contrast between the esoteric lore of the Brahmans and the more popular teaching of Buddha is expressed in the fact that Buddha and his disciples preached to the people in their own tongue in every country which they visited. It was not until Buddhaghosha (410–430) had transcribed the commentaries of the great Buddhist Mahinda into the sacred books that this language, the Pali, became the sacred tongue of southern Buddhism. Brahman influence is also apparent in the formation of the southern branch in so far as this latter chose Sanscrit and not Pali for the purposes of religious writing.

Sacred Languages of India

The most important part of Brahman literature is concerned with religious

questions. The Vedas are the foundation of all later religious and philosophical developments. Of the four collections of the Vedas, the Rig Veda belongs to a remote period of antiquity, parts of it undoubtedly dating from the third millennium B.C., while two later collections, the Sama and Yajur Vedas, belong to the period when the ritual had been formulated. The Vedas are collections of hymns and texts which the priest had to repeat during the performance of sacrifice. There were three orders of priests, and each of the three collections which we have mentioned was for the use of a particular order. To the Hohis, or highest of the three orders, belonged the Rig Veda, which they were required to recite in a loud voice. Next to them came the Udgahi priests; they used the Sama Vedas, which they sang in chorus. The Yajur Vedas were for the use of the Adhwaryu priests, who were allowed only to mutter in a low voice. The fourth Veda, the Athar, contains magical formulæ against sickness and the attacks of enemies, together with extracts from the Rig Veda. The Brahmanas also belong to pre-Buddhist times; these are prose compositions containing a substratum of historical truth interwoven with legendary narratives, and consist primarily of a description of the ritual employed in the great sacrifices as performed by the different priests. The Upanishads are works of a different character, and contain the results of Brahman philosophical speculation, together with religious and philosophical teaching upon the nature of the world and the world-soul from a monotheistic point of view. They are marked by a profundity of speculation and richness of thought which are evidence of the serious prosecution of the truth for its own sake. Wholly different are the Tantras, which belong to a much later period; these are a collection of mystical religious precepts, prayers, and magic formulæ for the service of Siva in his more esoteric character and female personification.

Sacred Hymns of Hinduism

Hindu Religious Literature

Though these writings were composed at a later date than those previously mentioned, they are none the less considerably older than the extant version of the eighteen Puranas, with their eighteen appendices, amounting in all to about 400,000 double lines, and dealing with the legends of Vishnu. These were also included by the Brahmans among the "Scriptures of Antiquity," though their age cannot certainly be determined In their present form they are a later edition, but their fundamental elements exist in part in the Mahabharata.

Together with religious writings the Sanscrit literature includes all other departments of Brahman thought. The historical is their weakest side. In this respect the Brahmans are in strong contrast to the Mohammedans, who were ever ready to write the histories of their age and their rulers; and also to the Buddhists, in whose chronicles all important events affecting the monasteries were transmitted to later generations. These chronicles have entirely disappeared in the general ruin of Buddhist monasteries in India; in Kashmir alone, where Buddhism maintained its ground to a late date, the historical sense has not entirely vanished with the monasteries. The book of the kings there written, the Rajatarangini, carries on the history of this district into the post-Buddhist period. In Ceylon, where Buddhism remains the dominant religion, the chronicles have been continued from the earliest period to the dissolution of the Singhalese kingdom and the British occupation.

Poverty in Historical Literature

Brahman thought was unequal to the task of scientific investigation into natural causes; in this department inquiry was checked by the conception of a divine element, which penetrated the vegetable and animal worlds, and was even immanent in the stone. At the same time the duty of sacrifice gave them a certain knowledge of the parts of the body and their surgical treatment; indeed, this was a good school for empirical surgery, in which native practitioners acquired a high degree of skill. Even such difficult operations as those for cataract, stone, reconstruction of the nose, removal of the fœtus, were successfully and skilfuly performed; and the medical treatises of the Brahmans make mention of no less than 127 different surgical instruments. At a later date, when the Arabs became acquainted with Indian surgery they gave full recognition to their superior knowledge. The treatment of internal disease rested upon purely empirical methods; a large collection of specific remedies existed, and the chemists

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU ARCHITECTURE

Hindu architecture became monumental after stone had been introduced as a material by Greek influence. It found its highest expression in religious buildings. In the earliest period, temples were hewn out of the living rock and left open. Then came an era of primitive shrines, such as the smaller picture on the right. The later ages rose to an oppressive wealth of decoration of which the pyramid tower at the top of the page is typical. The temples grew to immense size, tower being added to tower, while courts and ablution tanks were added for the use of worshippers.

employed in the preparation of medicines had acquired scientific knowledge of a number of important chemical bodies.

Astronomy was a science in closest connection with the priestly calling; indeed, the primeval religion of the Aryans had consisted in prayers to those powers which were manifested in heavenly phenomena, in the movements of the sun, the planets, and the fixed stars. Thus even in the earlier Vedas the solar year is calculated with a high degree of accuracy, the year consisting of twelve months of thirty days, an intercalary month being added to every fifth year. Religious sacrifices and festivals were also performed on dates previously fixed by means of astronomical calculation. Still, in the period of Alexander the Great astronomy as an exact science was at a comparatively low level, and much help was given by foreigners who had made further advances in these studies. Towards the middle of the first century A.D., however, the science made a great advance, though it relapsed during the period of the formation of the great Mohammedan states. Only by individual princes—for example, those of Jaipur—has astronomy been studied in modern times with any degree of interest. Side by side with this science stands that of mathematics, for which the Brahmans showed high capacity. They developed independently the decimal system of notation, and the Arabs undoubtedly learnt very much from the mathematical studies of the Brahmans. The study of algebra reached its highest point in the person of Aryabhata—born in 476 A.D.

Astronomy in Early India

The sacred hymns of the Indians are admirable compositions; of no less importance are the epic poems composed under Brahman influence, the Mahabharata and Ramayana. Epic materials have also been incorporated with the Brahmanas. The development of the fable with characters from the animal world by the Indians is well known. One of the earliest collections of this nature, the Panchatantra, probably goes back to the second century B.C., and is, at any rate, earlier than the sixth century B.C., when it was translated into Persian; in another form this collection enjoys greater popularity as the Hitopadesa. The Indian fable has made its way over the whole world, and Æsop's fables, together with the story of Reynard the Fox, are but an echo of Indian poetry. Of dramatic works the Indians have about sixty pieces of ancient date, almost all of which are comedies rather than tragedies.

The Early Literature of India

Painting and sculpture hardly rose above the level of decorative art; the breath of pure beauty observable in the representations of Buddha is due to Greek influence. Both arts were subordinated to architecture, and are characterised by the fantastical conjunction of human and animal forms, the multiplication of individual members of the body, by exaggeration of movement, a total lack of proportion, the desire to fill up space, and an ignorance of the laws of perspective.

Architecture produced more successful results and became monumental after stone had been introduced as a material by Greek influence. For more than a thousand years this art was confined to the erection of religious buildings; palaces of any size or splendour do not appear until the rise of the Mohammedan kingdoms. Hinduism in religion and worship has left its stamp upon architectural style; there being no congregations, the sanctuary proper is but a narrow space to contain the statue or the symbol of the god. But round about the sanctuary, for the convenience of the pilgrims who arrived to make their offerings and to perform their pious vows, were erected long corridors, great pillared halls, and large tanks approached by flights of steps for ablution.

Religion and Indian Architecture

In this way temples which enjoyed a high reputation and were visited by tens of thousands of pilgrims during the year often grew to enormous size. Especially is this true of the Dravidian temples, which are distinguished by their size and massiveness and by their towered gates with richly adorned pyramidal roofs rising in terraces. The buildings of the Chalukya kingdom are characterised by delicacy of decoration, and those of the Jains by an oppressive wealth of ornament. To the earlier Buddhist period belong the huge temples, hewn out of the natural rock and left open, of Karli, Adjanta, Ellora, and other places. Noticeable in Buddhist architecture are the numerous buildings containing relics of enormous size, which are especially common in Ceylon. The famous mosques belong to the later Mohammedan period.

THE MOHAMMEDAN SUPREMACY IN INDIA

THE DYNASTIES BEFORE THE MOGUL EMPIRE

HISTORIANS are accustomed to detail the events of the Mohammedan period of India according to the succession of dynasties. This long period, however, upon a more careful examination of its content, falls into two main divisions which end and begin respectively with the year 1526. The first of these periods is characterised by continual ferment and confusion. Hindus and Mohammedans are in a state of uninterrupted and fierce struggle, kingdoms are founded and overthrown, dynasties rise and fall. During the second period, however, a greater stability prevails; the opposition between the two peoples gradually disappears, and for more than three hundred years India is dominated by seventeen monarchs of one and the same dynasty, that of the Moguls in unbroken succession.

War Between Religions

During the first period the supremacy passed through the hands of these dynasties:

Dynasty	Years of Reign
House of Ghazni	1001–1186
House of Ghor	1186–1206
The Slave Dynasty	1206–1290
House of Khilji	1290–1321
House of Tughlak	1321–1412
The Seiads	1416–1451
Bahlul Lodhi	1451–1526

The first of these dynasties was confined to the Punjab; that of the Ghors extended the Mohammedan supremacy over the whole lowland district of Northern India; the Slave rulers advanced to the Vindhya Mountains, and the second of the Khilji rulers governed the whole of India almost to the southern point. The Mohammedan power in India then reached its first period of greatest prosperity. Then began the downfall; the Tughlak rulers lost the Deccan and Bengal, and under the two last dynasties the frontiers of the kingdom often extended but a few miles beyond the walls of the capital at Delhi.

This period of five hundred years was a time of severe oppression for the Hindus, a time of cruel murder and bitter struggle. As the lightning flash announces the oncoming storm, so also a warning movement preceded that convulsion which burst upon the unhappy land, the impulse to which was given by India herself. In the year 979 A.D., Jaipal, the Prince of Lahore, in the Punjab, considered that the growing power of his western neighbour, Nasir ed-din Sabuktegin, lord of Ghazni, threatened danger to himself. He sought to reduce this prince by means of an incursion into Afghanistan; this effort resulted in a friendly settlement. When, however, Jaipal, supported by the princes of Delhi, Ajmir, and Kanauj, resumed the offensive in 988 he was utterly defeated at Lamgan. Turco-Afghan hordes marched through his country murdering and plundering; Sabuktegin established himself at the confluence of the Kabul and the Indus, and thus got possession of the obvious base for an invasion of India. He was succeeded by his son Ismail, who, however, was dethroned in 998 by his brother, the famous Mahmud of Ghazni.

Brother Against Brother

Mahmud (998–1030), also known as Bhut Shikan, or the Iconoclast, was the most important ruler of the Ghazni dynasty. From his Tartar father he had inherited tenacity and military prowess, while his mother, a Persian woman, had given him a feeling for higher civilisation. He was a clever, energetic, and enterprising man, and also a zealous patron of science and

art. Magnificent mosques and palaces arose within his capital; famous poets and scholars were the adornment of his brilliant court—among them Firdusi, the chronologist el-Beruni and the universal historian Abu Ali el-Hussein, known as ibn-Sina or Avicenna. He founded and richly endowed a university in Ghazni; education was also supported by a museum of natural history. Splendid foundations were created by him to provide for men of high intellectual gifts. Although military operations almost constantly kept him away from his country, no internal disturbance took place during the thirty-three years of his reign.

Scholar, Warrior, and King

As a matter of fact, Mahmud had no comprehensive political insight. His Indian operations were by no means undertaken with the object of conquering the magnificent country and furthering the development of its material resources, but were mere raids and forays for the purpose of capturing gold, jewels, and slaves. The Mohammedan world is inclined to consider Mahmud of Ghazni one of the greatest rulers of all time, and his co-religionists and contemporaries regard his military achievements as unequalled by those of any ruler; but this belief is founded not so much upon his military achievements as upon the religious fanaticism which overthrew the idols of hostile peoples and destroyed the temples of the unbelievers. In this respect also they overestimate their hero and his intentions; the devastation of the Indian temples was undertaken by Mahmud chiefly with the object of plundering the enormous treasures which had been gathered there in the course of centuries.

The first years of the new ruler were occupied by struggles with his smaller neighbours. Then he turned his face to India. In the year 1001 Jaipal was defeated for the second time and ended his life upon the funeral pyre, the Western Punjab, with Lahore, falling into the hands of the conqueror. This, Mahmud's first Indian campaign, was succeeded by sixteen furious raids upon Kashmir, Multan, the Ganges, and even the southern point of the peninsula of Gujerat; especially rich was the booty gained by the plunder of the temples of Nagarcot, Tanesar, Somnath and Mattra; yet the boundaries of the Ghazni kingdom extended no further than the Western Punjab. Its extension upon the west and north was far greater, for Mahmud found time in the intervals of these campaigns to conquer the countries of Ghor, or West Afghanistan, Transoxania and Persia. When Mahmud died in 1030 at the age of sixty-three he left a powerful kingdom behind him. His fourteen successors, however, were unable to preserve it unimpaired; the quarrels of pretenders to the throne, internal revolts, and the attacks of enemies upon the west and north (the Seljuks) resulted in eventual disruption. In 1150 Ghazni fell into the hands of the princes of Ghor; its numerous and magnificent buildings were utterly devastated, and only the tombs of Mahmud and of two other princes remained intact. The last two members of the Ghazni house, Moizz ed-dowlet Khusru Shah, 1152–1160, and Khusru Malik, 1160–1186, maintained an uncertain sovereignty in Lahore until this last remnant of the once powerful Ghazni kingdom was swept away by the princes of Ghor.

Plunder from the Shrines

GATE LOOTED BY MAHMUD OF GHAZNI

One of the famous sandalwood gates of the Hindu temple at Somnath which were carried off by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1024, but which, in 1842, were brought from Afghanistan to Delhi by Lord Ellenborough

Since the date of its subjugation by Mahmud (1010), Western Afghanistan had played a subordinate part; but in 1163, when Ghiyas

A SCENE IN THE ANCIENT CITY OF LAHORE

The old city of Lahore was the capital of the Western Punjab. The period of its highest splendour was in the reign of Akbar, about the end of the sixteenth century. Its carpets, its silks and woollen fabrics, have long been noted.

ed-din Mohammed ibn-Sam ascended the throne, the power of Ghor rapidly increased. The new ruler appointed his brother, Moizz ed-din Ghori, as co-regent, an unusual proceeding in a Mohammedan state, and upon the death of Ghiyas (December 10th, 1203), the regent became sole ruler.

In 1186 the Ghaznavid monarch, Khusru Malik, was attacked, conquered, imprisoned, and ultimately murdered along with his sons in 1192. With their death, the dynasty of the Ghazni princes became extinct, and the Western Punjab, with its capital of Lahore, was added to the kingdom of Moizz ed-din. The acquisition of these territories advanced the boundaries of Ghor to the immediate neighbourhood of the Rajput states; in particular, the kingdom reached the frontiers of Ajmir, which was governed by Pithora Rai. This state became the object of the next operations of Moizz ed-din. A battle was fought at Thanesvara within the narrow space between the desert and the mountains, and between the streams of the Sarasvati and the Jumna Tarain, in which the Afghan cavalry was utterly defeated by the Indian warrior castes (1191). In the next year, however, Moizz ed-din conquered Ajmir and the Hindu states attached to that kingdom. Pithora Rai was captured in flight and slain. Shortly afterward Ajmir fell into the hands of the conqueror, who displayed even greater cruelty than Mahmud of Ghazni, and massacred the inhabitants or sold them into slavery.

Expansion of Mohammedan Power

He then advanced upon Delhi. This town, after its capture by his field-marshal, Kutb ed-din, in 1193, remained henceforward the chief centre of the Mohammedan power in Hindostan. In 1194 Moizz ed-din defeated the prince Jei Chendra, of Benares and Kanauj, thus extending his frontiers to the borders of Behar. In the following years he was occupied with his brother in Merv, Kharizm, and Herat, until the death of the latter left him the sole ruler of the great kingdom. In the meantime, Kutb ed-din and the second in command, the Khilji chieftain, Mohammed ibn-Bachtyar, had subdued Behar (1194) and Upper Bengal (1195), Gwalior (1196), Gujerat and Oudh. The dynasty of Ghor then attained the zenith of its power. A defeat suffered by Moizz ed-din in the course of an undertaking against Kharizm in 1204 broke up the western part of the empire as far as the Punjab. The sultan, indeed, succeeded in suppressing the revolts of his governors in those provinces; but he himself fell a victim on the Indus in 1206 to the dagger of an assassin.

A Great Mohammedan Kingdom

Moizz ed-din Ghori left no male descendants, and had made no arrangements for the succession, the immediate consequence being great disorder. One of his nephews, Ghiyas ed-din Mahmud, was, indeed, set up as heir to the throne, but

four of his governors in the chief provinces made themselves practically independent. In India the experienced general and governor, Kutb ed-din Ibak, immediately grasped the reins of government (June 26th), while civil war continued for nine years (1206–1215) in the other provinces of the empire, until their incorporation with Kharizm. When Kutb declared himself independent, Hindustan—in its narrower sense, the district watered by the Ganges and Jumna—which had hitherto been merely a province of the kingdoms of Ghazni and Ghor, became independent also. The new ruler had originally been a Turkish slave of Moizz ed-din. From a subordinate position he had gradually risen to become commander-in-chief and governor, a career that was typical of the rise of many rulers in succeeding times. Though many of these ascended the throne by hereditary right, yet the whole of this line of rulers has received the common name of the Slave Dynasty (1206–1290).

A Slave who became a King

Kutb had enjoyed his power for only four years when an accident at polo caused his death at Lahore in 1210. His character has been thus well described by a Mohammedan historian: "The kingdom was full of the honourable and cleansed from the rebellious; his benevolence was as unceasing as his bloodshed." His religious zeal is evidenced at the present day by the splendid mosques and the proud minaret in Old Delhi, which still bears his name, Kutub Minar. His son, Aram Shah, was a weak-minded prince, and in the very year of his accession (1210) was defeated and apparently murdered by the revolted Shams ed-din Altamsh, who also had been a Turkish slave, and had found favour with Kutb, who had given him his daughter, Malikah Jihan, in marriage, and entrusted him with the governorship of Budaun. Altamsh did not immediately get the whole country into his power; a brother-in-law of Kutb had made himself independent in Sindh, Multan, Bhakor, and Sivistan. The Punjab also revolted from him, and in Behar and Bengal in 1219 the governor, Hasan ed-din, of the family of the Khilji, laid claim to the territory. Before Altamsh was able to turn upon him, the invading armies of Genghis Khan burst upon Western Hindustan.

A Period of Revolt and War

This conqueror had utterly devastated the kingdom of Kharizm, and when the fugitive monarch, Jelal ed-din Mankburni, sought shelter in the Punjab, he was pursued by Genghis Khan, who devastated the provinces of Multan, Lahore, Peshawar and Malikpur (1221–1222). The fugitive prince of Kharizm had begged Altamsh for assistance; the latter, however, was careful not to irritate the Mongol bands, and remained inactive in Delhi until at length the thunder clouds rolled away as rapidly as they had come. Thereupon Altamsh subjugated Bengal and Behar in 1225. In 1228 he got the Punjab and Sindh into his power, and also subdued the kingdom of Malwa in the south after a long struggle (1226–1232). Those Hindu states which had not appeared against him in open hostility were treated mildly and made dependent upon the kingdom under certain conditions. On the death of Altamsh (1236), his kingdom extended from the Indus to the Brahmaputra, and from the Himalaya to the Vindhya Mountains. His government was well organised, a spirit of vigorous intellectualism prevailed in his court, and the ruins of Ra Pithira, or Old Delhi, are evidence not only of the wealth, but also of the artistic taste of this highly-gifted monarch. A time of disturbance followed. In the next eleven years no less than five descendants of Altamsh sat upon the throne of Delhi. All the Slave princes were threatened by danger on three sides—from the Hindus, who were the more reluctant to submit to a foreign yoke in proportion to the pressure laid upon them by the fanatical Mohammedans; from the generals and governors who were attracted by the success which had attended the rise of the first Slave princes; and from the Mongols, whose devastating campaigns were continually and rapidly repeated after the first advance of Genghis Khan.

Records of the Slave Dynasty

The immediate successor of Altamsh was his second son, Feroz Shah Rukn ed-din, whose government (1236) came to an end after seven months in a palace revolution. His place was taken by his sister, Raziyah Begum, a woman admirably fitted for supreme power, and the only Mohammedan queen who reigned upon the throne of Hindustan (1236–1239). Her powerful and masculine intellect, her strength and sense

of justice, her spirit and courage, enabled her to fulfil the heavy responsibilities of her position; and she did not shrink from riding into battle upon her war elephant in male clothing. However, as says the historian, Mohammed Kasim Hindushah Firishtah (about 1600), her only fault was that she was a woman. Her love for an Abyssinian slave made her unpopular among the people, and a series of revolts began, which ended in her downfall. The country was further disturbed both by internal dissensions and by Mongol invasions during the short reigns of the two following rulers (Bahram Shah and Mastud, 1240–1246).

Protection from these dangers was not forthcoming until the reign of the serious and upright Nasir ed-din Mahmud Shah (1246–1266), the sixth son of Altamsh, who left almost the entire business of government to his brother-in-law and father-in-law, the Grand Vizir or Wazir, Ghiyas ed-din Balban. The Mongols were defeated in 1247. They had meanwhile overthrown the Abbassid kingdom of Bagdad. Hulagu confined his power to Persia, and expressed his friendly intentions by sending an embassy to the court of Delhi. The spirit of those times and the character of the all-powerful wazir can be inferred from the fact that on the entrance of that embassy the city gate of Delhi was decorated with the corpses of Hindu rebels. Of these there was indeed no lack. Hardly had a revolt been suppressed in one quarter when new disturbances broke out elsewhere, and it became necessary to crush the Hindus with measures of the sternest repression in the Jumna Doab, in Bandelkand, in Mewar, Malwa, Utsh, Karrak, and Manikpur successively.

A Mongol Embassy at Delhi

On February 18th, 1266, Mahmud died, and was succeeded by the wazir Ghiyas ed-din Balban, who had previously been the virtual ruler of the empire. He, too, had begun his career as a Turcoman slave. He inflicted severe punishment upon the bands of rebels in the north-east and upon the Hindus of Mewat, Behar, and Bengal, and is said to have slaughtered 100,000 men during his conquest of the Rajputs of Mewar. Among military operations against foreign enemies, we must mention an incursion of the Mongols into the Punjab. They were defeated in two battles by the sultan's son, Mohammed Khan, who was, however, himself slain. Balban was especially distinguished for his fanaticism; and if Delhi under his rule gained a reputation as a centre of art and science, this is due not so much to the ruler as to the disturbances of the period, when every intellectually gifted man fled to the place of greatest security. The capital thus became a refuge for numbers of deposed princes and high dignitaries, and for a long time streets and squares were named after countries from which those rulers had been expelled. Balban died at the age of eighty in 1287. He was succeeded by his grandson, Moizz ed-din Kei Kobad, a youth of eighteen, who had inherited his father's sternness and cruelty without his strength. He plunged into a life of dissipation and soon became a tool in the hands of his wazir, Nizam ed-din. In 1290 he regained his freedom of action by poisoning the wazir, but shortly afterward was himself murdered in his palace by the new wazir, Jelal ed-din.

A Centre of Science and Art

Even under the rule of Balban a transformation had been taking place. This monarch had abandoned the guiding principle of his predecessors of placing upstarts from among the slaves in the most important offices, and had given them to men of distinguished families of Afghan or Turco-Tartar origin. Of these families one of the most important had long been that of the Khilji, which had been settled partly in the district at the sources of the Amu Daria during the tenth century, while other branches had advanced to Afghanistan. There, while retaining their Turkish dialect, they had embraced Mohammedanism, and gradually adopted the Turkish civilisation.

Their tribal chieftain, Jelal ed-din Khilji, was seventy years of age when the above-mentioned palace revolution gave him the supreme power in Delhi in the year 1290. His dynastic title was Feroz Shah II. To secure his position he put out of the way the son of Kei Kobad, by name Gayomarth. In other respects, however, he was a man of mild character, well disposed to all men, moderate to weakness, even against his foes, a friend to the learned classes and the priests. He was soon forced to turn his attention to the Mongols. These he successfully overthrew in person in the Punjab (1292), while his nephew, Ala-ed-din Mohammed, whom he

A Prince of Afghan Descent

had appointed governor of the Doab, between the Jumna and the Ganges, suppressed a revolt in Bundelkand and Malwa (1293). Ala ed-din then advanced, on his own responsibility, in 1294, with 6,000 horse, upon a mad raid through the pathless mountains and forests of the Vindhya Mountains, 700 miles southward. On the way he plundered the temple of Somnath. But the greatest booty he found in the well-watched fortress of Devagiri, which he captured by treachery. Before the southern princes were able to collect their troops, he had returned to his own province by another road. Under the pretext of asking pardon from his uncle for his independent action, he enticed the aged Feroz Shah into his own province, and there had him assassinated (July 19th, 1295).

Treachery that won a Throne

This deed is entirely characteristic of Ala ed-din Mohammed Shah I., who seized the government in 1296, after expelling his cousin, Ibrahim Shah I., the lawful successor. Cruel, false, and treacherous, with a ruthless tenacity which made him secure of his object in every undertaking, he was an entire contrast to his benevolent uncle. To his subjects he was invariably a terror, although he won general popularity by his splendid court, his liberality, and good order. Conspiracies and revolts of relations, wazirs and Hindus continued throughout the twenty years of his rule, but were always suppressed with fearful severity. The kingdom was also disturbed by three Mongol invasions. The first of these was vigorously repulsed in 1297, while the other two (1298 and 1303) created but a small impression, and were the last of their kind for a long period. It was not until 1310 that Mohammed Shah was able to realise the desires he had formed, on his incursion to Devagiri, of extending his power upon the south. The history of the Deccan during the first Mohammedan century of North India is occupied by struggles between the Rajputs and Dravidians, and by the foundation and disappearance of Aryan-Dravidian kingdoms in the Central Deccan, such as the Southern Mahratta kingdom, that of the Eastern Chalukya in Kalinga, and that of the Western Chalukya in the Northern Konkan. To these must be added from the thirteenth century the kingdoms of Ganpati and Bellala; further to the south that of Mysore, and the earlier kingdom of the Pandya, Chola, and Chera.

Rise and Fall of Kingdoms

Mohammed Shah I. entrusted the conquest of the Deccan to his favourite, Malik Kasur, a former Hindu slave, who had renounced his religion, embraced Mohammedanism, and risen to the highest offices in the kingdom. He overran the Mahratta country in a rapid series of victories; the capital of the Bellala, Dvarasamudra, was captured and plundered (1311); the kingdoms of Chola and Pandya were subjugated; and in two years the whole of India, as far as Cape Comorin, was subject to the rule of Delhi. The conquered princes became tributary vassals, though only when they revolted or declined to pay tribute were they deposed and their territory incorporated with the empire.

This brilliant success in no way diminished the number of revolts which were called into existence by the universal unpopularity of the sultan and his favourite. Mohammed Shah contracted the vice of drunkenness, and after suffering from dropsy, died on December 19th, 1316, perhaps from poison given him by Kasur. The latter was, however, overthrown in the same year. After the eldest son, Shihab ed-din, or Omar Shah, had reigned for a short period, Mubarek Shah, the third son of Ala ed-din, ascended the throne on March 21st, 1317, and immediately secured his position by blinding his brother. Some statesmanlike regulations aroused general hopes of a good reign, but shortly afterward the young and voluptuous sultan left all State business to a Hindu renegade from the despised Parvari caste, by name Nasir ed-din Khusru Khan. On March 24th, 1321, the sultan, with all the members of his family, was murdered by his emir, who became sultan of Delhi, under the title of Khusru Shah. Unpopular as he had been while grand wazir, the animosity against him was raised to the highest point by the shameless outrages upon Hindu and Mohammedan religious feeling which he committed in giving the wives of the murdered sultan to his favourites in marriage, setting up images of the Hindu gods in the mosques, and so forth. Failing a legitimate heir to the throne, a revolt was headed by the Mohammedan governor of the Punjab, Ghiyis ed-din Tughlak; he attacked and slew the

A Line of Vicious Rulers

One of the splendid tombs of antiquity. The domed structure is the tomb proper, and the round tower in front is one of several such towers that stood around it. The monument stands about a mile from modern Delhi.

A general view of a scene of desolation and of the shadow of departed glory. The old capital of the Mogul Emperors stands in a barren plain, snakes and other reptiles finding harbour in the crevices of the ruins.

RUINS OF ANCIENT DELHI, THE CAPITAL OF THE MOGUL EMPERORS

unpopular ruler at Delhi, after a reign of little more than four months.

The supremacy of the Khilji had seen only three generations; and of this period of thirty years two-thirds belong to the reign of Mohammed Shah I. Under his strong government the kingdom had undergone a great transformation. The hereditary enemies of the country, the Mongols, had been driven back for a long period, and, after their conversion to Mohammedanism, had retired to the Asiatic highlands. Many of those who had remained behind embraced Mohammedanism and took service in the army, though in 1311 they were all put to death in consequence of a conspiracy. The Khilji showed themselves largely tolerant in religious questions, and the frequent revolts of the Hindus were inspired rather by race-hatred than by religious oppression. Gradually the points of difference between the peoples began to disappear. The Mohammedans adopted many Hindu customs, and the latter also began to conform to those of the ruling race, as is proved by the case of the Hindu favourites, whose influence was constantly an important factor in the Indian history of that period. From this gradual fusion arose the commercial dialect of the country, Hindustani, or Urdu, the language of the camp. The different elements composing the vocabulary of this dialect indicate the extent of the racial fusion which then took place.

Fusion of Hindu and Mohammedan

Under Mohammed Shah I., the kingdom had attained its greatest extent abroad. A decree issued in Delhi was valid as far as the southernmost point of India, and only a few Rajput princes continued to maintain their independence. The acquisitions, however, which had been made thus rapidly were never united by any firm bond of union, and even during Mohammed's time that process of disruption began which made terribly rapid progress under the following dynasties.

Ghiyas ed-din Tughlak, the son of a Turcoman slave belonging to the sultan Balban, and of a Hindu mother, had risen by his own merits to the position of a governor in the Punjab, and showed himself no less capable during the short period of his sultanate (1321–1325). He directed his attention to the improvement of the country, to the security of the western frontier, to the recovery of those parts of the kingdom which had fallen away, and to the suppression of a rebellion at Tirhat. Upon his return from Tirhat he and his eldest son were killed by the collapse of a pavilion erected for a festival, a catastrophe which had perhaps been brought about by his second son, Fakhr ed-din Junah Khan, who succeeded him in the government as Mohammed Tughlak (1325-1351). His government was marked by the infinite misery which he brought upon the country. He was a man of high intellectual capacity and had enjoyed an excellent education, was learned as few were, a distinguished author and a patron of learning; at the same time he carefully observed all the precepts of his religion, was liberal to extravagance, and founded hospitals, almshouses, and other benevolent institutions. But all these good qualities were entirely overshadowed by the madness which characterised his every political action. His eccentricity approached the point of insanity. He led a huge army against the Mongols with the object of inducing them to buy his retreat for an enormous sum, before swords had been so much as drawn on either side (1327). One hundred thousand men were sent to China, across the Tibetan passes of the Himalayas, which

The Rule of the Son of a Slave

THE TOMB OF MOHAMMED TUGHLAK
The ruler whose remains lie in the mausoleum shown above was the grandson of a slave. He was "one of the most accomplished princes and furious tyrants who have ever adorned or disgraced humanity."

were utterly impassable for an army on this scale; they perished almost to the last man in ice and snow (1337). A third army was sent to Persia, but disbanded before operations began, and the soldiers dispersed plundering over their own country.

In 1339 a decree was suddenly issued to the effect that all the inhabitants of Delhi should emigrate to Devagiri, which was henceforward called Daulatabad; twice they were allowed to return and twice was the emigration decree reissued, on one occasion during a fearful famine which carried off many thousands. The obligatory use of copper currency, instead of silver, brought financial disaster upon the country. At the monarch's pleasure man-hunting parties were organised throughout whole provinces; his own subjects were the quarry, and they were killed like beasts. The taxes were raised to an impossible extent and extorted with such cruelty that large masses of the peasants fled to the forests and formed robber bands. The natural result was that revolts broke out in every direction against this mad ruler, and that the provinces strove their utmost to secure their independence. The empire, which had embraced almost the whole of India upon the accession of Mohammed ibn Tughlak, was diminished, at the time of his death in the fever swamps of Sindh, by the loss of Bengal, the coasts of Coromandel, Devagiri, Gujerat, Sindh, and all the southern provinces; of twenty-three provinces scarce half were left to him. Mohammed ibn Tughlak, says Mountstuart Elphinstone, "left behind him the reputation of one of the most accomplished princes and furious tyrants who have ever adorned or disgraced humanity."

Miseries of a Mad Reign

The damage which Mohammed had inflicted upon the empire could not be repaired even by the upright government of his successor, Feroz Shah III., who was born about 1300 and reigned from 1351 to 1388. His attempts to recover the revolted provinces ended with the acquirement of only a nominal supremacy. The country was, however, largely benefited by his domestic policy, and he enabled the kingdom to recover its prosperity by a sensible and upright system of taxation, by the honesty of his judicial administration, by his regulations for military service, for which purpose he earmarked the revenue of certain districts, by the completion of useful public works such as irrigation, channels, reservoirs, dams, and canals—for instance, the great Jumna canal, which the British have recently restored in part—and by the foundation of schools and hospitals.

TIMUR, THE MOGUL INVADER

The Mongol prince and general whose warriors invaded India and captured Delhi in 1398.

The last five representatives of the house of Tughlak followed one another in rapid succession after the death of Feroz. The period from 1388 to 1394 was one of incessant civil war; ultimately the once powerful kingdom was reduced to a few districts in the immediate neighbourhood of Delhi. At this juncture the Mongols made an invasion in larger numbers and with greater ferocity than they had ever previously attempted. They were no longer the undisciplined hordes of Genghis Khan, but the well-drilled bands of Timur. While the last of the Tughlak princes, Mahmud Shah II., found a safe refuge in Gujerat, the grey-haired conqueror advanced to Delhi, which opened its gates to him upon a promise of protection (December 18th, 1398). But one of those "misunderstandings" which often occurred during the campaigns of Timur resulted in a fearful massacre of the population. The conqueror, laden with booty, returned to Samarkand in 1399, and Mahmud Tughlak then reappeared from his hiding-place. With his death, which closed an inglorious reign over an empire which was almost non-existent (February, 1412), the dynasty of Tughlak became extinct.

A Dynasty Becomes Extinct

After the Afghan Daulat Khan Lodi had ruled for a short period (1413–1414), Khizr Khan, who had formerly been a

governor and then a revolted emir of Multan, seized what was left of Hindustan. His own province speedily revolted, and his attempts to recover the Punjab before his death in 1421 proved fruitless, as did those of his three descendants, Mubarek Shah II., who ruled till January 28th, 1435, Mohammed Shah IV., until 1445, and Alim Shah; their dominion was practically confined to the town of Delhi. These rulers—Shiites, reputed to be of the house of Ali—are collectively known as the dynasty of the Seiads (1414–1451). Under Alim Shah the boundaries of the empire were distant about an English mile from the capital, and at no time did they extend further than a distance of twelve miles.

Remnant of an Empire

In the year 1451 Bahlul Lodi, who ruled over the Punjab in Lahore, took possession of the town of Delhi. He died in 1488, but his son Nizam Iskander, who died in 1517, succeeded in extending the boundaries of the kingdom westward beyond Lahore and eastward beyond Benares. However, under the grandson of Bahlul, Ibrahim (1517–1526), a proud and tyrannical ruler, serious revolts broke out. The eastern districts were entirely separated from the kingdom, and his governors in the Punjab rose against him and called in his powerful neighbour Babar from Kabul to their assistance. These shocks put an end to the feeble rule of the Lodi princes, and a new period of brilliant prosperity then began for Hindustan.

Mohammed ibn Tughlak had undergone the mortification of seeing the southern province with its capital of Daulatabad secede during his lifetime, in spite of the partiality he had shown for it. The Viceroy of the district, Hasan Gangu, a Shiite Afghan, declared himself independent in 1347, transferred the capital to Kulbarga on the west of Haidarabad, and became the founder of the Bahmani dynasty. His frontiers extended from Berar to Kistna, and from the Sea of Bengal to that of Arabia; to this empire were added Konkan, Khandesh, and Gujerat by his great-grandson, Ala ed-din Ahmed Shah II. (1435–1457). The Bahmani dynasty attained its greatest power at the outset of the reign of Mahmud Shah II. (1482–1518), who ruled over the whole of the Deccan north of Mysore. This rapid rise was followed by an equally rapid fall; by the revolts of the provincial governors, the north was broken into five minor Mohammedan states between 1484 and 1512, while in the south the kingdom of Bijanagar rapidly rose to high prosperity.

Secession of a Province

Of these revolted governors the first was Fatteh Ullah Imad Shah, of Berar, a converted Hindu of Bijanagar; his empire, which was founded in 1484, continued until 1568, when it was absorbed by Akbar. In rapid succession followed the governors, Adil Shah of Bijapur, whose empire lasted from 1489 to 1686, and Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar, from 1490 to 1595. Two years later the governor, Barid Shah, of Bedar, made himself independent, his dynasty lasting until 1609, as did finally in 1512 Kutb Shah of Golconda, his dynasty lasting until 1687. None of these petty Mohammedan states were able to secure predominance, and after a varying period of prosperity all were reabsorbed into that Delhi kingdom from which they had originated.

In this rivalry of the Mohammedan Deccan states the greatest success was attained by a Hindu state in the south, the kingdom of Bijanagar, which was founded in 1326 by two fugitives from the low caste tribe of the shepherds, though it was unable to attain any considerable importance in view of the overwhelming strength of its Mohammedan neighbours on the north. The first dynasty of Bijanagar became extinct in 1479; the second, a side branch of Narasinha, founded about 1450, rapidly rose to prosperity. The Chola had long since lost their former importance, and the power of the Pandya was then broken. At the end of the fifteenth century Bijanagar was indisputably the predominant Hindu power in the south of the peninsula; the petty Hindu states from Kattak, or Cuttack, to Travancore were dependent upon this kingdom. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it was in possession of the whole of the east coast.

Short Life of a Hindu State

The importance of this great Hindu state and of its artistic rulers is evidenced by the magnificent ruins which are now buried in the jungles of Bellary. Bijanagar was under no apprehension of attack from the Mohammedan states in the north, which held one another in check until the middle of the sixteenth century; when, however, they joined in common action against the Hindu state, the latter inevitably collapsed.

THE MOGUL EMPIRE

IN THE HEIGHT OF ITS POWER AND GLORY

THE series of the so-called Mogul or Mongol emperors begins with one of the most brilliant and attractive figures in the whole of Asiatic history, the sultan Mohammed Babar, who earned the title of "the Lion." In fact, his race was Turk rather than Mongol. He was the son of Omar—four generations removed from Timur in direct descent—one of the small princes in the magnificent mountain country of Ferghana in the upper Oxus district, his mother being a Mongolian woman. On the death of his father in 1493 he found himself surrounded by danger on every side. In 1494 he took up the reins of government in person, and the following ten years of his life are full of battles and dangers, bold exploits and severe defeats, brilliant successes and heavy losses; now he was on the throne of a great kingdom, and again an almost abandoned fugitive in the inaccessible gorges of his native mountains; his adventures during that period would themselves suffice to make up the most eventful life that man could possibly desire. At the end of 1504 he was obliged to yield before the superior power of the Uzbegs, and, giving up all hope of territory from that side of the Hindu Kush, he fled across the mountains to Afghanistan. Two months later (1505) he had taken Kabul, which remained henceforward in his possession, but even then his life was a constant series of desperate efforts and remarkable changes of fortune. At the same time his personality is most human, and for that reason most attractive; he was a man of pure and deep feeling, his love for his mother and his relations was as remarkable as his kindness to his conquered foes. The depth and the warmth of these sympathies he has expressed with every elaboration of style in Turkish and Persian songs, and his memoirs, written in East Turkish, reflect an extraordinary character and certainly form one of the most remarkable works in the literary history of any nation.

The First Mogul Emperor

The defeats which Babar had suffered in Transoxania and Bactria induced him to turn his gaze to India; he was able to claim the Punjab as the heir of Timur, and the invitation of Daulat Khan, the rebel Lodi governor in Lahore, gave him both a pretext and a motive for attacking the neighbouring kingdom in 1524. He found no difficulty in overcoming such resistance as was offered in the Punjab. He was especially superior to his opponents in artillery, and crossed the Sutlej at the end of 1525. At Panipat, between the Sutlej and the Jumna, ten miles north of Delhi, Ibrahim Lodi took up a position on April 21st, 1526, with a force whose numbers are reported as 100,000 soldiers and 1,000 war elephants to oppose the 25,000 warriors of Babar, and lost both his throne and his life. Delhi and Agra, which had been the residence of the Hindustan Afghans from 1503 to 1504, immediately fell into the hands of the conqueror, who divided the rich imperial treasures among his warriors, including the famous diamond, the Kohinoor, "the mountain of light." This jewel, which had previously been taken from the Khilji Mohammed Shah, now fell to the lot of Humayun, the son of Babar; after many vicissitudes, it ultimately became the glory of the British Crown jewels. The victory of Panipat gave Babar possession of North India to the north-east of Delhi and also the small strip of land along the Jumna as far as Agra.

Babar Invades India

Spoils of a Great Victory

Shortly before the end of 1526 he was also master of the district south of the Jumna as far as Gwalior. He was now opposed by the Hindus. The princes of Rajputana, led by Rana Sanka, marched against him with a powerful army to a

point seven miles west of Agra. A battle was fought at Fattehpur Sikri, or Kanwa, on March 16th, 1527, where the Rajputs were utterly defeated; Mewar fell into the hands of the conqueror, who immediately proceeded to reorganise the administration of his new acquisitions. How the Rajputs could fight with the courage of despair, Babar was to learn in the following year when he besieged one of the princes who had escaped from the battle of Sikri, in his fortress of Chanderi. As his troops were storming the walls on the second day the enemies set fire to the town with their wives and children after the manner of the old Kshatriyas, and then rushed upon the foe with drawn swords; the bodyguard of the prince killed one another, each man struggling for the first blow. In 1529 Mahmud Lodi, a brother of Ibrahim, was expelled from Oudh, the southern part of Behar on the right bank of the Ganges was captured, and the Raja Nasir ed-din Nasrat Shah of Bengal was forced to lay down his arms.

THE EMPEROR BABAR
Who reigned from 1525 to 1530

In three years Babar had conquered in a series of brilliant victories the whole of the plains of Northern India as far as Bengal. Now, however, his health, which had been undermined by the extraordinary privations of his life, began to fail. On December 26, 1530, Babar the Lion died before he had reached the age of fifty; his last words to his son and heir, Humayun, were "Do not kill your brothers, but watch over them tenderly."

BABAR REVIEWING HIS TROOPS
This great Mogul emperor was a man of strong character, wide tolerance and warm sympathy.

Babar was succeeded by his son, Nasir ed-din Mohammed Humayun, who was born in 1507; he, however, had not inherited either his father's iron will or his pertinacity, much less his firm principles, his high ambition, his warmth of heart, and his unchanging fidelity. Babar had intended Humayun to become ruler of the kingdom, and had destined the governorship of Kabul and Kandahar for his second son, Kamran. Humayun considered that his brother would be more closely united to himself if he also received the governorship of the Punjab. But by thus renouncing his native territory he also lost command of the stout warrior Afghan tribes, thereby considerably weakening his military power in India; and this, moreover, at a time when enemies rose against him on every side, after the disappearance of the powerful figure of Babar. His first duty was to crush the revolts raised by the generals of the last Afghan rulers, and then to punish Bahadur Shah, the Raja of Gujerat, for his intrigues. Bahadur was expelled by the emperor in person; hardly, however, had he returned to his capital to deal with an outbreak in Bengal, when the troops he had left in Gujerat were driven out and he was even obliged to renounce his claims to Malwa.

Meanwhile, upon the east, in Bengal, a heavy storm was threatening the Mogul power. Ferid Khan, a Mohammedan of high talent, who apparently belonged to the Afghan royal family of the Suri, had assumed the leadership of all the enemies of the Mogul rule, and was speedily able to secure the possession of Bihar. Humayun was forced to besiege the strong fortress of Chunar, an operation which detained him for many months at Benares; meanwhile, Bengal was conquered by his cunning opponent, who had in the meantime adopted the title of Sher, or "Lion," Shah. He then

defeated the descendant of Timur in two battles in 1539 and 1540; after these misfortunes Humayun was obliged to abandon his kingdom and take refuge with his brother Kamran at Lahore.

Here, however, his position was equally unstable. Kamran was terror-stricken at the unexpected success of Sher Shah, with whom he concluded peace, the price being the cession of the Punjab, while the deposed emperor was forced to spend a period of disappointment, terrible privation, and constant flight in Rajputana; on October 14th, 1542, his son Akbar was born to him in the desert of Thar at the time of his greatest need. In 1543 he turned to Kandahar. Sher Shah, who had been master of the whole Ganges district since his decisive victories over Humayun, now turned his attention to the improvement of domestic organisation, and did his best to foster the progress of agriculture, to provide for public peace and security, to improve communication by making long roads, and to reorganise the bureaucracy, the taxation system, and the administration of justice. He met with a violent death on May 22nd, 1545, during the siege of a hostile fortress.

THE EMPEROR HUMAYUN
Who reigned from 1530 to 1556.

His successor, Selim Shah, attempted to continue his father's administration; his short reign (1545–1553) was largely occupied with the suppression of different revolts. Under the government of his incompetent or vicious successors, Feroz (1553), Mohammed (1553), Ibrahim (1554) and Secander (1555), the empire rapidly fell to pieces. Disturbances broke out in every quarter, and the way was opened for the return of Humayun. He defeated two armies in Sirhind, and returned to Delhi as king in the summer of 1555; but, almost exactly six months after his re-entry, he died in January, 1556, from an injury caused by a fall.

The young Abul-fath Jelal ed-din Akbar, who ascended the throne of Hindustan on February 23rd, 1556, had been entrusted by his father to the care of the faithful Turcoman Bairam Khan, whose bold action had in the meantime inflicted a total defeat upon the armies of the Lodis, under Hemu, on November 5th, 1556, in a second battle of Panipat, and had advanced beyond Delhi and Agra. State administration was for four years carried on also by Bairam, who made himself unpopular by his jealousy for the prestige of his title of Khan Babu, or royal father. However, during a hunting expedition Akbar suddenly returned to the capital, and in 1560 issued a decree to the effect that he would henceforward take all State business under his own control. Bairam in surprise attempted a revolt, but, lacking adherents, was obliged to submit to the young emperor, who received him with all honour. In the same year Bairam was murdered by one of his enemies when on the point of making a pilgrimage to Mecca. Akbar was then obliged to confront the task of uniting into one powerful kingdom the whole of Hindustan, which had been devasted by centuries of war and was broken into hundreds of petty principalities. Before

THE TOMB OF HUMAYUN AT DELHI
Humayun was the son of the great emperor Babar, and the father of Akbar; he possessed none of the great qualities of these rulers, and his reign was interrupted by a usurpation while he was a fugitive.

his time every conqueror had been the ruler of a foreign land, whence he had drawn support and strength; Akbar at the age of eighteen was obliged to rely upon himself alone. The character of Babar had been inherited by his grandson; Akbar possessed his grandfather's intellectual powers, his iron will, and his great heart with all its kindness and benevolence. whether Hindu or Dravidian, he was a man obviously marked out to weld the conflicting elements of his kingdom into a strong and prosperous whole.

In all seriousness he devoted himself to the work of peace. Moderate in all pleasures, needing but little sleep, and accustomed to divide his time with the utmost accuracy, he found leisure to devote himself to science and art after the completion of his State duties. The famous personages and scholars who adorned his capital were at the same time his friends; every Thursday evening a circle of these was collected for intellectual conversation and philosophical discussion. His closest friends were two highly talented brothers, Shekh Feizi and Abul Fazl, the sons of a learned free-thinker. The elder of these was a famous scholar in Hindu literature; with his help, and under his direction, Akbar had the most important of the Sanscrit works translated into Persian. Fazl, on the other hand, who was an especially close friend of Akbar, was a general, a statesman, and an organiser, and to his activity Akbar's kingdom largely owed the solidarity of its internal organisation. For a long period in India, central authority of any description had been unknown, and the years of Humayun's exile had proved unfavourable to the introduction of a stricter system among the Moguls. Under Akbar, also, many generals, after he had reduced a revolted province to order, attempted to keep back the taxes payable to Delhi and to claim the district for themselves, as in Oudh, Malwa, and Bengal. Some were overthrown with a strong hand, others the emperor was able to bring over to himself by clemency. His own brother, Mohammed Hakim, who attempted to occupy the Punjab in 1566, was expelled from the country. Akbar won over the Rajput princes by a display

A Royal Mæcenas

TOMB OF ONE OF HUMAYUN'S MINISTERS AT DELHI
Humayun's Minister, Tardi Beg Khan, was Governor of Delhi when it was taken by the army of the Lodis, during the minority of Akbar, Humayun's son and successor. He was beheaded, and is said to be buried in this tomb, although this is questioned.

The son of a fugitive emperor, born in the desert, brought up in nominal confinement, he had known the bitter side of life from his youth up. Fortune had given him a powerful frame, which he trained to support the extremities of exertion. Physical exercise was with him a passion; he was devoted to the chase, and especially to the fierce excitement of catching the wild horse or elephant or slaying the dangerous tiger. On one occasion, when it was necessary to persuade the Raja of Jodpur to abandon his intention of forcing the widow of his deceased son to mount the funeral pyre, Akbar rode 220 miles in two days. In battle he displayed the utmost bravery. He led his troops in person during the dangerous part of a campaign, leaving to his generals the lighter task of finishing the war. In every victory he displayed humanity to the conquered, and decisively opposed any exhibition of cruelty. Free from all those prejudices which separate society and create dissension, tolerant to men of other beliefs, impartial to men of other races,

Greatest Mogul Emperor

of kindness and concession. He himself married the two princesses of Ambur and Marwar; and his eldest son, Selim or Jehangir, had a princess of Ambur to wife. The princes of those petty states who were treated by the powerful Emperor as equals gladly forgot that their ruler was an alien both by his creed and his descent, and considered it an honour to occupy high positions in Akbar's army. Of these one only, the Prince of Chitor, maintained an attitude of hostility. His capital was besieged by Akbar in 1567, and the bold commander was shot by the emperor himself upon the walls. After the old Rajput custom, the garrison first killed their wives and children, and then themselves; but the prince, who had fled, still declined to submit. At a later period, during Akbar's lifetime, the son of this expelled monarch succeeded in founding a new state in Udipur, whose rulers still pride themselves upon the fact that their genealogy remains unstained by any trace of connection with the emperors of Delhi.

A Policy that Made Friends

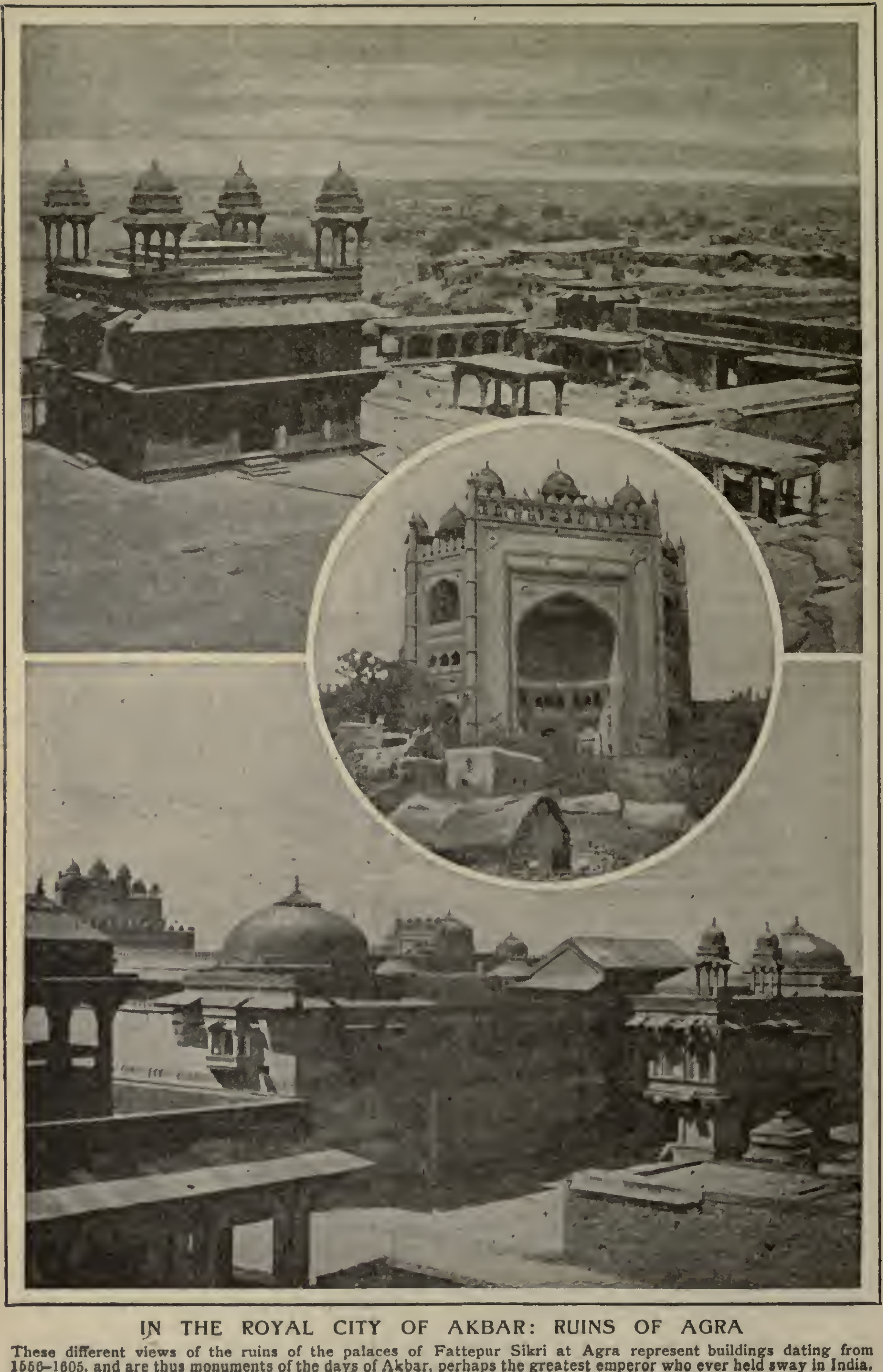
The remnants of the last Mohammedan dynasty offered a yet more vigorous resistance to Akbar than the Rajputs had done. In 1559 these "Afghans" were expelled from Oudh and from Malwa. In Gujerat various pretenders to the throne were quarrelling among themselves. One of these called in Akbar to his help. Akbar adopted a strong policy and expelled the combatants collectively, reconstituting the country as a province in the years 1572–1573. In 1581 fresh disturbances broke out, and an indecisive struggle was continued for a long period, until peace was at last secured by the death of Mozaffar III. Habib in 1593. Similarly, much time elapsed before Bengal was definitely conquered. With the exception of the son of Suleiman Khan Kararani, Daud Shah, who had surrendered in 1576, neither the Mogul generals nor the Afghans were definitely pacified until 1592. Orissa also fell into the power of the ruler of Delhi. In Sindh military adventurers, stragglers left from the Afghan supremacy, also continued their intrigues; they were subdued in 1592, and pacified by the gift of high positions within the empire. A short campaign against Prince Yusuf of Kashmir, belonging to the Chak dynasty, led, in 1586–1587, to the incorporation of that province, which now became a favourite summer residence of the Mogul emperors. A harder struggle was fought with the Yusufzai tribes of the almost inaccessible Kafiristan. Even at the present day the configuration of their district has enabled them to maintain their independence. The last conquest in the extreme west was Kandahar, which had been already occupied by Humayun, but had been retaken by the Persians in the first years of Akbar's reign. The emperor recovered this district in 1593–1594.

Extent of Akbar's Empire

Thus the kingdom of Akbar extended from Afghanistan to Orissa, and from the Himalaya to the Narbada. Beyond this latter boundary the confusion was no less than it had previously been in the north. Akbar was called in by one of the disputants, and his army quickly got possession of Berar, with its capital, Ellichpur. An unexpected resistance was, however, encountered before Ahmednagar, the central point of the Mohammedan states of the Deccan. A woman of unusually strong

THE TOMB OF SHER SHAH AT SASSERAM

Ferid Khan, a Mohammedan of high talent, deposed Humayun, the son and successor of Babar, and, under the name of Sher Shah, reigned until his own death in 1545.



IN THE ROYAL CITY OF AKBAR: RUINS OF AGRA

These different views of the ruins of the palaces of Fattepur Sikri at Agra represent buildings dating from 1556–1605, and are thus monuments of the days of Akbar, perhaps the greatest emperor who ever held sway in India.

character, by name Chand Bibi, who was regent for her great-nephew Bahadur Nizam Shah during his minority, united several of the disputing princes before the approaching danger. When besieged in her capital, she succeeded in inspiring her adherents with so fierce a spirit of resistance that the Moguls were glad, in 1596, to conclude peace on the condition that the claims of Chand Bibi to Berar should be given up. Fresh disturbances led to a renewed invasion of the Moguls. After an indecisive battle, Akbar himself, in 1599, took command of his troops, but Ahmednagar resisted until Chand Bibi was murdered by her own troops in 1600. Akbar now set up a nominal ruler, Morteda II., whose dynasty came to an end in 1637 under Shah Jehan.

The last years of Akbar's life were troubled by severe domestic misfortunes and by his sorrow at the death of his friend, Abul Fazl. The Prince Selim, or Jehangir, who had been appointed his successor, was addicted to the pleasures of drink and opium, and was of a passionate temper and a deadly enemy of his father's chief counsellor, Fazl. Akbar had appointed his son as Viceroy of Ajmir; that, however, proved insufficient to satisfy his ambition. He aimed at the possession of the Imperial throne, took possession of the State treasury, assumed the title of King, and occupied Oudh and Behar. Akbar, however, treated him kindly, and Selim made a show of submission, but revenged himself by a cowardly stroke. He incited one of the petty princes in Bandelkand to murder Abul Fazl by treachery in 1602. This calamity was followed by the loss of Danial, the third prince, who succumbed to an attack of dropsy on April 8, 1605, a disease which had already carried off his elder brother Murad in 1599. By these heavy blows of adversity the emperor's powers were broken. After a long illness his condition rapidly grew worse, and on October 15, 1605, died Akbar, the greatest ruler who ever sat upon the throne of India.

INDIA'S GREATEST NATIVE EMPEROR
The strength and wisdom of Akbar, his measures of reform, his equal treatment of all races and creeds, and the nobility of his character amply justify his title of "The Great."

Under the rule of every Mohammedan conqueror who had invaded India from the north-west, the land had suffered by reason of the twofold antagonisms of religion and race. The Hindus, who formed the majority of the population, were considered of no account; they repaid with their hatred the pride and scorn with which they were treated, and prosperity for India was obviously impossible under such rulers. History has justly honoured Akbar with the title of "The Great," but the honour is due less to his military successes, great as they were, than to the insight with which he furthered the internal welfare of the country and to the manner in which he softened the antagonisms of religion and race by gradually obliterating the most salient differences.

At the time of his accession Akbar was a good Mohammedan, and in 1576 he projected a pilgrimage to Mecca to the grave of the Prophet. Shortly afterwards, however, the interchange of philosophical ideas at his evening gatherings was stimulated by the presence not only of the Mohammedan mollah, but also of the learned Brahman priest, and even the Roman missionary. No one of these religions appeared to him as absolutely true. Under their influence, and in the conversation of his confidential friends that conception of the jealous God which Mohammed had borrowed from Moses was transformed to the idea of a Supreme Being watching over all men with equal love; while the doctrine of the God incarnate became in him a pure belief, high above all material conceptions, to the effect that the Deity can be apprehended not through any revelation in human

shape, but only by the exercise of reason and understanding; that He is to be served not by all kinds of ceremonies and empty forms, but by moral purity of life. If weak humanity desires material symbols of the Supreme Being, then the loftiest to be found are the sun, the constellations, or the fire. Akbar's conception of God left no place for ritual precepts, for prophets or priests. To support his dignity, however, in the eyes of the people, he issued decrees announcing that the king was the head of the Church, his formula of confession being as follows: "There is no God but God, and Akbar is his Caliph." At the same time, he never employed force to impose his religious views upon dissentients. These views, indeed, were too abstract and profound for popular consumption, and were unintelligible except to a small circle of philosophical adherents. Toleration was a fundamental principle in his character, and he was never anxious to convert the members of other religions. Every Mussulman was allowed the free exercise of his religious principles; but, on the other hand, such principles were binding upon no one else. Thus he was opposed to those many forms of compulsion which Mohammedanism lays upon public and private life. Akbar did nothing to further the study of the language of the Koran, and showed no preference for Arabic names such as Mohammed, or Ahmed. The formula of greeting, "Peace be with you," was replaced by the sentence, "God is great."

Religious Views of Akbar

Thus to a certain extent Akbar curtailed the privileges of his native religion. At the same time he removed many of the disabilities which burdened the Hindus and their religious practices. The poll-tax upon unbelievers, a source of deep dissatisfaction among the Hindus, and the dues levied upon pilgrims during their journeys, were entirely remitted. Their religious practice was interfered with only in cases where the pronouncements of the priests were totally opposed to the principles of humanity—as, for instance, in cases of trial by ordeal, child marriage, compulsory death upon the funeral pyre, and the enforced celibacy of widows. The civil rights of Mohammedans and Hindus in no way differed, and every position in the state, high or low, was open to members of either religion.

JEHANGIR, THE SON OF AKBAR

Mohammed Selim, the son whom Akbar appointed his successor, and who reigned as Jehangir, or "the World's Conqueror," undid much of his father's work and proved a most unworthy successor.

In the domestic administration of his great kingdom Akbar displayed the greatest foresight and energy. Former rulers had been accustomed to collect the taxes by methods inconceivably disastrous. The revenues of important districts had been appropriated to individual generals, who were allowed to extort the utmost possible amount from the inhabitants, and for this purpose large masses of troops were permanently kept on foot. The Imperial taxes properly so-called were collected by an army of officials who were accessible to influence of every kind, and appropriated no small portion of the receipts as they passed through their hands. Sher Shah had been the only ruler to introduce a more equitable system of taxation, and the regulations made during his short reign were swept away in the confusion of the following years. In its main details Akbar's system was a further development and extension of that of Sher Shah. He was fortunate in finding in the Hindu Todar Mal a man of stainless probity and admirable capacity for organisation, who did more than anyone else to renovate the administration and especially the taxation system. Todar Mal was the first official

Reform of Taxation

to make a complete and exact census of the whole territory north of the Narbada. A survey was taken of all arable land, an accurate estimate made of the products, and taxation was calculated from these data, the amount being established at one-third of the average produce for the previous ten years. Undue severity was thus avoided as far as possible, and in times of famine or failure of the crops taxes were remitted and advances made of gold or corn. Sher Shah had, indeed, appointed only one-fourth of the yearly produce as the unit of taxation. Akbar's regulations, however, proved more advantageous both for the State and for the agricultural population, as speculation was prevented by a strict system of bookkeeping and by the possibility of appeal to higher officials; while the fixity of the regulations enabled one-half of the revenue officials to be dispensed with. All officials, officers and soldiers included, received a fixed and liberal salary, and were no longer obliged to depend upon incomes drawn legally or illegally from subsidiary sources.

SIR THOMAS ROE
Ambassador from King James I. to the Court of the Emperor of India between 1615 and 1618.

Trade and commerce were promoted, a strong impulse in this direction being given by the introduction of a uniform currency. The hundreds of different currencies which had hitherto been in circulation were called in, and an Imperial coinage was struck in the mints of every province. The empire was divided into fifteen provinces —three of which were in the Deccan — and these were governed under Imperial direction by governors, who were invested with civil and military powers. The administration of justice as far as the Mohammedans were concerned, lay in the hands of a supreme judge, Mir-i-adl, whose decision was final. He was assisted by a Kasi, who undertook preliminary investigations and produced the legal codes bearing upon the case. The Hindus were judged by Brahmans with a legal training. The organisation of the army was, comparatively speaking, less vigorous and consistent. On the whole, however, the internal organisation of the state, which was laid down to the smallest detail in the ordinances of Akbar, marked a great step in advance, and proved a blessing to the country, which enjoyed a prosperity hitherto unexampled.

SHAH JEHAN I.
Who reigned from 1627 to 1668

When Akbar died, he had appointed as his successor his son, Nur-ed-din Mohammed Selim, who took the Imperial title of Jehangir—that is, World Conqueror. In previous years he had often been a sore anxiety to his father, chiefly by reason of his drunkenness and furious temper, which provoked him to acts of cruelty and frequently broke out during his reign. When his chief general, Mahabat Khan, had married his daughter without previously announcing his intention, he had the newly-wed couple flogged with thorns, and deprived the general of the dowry and of his private possessions. After the revolt of his son Khusru, he had 700 of his adherents impaled along the road before the gates of Lahore, while his son was conducted in chains upon an elephant through this avenue.

Sir Thomas Roe made some stay at the Indian court from 1615 to 1618 as the ambassador of King James I., and has given us an account of the brilliancy of the court life, of the Emperor's love for splendour and display, of his kindness to Europeans, numbers of whom came to his court, of his tolerance to other religions and especially to Christianity. Two pearls in his crown were considered by him as representing the heads of Christ and Mary, and two of his nephews were allowed to embrace Christianity. The same ambassador, however, also relates accounts of banquets that lasted through the night, of which drunkenness was the invariable result, the orgies being led by the Emperor himself. At the same time the Emperor attempted to play the part of a stern Mohammedan; when during the day one

RUINS OF OLD AGRA WITH THE TAJ MAHAL IN THE DISTANCE

of the initiated allowed a thoughtless reference to one of these orgies to escape him, the Emperor asked seriously who had been guilty of such an offence against the law, and inflicted so severe a bastinado upon those who had been his guests at the forbidden entertainment that one of them died. Of the general condition of the empire, Roe gives a description which compares unfavourably with the state of affairs under Akbar. He praises the financial arrangements, but characterises the administration as loose, the officials as tyrannical and corrupt, and mentions the decay of militarism in the army, the backbone of which was now the Rajput and Afghan contingents. "The time will come," he wrote, "when all in these kingdoms will be in great combustion." However, the reign of Jehangir passed without any great collapse; Akbar's institutions had been too firmly rooted to fall by the maladministration of one government only.

An English Ambassador in India

Jehangir had been already, in 1586, married at an early age to a daughter of Rai Singh of Amber; a Persian woman, however, by name Nur Jehan, "The Light of the World," gained complete influence over him. Her grandfather had occupied an important position in Teheran; her father, however, was so impoverished that the future Empress upon her birth was exposed in the street, where a rich merchant found her, adopted her, and called in her own mother as foster nurse. Nur Jehan received a good education, and by her wit and beauty she won the heart of Jehangir, then Crown Prince, whose attentions became so pressing that upon Akbar's advice a young Persian was given her hand together with an estate in Bengal. Hardly had Jehangir been a year upon the throne when he made proposals to the husband, which the latter answered by killing the emissaries who brought them and was himself cut to pieces in consequence. In 1611 Nur Jehan gave way, and henceforward her influence over the Emperor was complete. As long as her excellent father, who had been made wazir of the empire, was alive, she exerted that influence for good; Jehangir restrained his drunkenness, and ceased those inhumanities which had stained the imperial title in previous years.

A war with Udipur was rapidly brought to an end in 1614 by the second prince, Shihab ed-din Mohammed Khurram, or Shah Jehan; his bold action also brought the war against the Mohammedan Deccan, which had opened unfavourably, to a successful conclusion. The Emperor hated his eldest son, Khusru, who died in imprisonment in 1622; but the second was both his favourite and that of the Empress, who gave him her niece in marriage; he was publicly appointed successor to the throne. Nur Jehan, however, had consulted no one's pleasure but her own after her father's death, and she now gave her favour to the youngest of the princes, who

Power of a Royal Consort

was closely connected with herself by his marriage with her daughter.

When his father fell seriously ill, Shah Jehan, who had been placed in the background, marched upon Delhi, but was obliged to retreat to Telingana and Bengal, where he was defeated by Mahabat Khan. The latter then suddenly incurred the displeasure of the Empress, and with a view of anticipating any act of hostility on her part, he seized the persons both of the Emperor and the Empress. They succeeded in escaping from imprisonment and in concluding a compact with Mahabat which provided that he should once more take the field against Shah Jehan; but the general was afraid of the later vengeance of Nur Jehan and deserted to the prince. There was no further collision between the two parties; the Emperor died in 1627, while upon a journey from Kashmir to Lahore. Nur Jehan was treated with respect by the successor to the throne; she survived her husband by nineteen years, which she spent in dignified seclusion, winning universal affection by her benevolence.

Shah Jehan I., after the slaying of his brother Shahriyar, who had formed an alliance with two sons of Danial, and the suppression of a revolt in Bandelkand, put an end to the short rule of his nephew Dawarbakhsh, the son of Khusru, and found himself in undisputed possession of the throne in 1628; under his rule the Mogul Empire attained the zenith of its wealth and prosperity. The Emperor displayed great perspicacity in the choice of capable officials, exercised a strong personal supervision over the administration, introduced many improvements, and in the course of twenty years extended the system of territorial occupation and taxation which had been created by Todar Mal to the districts on the far side of the Narbada. Though he is described as reserved and exclusive before his accession, he afterwards appeared kindly, courteous, and paternally benevolent to his subjects, and succeeded in winning over those Mohammedans whom Akbar had formerly affronted, without losing the good-will of the Hindus.

The best evidences for the brilliance of this period are the numberless private and public buildings which arose under the government, not only in the two capitals of Delhi and Agra, but also in all other important centres in the kingdom, even in places which are now abandoned. Under Shah Jehan, Delhi was as entirely transformed as Rome under Nero or Paris under Napoleon III. The palaces of his period, with their reception rooms, their marble pillared halls, their courts and private rooms, together with the mosques and mausoleums, marked the zenith of Mohammedan art in India. Of these monuments the most famous is the mausoleum called the Taj Mahal, "Crown of the Harem," the grave of Nur Mahal, "Light of the Harem," a favourite consort of the Emperor.

NUR MAHAL, "LIGHT OF THE HAREM"

The Taj Mahal, the richest mausoleum in all the world, was built by the Emperor Jehan in memory of his wife, Nur Mahal, who is here represented in an engraving from Dapper's "Asia," published in 1672.

Opposite the imperial fortress of Agar rises this building, one of the most delicate constructions in the world, its outline clear and simple as crystal, built in marble of wonderfully delicate colouring, with decorations which bear the mark of a fine and restrained taste. Symbolical of court life and splendour was the famous peacock throne, a decoration for the imperial chair, made of diamonds, emeralds, rubies, sapphires, and other jewels, which represented in its form and colours a peacock's tail fully extended. The traveller Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689), a jeweller by profession, estimates the collective value of the precious stones employed in this ornament

at $802,500,000. Though such works of architecture and artistic skill must have cost enormous sums, and though many lives were sacrificed in the numerous wars of Shah Jehan, the people enjoyed high prosperity under his rule; and the Emperor, surpassing in this respect the Medicean Lorenzo "the Magnificent," left a vast quantity of State treasures behind him at his death. Those disturbances which had broken out in the Deccan in 1629 were speedily suppressed by the Emperor, who forced the State of Ahmednagar to conclude a peace favourable to Delhi. After a fresh outbreak four years later this province was incorporated with the Delhi kingdom in 1637, and Abdallah of Golconda, an ally of Ahmednagar, was forced to pay tribute. Affairs beyond the Afghan frontier ran a less favourable course. The Uzbegs, who had penetrated into Kabul, were at first driven back from Balkh; in 1637, Kandahar, which had been occupied by the Persians, was also reconquered. When, however, the Uzbegs renewed their advance in 1618, the Emperor's third son, Mohammed Muhi ed-din Aurangzib, was forced to retreat during the winter of 1647 over the Hindu Kush, and lost the greater part of his army in consequence; Kandahar was reconquered by the Persians in 1648, and remained in their possession, Shah Jehan definitely renouncing the idea of reconquest in 1653. In the year 1655 fresh complications broke out in the Deccan. Aurangzib, who had been sent there as governor, made a treacherous incursion into Golconda; the capital was stormed, plundered, and burnt, and in 1656 Abdallah was forced to conclude peace under conditions of great severity. Bijapur was then surprised on some trivial pretext. But before the subjugation of this district could be carried out, Aurangzib received news of his father's sudden illness, and was obliged, in 1657, to conclude a treaty with Mohammed of Bijapur, on conditions favourable to the latter, in order that he might march northward with his army.

A Period of High Prosperity

Shah Jehan had been prostrated by uræmia. Four of the Emperor's sons, who were equally brave but different in position and character, immediately appeared as rival claimants for the throne. Dara Shukoh, born in 1613, was a man of Akbar's type, talented, liberal, well disposed to the Hindus, and friendly to Europeans and Christians. His manner, however, was against him; he was passionate, often insolent, had no personal following, and was especially unpopular among the Mohammedans. The second prince, Shoja, was a drunkard, and was hated by the Mohammedans for his leanings to the Shiite doctrine. On the other hand, Aurangzib was a fanatical Mohammedan, beloved for his affability, with a halo of glory from his recent exploits, but ambitious and treacherous. The fourth prince, Murad Baksh was of a noble disposition, but was intellectually of no account, and was marked by a leaning to sensuality. Aurangzib, who was at the head of a well-tried army, allowed his two elder brothers to destroy one another, while he gained over the short-sighted Murad by exaggerated praise and flattery, and by promises of the succession. With the help of Murad he then defeated Dara, who had emerged victorious from the struggle with Shoja, and invited the unsuspicious man, under a pretext of celebrating his victory, to a feast. On the next morning Murad awoke from his

Rivals for the Throne

CAVALRY SOLDIER OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE

debauch to find himself a prisoner in the citadel of Delhi, but was afterwards transferred to the State prison of Gwalior.

Meanwhile Shah Jehan I. had recovered and again assumed the government. As, however, he favoured his eldest son, Aurangzib made him prisoner in 1658, and kept him under honourable restraint in the citadel of Agra until his death in 1666. Shortly afterwards Aurangzib succeeded in seizing the person of his eldest brother; and in 1659 Dara was condemned to death on a pretended charge of apostasy from the Mohammedan faith. Murad met the same fate in 1661, as a result of an attempt to escape from his imprisonment. Shoja fled to Bengal, and perished in 1660 in the malarial district of Arakan, while his sons were kept prisoners until their death in Gwalior. Thus no rival except Aurangzib remained to the successor of Shah Jehan among his brothers or relations.

EMPEROR AURANGZIB
The third of four brothers, he obtained the throne by treachery in 1658. His oppression hastened the disruption of the empire.

Aurangzib, or Alamgir I. (1658–1707) had inherited none of the great talents of Babar and Akbar, neither their statesmanlike foresight nor their humanitarian disposition, and still less that religious tolerance which had made the people prosperous and the state powerful. Those famous monarchs had been creative minds, capable of finding the right measures to deal with every difficulty; whereas Aurangzib was a narrow-minded monarch who displayed his good qualities invariably at the wrong time and in the wrong place. His actions were dictated, not by love for his subjects, but by ambition, mistrust, and religious fanaticism. No one was ever better able to conceal his true feelings; no means were too contemptible or too arbitrary which could enable him to reach the goal of his ambition. His effort was to promote the one true faith of the Sunnah, and his ambition was to be the type of a true Mohammedan monarch. To his co-religionists he displayed a leniency which was a direct invitation to mismanagement, intrigue, and disobedience, while his hand was heavy upon the hated Hindus who formed the majority of his subjects. He was well read, especially in the Koran, and his private life was marked by moderation and simplicity; his public appearances were characterised by an excess of splendour and by painful observance of every religious duty.

Religious Bigot on the Throne

At the beginning of his reign the Emperor seemed inclined to model his behaviour upon the religious tolerance of his ancestor Akbar, and married his son Mohammed Muazzem to the daughter of a Hindu prince. But after a short interval his fanatical hostility to the alien religion made itself felt, and discord between the Emperor and his subjects was the natural result. The tax upon all saleable articles, which was only 2½ per cent. for the Mohammedans, was doubled by Aurangzib in the case of the Hindus; the hated poll-tax, which Akbar had abolished, was again imposed upon the Hindus, and while preference was shown to the Mohammedans, a double burden was laid upon the Hindus, who were also excluded from the administration and the army. In 1679 Aurangzib pulled down the three most sacred temples of the Hindus in Multan, Mattra, and Benares, and erected a mosque upon the site of the temple of Krishna. In Rajputana alone the Brahman sanctuaries which were devastated by his fanaticism might be counted by hundreds; the priests were killed, and the temple treasures transferred to Delhi.

The Satnami, a purist Hindu sect on the left bank of the Sutlej, were the first to revolt against such oppression—a movement that was repressed only with difficulty. Their example was followed by the Rajput tribes, and the struggle was carried on with varying success and with such bitter cruelty that from that date the Rajputs have displayed a deadly hatred to every later ruler of Delhi. Aurangzib's own son, Mohammed Akbar, the fourth prince, enraged at the inhumanity of the imperial orders given him, joined the side of the oppressed, but was forced to flee; he first turned to the Mahrattas, who were at war with his father, and afterwards retired to Persia, where he died a few years later, in 1706.

Revolts Against Oppression

THE DISRUPTION OF THE EMPIRE

AURANGZIB had successfully led the army of Shah Jehan against the Mohammedan states in the Deccan, and had inflicted severe losses upon Golconda and Bijapur; but independent rulers were still powerful in that district. In the meantime a third state founded upon the basis of national religion had grown from insignificance to a power more formidable and coherent than any of the surrounding states This was the Mahratta people, a powerful tribe inhabiting the district of Maharashtra and the country to the south; from this centre capable men had for many years migrated to the neighbouring Mohammedan principalities, especially to Bijapur, where they had occupied important positions in the administration and in the army.

Rise of Mahratta Power

The head of one of these immigrant families, Shaj Bhonsla, had distinguished himself as a cavalry commander, and had been rewarded by the Mohammedan Sultan of Bijapur with the military fief of Puna, and later with a more important district in the modern Mysore. From his marriage with a woman of noble birth sprang the founder of the Mahratta power, Sivaji. National and religious sentiment inspired him with deep hatred for Mohammedanism. During his father's absence in the southern parts of his fief the son, with the help of the troops under his command and other Mahratta allies, seized a number of the strongest fortresses, confiscated the taxes, and plundered the lands of his lord far beyond the boundaries of his own district; his father was then suspected of complicity and imprisoned by the Sultan of Bijapur. Sivaji entered into negotiations with the powerful Emperor of Delhi, Shah Jehan, and the fear of this mighty monarch procured the release of his father; the son then displayed even greater insolence to Bijapur. Ultimately an army was sent against him under Afzal Khan; Sivaji induced the hostile commander to agree to a friendly meeting before the fort of Pratapgad, where he murdered him; the army was taken by surprise and massacred in large part. Ultimately he secured the cession of additional territory and the right of maintaining a standing army of 50,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry.

These events had taken place shortly before the accession of Aurangzib. The upstart now directed his attacks against the empire itself. His marauding bands advanced into the neighbourhood of Surat in 1662, and an imperial army retreated before him with disgraceful cowardice. A new expedition succeeded in inducing Sivaji to appear in person at the court of the powerful emperor. Aurangzib received the Hindu with almost contemptuous coldness, and proposed to confine him forcibly in Delhi. However, the cunning Mahratta and his son made good their escape, hidden in two provision-hampers. In the year 1674 Sivaji declared himself independent, assumed the title of Maharaja, and proceeded to strike a coinage in his own name. Had Aurangzib been a far-seeing ruler, he could not have failed to recognise a dangerous enemy in this rising Hindu state on the south-west, and would have entered into an alliance with the Mohammedan states in the Deccan. But he hoped to secure sole supremacy over all the Mohammedans in India, and even furthered the action of the new Hindu prince when he extorted from Bijapur one-fourth of its yearly revenue as payment for freedom from his plundering raids—a tax known as the Chaut, which was later, under the name of the "Mahratta tribute," to be a source of sore vexation to the Delhi kingdom.

The Mogul Dominion Threatened

The far-seeing opponent of the two Mohammedan powers availed himself of his favourable position to develop, as far as possible, the internal organisation of his Hindu state. Society was organised on the pattern supplied by the old traditions; the Brahmans, whose intellectual training and higher education had been developed through long generations, were the born counsellors of the nation; the chief

official posts were occupied by members of noble Brahman families, who saw that the administration was properly conducted. The warriors, claiming a doubtful descent from the old Kshatriya immigrants, formed the professional officers and the well-drilled and regularly-paid army. The agricultural class, or Kunbis, not only devoted their energies to production, but also formed the guerilla reserve of the standing army. All remaining handicraftsmen or merchants formed collectively the fourth class, or Shankardachi.

The state thus organised had a small standing army of cavalry armed with lances which, when necessity arose, could be rapidly increased to a powerful force by calling out the militia, and could as rapidly be reduced to its former dimensions. The Mahratta army was a highly mobile force, and consequently far superior to the slow-moving troops of the Mogul Emperor; when these latter appeared in overwhelming strength, they found only peaceful peasants tilling their fields; the moment the enemy divided his forces he was immediately attacked unawares.

Mobile Mahratta Army

Plundering raids and the Mahratta tribute imposed upon neighbouring states brought in a large yearly revenue; the booty taken in war was in part divided among the soldiers and the militia, but the larger part was distributed among the small and almost impregnable mountain fortresses which guarded the State chest and military treasuries. Thus Sivaji had at his command a strong army ever ready for action and self-supporting, while the expensive and incapable troops of his opponent devoured the riches of the empire; the Mahrattas had no lack of recruits to swell their ranks, while the Mogul army had great difficulty in maintaining its strength, though enlistment proceeded far and wide. Such was the opponent that Aurangzib thought he could play off against the sultans of the Deccan; in reality the Mahratta power, joining now one and now another of these opponents, inflicted injury upon both and aggrandised itself at their expense.

In the year 1672, Sivaji surprised an imperial army, and inflicted so severe a defeat that for a long time the Mogul troops were forced to confine themselves to the defence of their headquarters in Aurangabad. Revolts in the north and the north-west of the empire had made it impossible to unite all the imperial forces for action upon the south. A favourable opportunity seemed, however, to have arisen in 1680, when Sivaji died and was succeeded by his son Sambaji, who was nearly his equal in energy. This was the date of the secession of Prince Akbar. The Emperor, who was by nature suspicious, now declined to trust anybody, and placed himself at the head of his southern army with the object of crushing his Mohammedan opponents, Ali of Bijapur and Abul Hasan of Golconda, intending afterwards to overthrow the Mahrattas. In 1683 he marched to the Deccan; in 1686 Bijapur was taken, and Golconda fell the next year. The last independent Mohammedan states in the Deccan thus disappeared.

Overthrow of the Mohammedans

In 1689 Sambaji and his son, who was six years of age, were captured by Aurangzib; the father was killed after the most cruel tortures, and the child kept in strict confinement. This action, however, aroused the obstinate Mahratta race to yet more irresistible efforts. Aurangzib was utterly defeated at Berampur, and his youngest son, Mohammed Kambaksh, with his commander-in-chief, Zulfikar, suffered such heavy losses on the east coast that the prince was forced to withdraw and unite his troops with his father's. Other imperial armies were repeatedly beaten or forced to surrender. The very forces of Nature seemed to be conspiring with the enemy; a sudden inundation of the River Bhima cost Aurangzib the whole of his baggage and 12,000 cavalry. The Mogul emperor gathered all his forces for a final effort; strong citadels were captured and Mahratta troops scattered. But fresh fortresses were occupied, and the Mahrattas dispersed only to reunite at some other centre. Ultimately, the queen regent, Tara Bai, the widow of Raja Ram, the brother of Sambaji, had recourse to desperate measures, and devastated the whole country in order to deprive the enemy of his supplies. At this moment the bodily powers of the old emperor gave way, and in 1707 Aurangzib, or Alamgir I., died in a fainting fit.

Confusion of Mogul Power

On the death of Aurangzib the finances of Delhi were in utter confusion; the greater proportion of the revenue existed only on paper, and had been diminished

by embezzlement, by revolts, and by the generally impoverished condition of the nation, while the expenditure had risen enormously during the long-continued war. The Hindu population, who were considered as subjects of the second class only, were inspired with deeper hatred for the Mohammedan dynasty. The strong foundations of the State had been shaken; a state of ferment existed at home, the south was threatened by the Mahratta power which Aurangzib's blind policy had aggrandised, and the states on the north-west beheld these anxieties with delight. Moreover, the dynasty upon the peacock throne of Delhi had degenerated; the power of the house of Timur had spent itself in a short succession of brilliant rulers, and the emperors of succeeding years were but miserable shadows of their great predecessors.

SHAH ALAM

He reigned from 1707 to 1712, but was unequal to the task of keeping the empire together.

In the next twelve years no fewer than eight rulers succeeded one another on the throne. The first, Muazzem Shah Alam Bahadur Shah I. (1707–1712) displayed much tolerance, but his strength was unequal to the task of restoring the broken organisation. His vicious successor, Moizz ed-din Jihandar Shah (1712–1713), was an utterly insignificant figure. He was succeeded by Farokhsir, 1713–1719, a weakling who surrounded himself with foolish counsellors, and vainly attempted to curb the growing power of the nobles by clumsy intrigues; he was murdered in the palace. Two children were then placed in succession upon the throne; both succumbed to consumption, Rafi ed-darajat after three months, and Rafi ed-daula Shah Tehan, in an even shorter time. The rule of Roshen-akhtar Mohammed Shah (1719–1748) was of somewhat longer duration. He, however, was a voluptuary who cared only for his own pleasure, and handed over the imperial seal to his chief wife to use as she pleased. His son, Ahmed Shah (1748–1754), was taken prisoner and blinded with his mother; he died in 1774. Even shorter was the rule of his aged successor, Aziz ed-din Alamgir, who was murdered by his grand wazir in 1759.

MOSQUE OF SHAH ALAM AT AHMEDABAD

Such, during the first half-century after Aurangzib's death, were the "wielders of the sceptre" in Hindustan, with the exception of a few unsuccessful candidates for the throne, such as Azin Shah (1707), Kambakhsh (1707–1708), Nekusiyar (1719–1723), and Ibrahim (1720). The royal power was in the hands of ambitious Ministers, of harem favourites, of flatterers, and of parasites who pandered to the excesses and debauches of the rulers. Shah Alam Bahadur suffered greatly from dependence upon Zulfikar, one of Aurangzib's bravest generals during his wars in the Deccan, and Jehandar Shah was but a tool in the hands of this man; after the latter's accession, during a revolt of Zulfikar, he was handed over to the rebels, who killed both him and his betrayer. The next four rulers were elevated to the throne by the "king makers," two brothers who gave themselves out to be descendants of the Prophet; these were the Seiads, Hussein Ali and Abdullah, who murdered Farokhsir, made two children emperors, and were finally suppressed a year after the accession of Mohammed Shah. Hussein Ali fell under the dagger of an emissary of the Emperor, while Abdullah was defeated with his army; his rank saved him from death, but he was kept in life-long imprisonment. Henceforward the business of State was conducted by women and parasites. Ahmed Shah and Alamgir II. were pure nonentities compared with their ambitious, faithless, and despotic commander-in-chief and Minister, Ghazi ed-din, grandson of Asaf Jah of Haidarabad.

Such were the hands that steered the ship of State, which was now tossed by wild waves amid dangerous reefs and began to strain in all its joints. The degenerate bureaucracy had but one desire—to turn the weakness of the Government to their own advantage; taxation became extortion and robbery, while bribery and corruption took the place of justice. Princes and vassals, generals and wazirs tore away provinces from the empire, while warlike Hindu tribes threw off the Mohammedan yoke. Thus the Bhartpur Jats in Rajputana gained their independence, and the principality of Jaipur seceded. The Jaipur rulers—Jey Singh II. in particular—were distinguished for their devotion to astronomy. Jaipur itself was built as a capital in 1728, the splendid town of Ambur having been previously abandoned at the order of the above-named Jey Singh. In Oudh the Shiite Persian Sadat founded the kingdom of Lucknow, while a converted Brahman, Murshid Kuli Khan, formed a kingdom of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar. Malwa fell into the hands of the Mahrattas, and in the south Asaf Jah seized the whole province of the Hindustan Deccan.

FAROKHSIR AND MOHAMMED SHAH

Both of these rulers were weaklings, and allowed the decay of the empire to proceed apace, Farokhsir reigning from 1713 to 1719 and Mohammed from 1719 to 1748.

To the many difficulties and troubles of the empire was added the outbreak of fanatical religious wars. In the extreme northwest of India, in the Punjab, Nanak (1469–1538), who had been under the influence of Kabir, preached, about 1500, a new doctrine of general peace and brotherly love. He made an attempt to obliterate the differences between Brahmanism and Mohammedanism by representing all the points of divergence as matters of no importance, and emphasising the immanence of the Divine Being as the one material point. It was a pure reform, dissociated as far as possible from any sensualism of theory or practice. All men were equal before God according to this theory, which did not recognise divisions of caste. The adherents of Nanak, whose numbers were at first but small, called themselves Sikhs—that is, disciples or scholars. During the next 150 years they organised themselves as a federation of districts united by religious and political ties.

Origin of the Sikhs

It was only to be expected that the denial of the authority of the Vedas should please the Hindus as little as the refusal to accept the Koran pleased the Mohammedans. One of the Sikh gurus, or spiritual leaders, Arjun, was accused under Jehangir of being implicated in a revolt; he was thrown into prison in 1616 and so cruelly tortured that he died. From this moment the character of the religious movement entirely changed. Hur Govind, the son of Arjun, thirsting for revenge, issued new proclamations and gave a new character to the sect in 1638; the disciples of peace now became warriors of fanatical fierceness. The movement would perhaps have died out if the fanatical Aurangzib had not executed the guru Tegh Bahadur in 1675. Hatred of the Mohammedans immediately flamed up afresh. Govind II., the son of the murdered man, declared himself the son of God sent by his Father to drive and extirpate evil from the world; warrior and Sikh were henceforth to be equivalent terms. "Ye shall no longer be called Sikh (disciples), but Singh (lions)." Govind maintained his ground with varying success against Aurangzib, who was then occupied with the Mahrattas in the south. Shah Alam Bahadur attempted to win over the Sikhs by conciliation; in 1708, however, Govind was murdered by a Mohammedan Afghan, and the anger of the Sikhs was boundless.

The Sikhs Become Warriors

Pillaging and murdering with appalling cruelty all who declined to accept their faith, they advanced upon Delhi, but were utterly defeated by Bahadur, and forced to retire to inaccessible hiding-places. The emperor, however, died suddenly at Lahore in 1712, perhaps from poison. The sect grew powerful during the disturbances which then broke out, and, under Farokhsir, reoccupied a large part of the Punjab. Led by their chief, Bandah, they again advanced in 1716, marking every step in their advance by ruthless devastations; Lahore was captured, the governor defeated, and an

imperial army driven back. Fortune then declared against them; they were repeatedly beaten by the imperial troops and driven back with Bandah into one of the northern fortresses, where they were starved out and killed. Bandah escaped, owing to the devotion of a Hindu convert, who personated his leader, and succeeded in duping his captors for some time. But of the once formidable sect there remained only a few scattered bands, who gained a scanty livelihood in the inaccessible mountain valleys of the Punjab. At this period a foreign Power swept over Hindustan like a scourge from heaven. Nadir Shah, the son of a Turcoman, though born in Persia, had begun his career as leader of a band of freebooters, and had seized the throne of the Safavi dynasty on March 20, 1736. The lack of ceremony with which the Persian Ambassador was treated in Delhi gave him an excuse for invading Hindustan in 1738. After conquering the Mogul army, which had been reinforced by the troops of Sadat, Wazir of Oudh, and of Asaf Jah, Nizam of Haidarabad, he marched into the capital in 1739. Strict discipline was preserved among the troops. A report suddenly spread among the Hindus that the Persian king was dead; the inhabitants then threw themselves upon the soldiers, who had dispersed throughout the town, and slaughtered 700. Nadir Shah attempted to restore order, but was himself attacked, and then commanded a general massacre of the inhabitants. From sunrise to sunset the town was given over to pillage, fire, and murder, 30,000 victims falling before the Persian thirst for vengeance. All the treasures and jewels of the royal treasury, including the peacock throne, the pride of Delhi, were carried off, the bullion belonging to the empire, to the higher officials, and to private individuals was confiscated, and heavy war indemnities were laid upon the governors of the provinces. The sum total of the booty which Nadir carried off from Hindustan has been estimated at $250,000,000. Eight years later Nadir Shah was murdered, on June 20, 1747; his kingdom immediately fell into a state of disruption. In Afghanistan the power was seized by Ahmed Khan Abdali, who styled himself Shah Durani, adopting as his own the name of his tribe; he was strongly attracted by the rich booty which Nadir had carried off from Hindustan. In six marauding raids between the years 1747 and 1761 he devastated the unhappy land and its capital. The massacre of Mattra, the sacred town of Krishna, which took place during the third invasion of Ahmed Shah, was a terrible repetition of Nadir's massacre at Delhi; during a festival of the inhabitants a detachment of Ahmed's army attacked the throng of harmless pilgrims in the defenceless town and slaughtered them by thousands.

Decline of Sikh Power

Massacre and Pillage

In less than a century after the death of Shah Jehan the once powerful Mogul Empire had sunk to the lowest point of misery and weakness; it would undoubtedly have disappeared altogether had not the British become predominant in India. Meanwhile, important events had taken place in the south during the first half of the eighteenth century. Saho, the grandson of the Mahratta prince Sivaji, was released shortly after the death of Aurangzib; he was—and in this respect he became a pattern for the treatment of young Indian heirs to the throne—wholly estranged from the national interests of the Mahrattas. He had grown up in a harem under the influences of the Mohammedanism with which he had been surrounded, and his thoughts and feelings were rather Mohammedan than Hindu; his first act as king was to make a pilgrimage to the grave of his father's murderer.

Ebb Tide of Mogul Fortunes

Previous to the accession of Saho, the Mahratta government had been in good hands. When Sambaji had been captured and killed, his young son, who was also a prisoner, had been declared king; meanwhile, the government had been carried on by the brother of Sambaji, Raja Ram, and after his death by his no less capable widow, the kingdom suffering no deterioration, notwithstanding the imprisonment of the monarch. When, however, Saho took up the power in person a change occurred for the worst. Enervated in body and mind, he left all State business to the care of his prudent Minister, Balaji Wiswanath, officially known as the Peshwa; and it was to the efforts of this man that he owed the establishment of his position with reference to the Mogul kingdom, though he would himself have been well content to become a vassal of Delhi. The chief work of the Peshwa was to reduce to order the whole organisation of the Mahratta state with its peculiar

military basis. During the reigns of Hussein Ali and Abdullah he marched upon Delhi and procured not only the recognition of the sovereignty of the Mahratta princes but also the formal right of levying upon the whole of the Deccan the Mahratta tax, one-fourth of the whole state revenue. Thus, under Saho, the power practically fell into the hands of the Peshwa; and when his post became recognised as hereditary, the new Brahman Mahratta dynasty of the Peshwas grew up side by side with, and rapidly overshadowed, the dynasty of Sivaji.

Baji Rao (1720–1740), the son of Balaji Wiswanath, who united the intellect of a Brahman with the energy of a warrior, raised the Mahratta kingdom to its highest point. He was forced by the prince and his adherents to establish the power of the constitution upon a territorial basis. But he saw that the strength of his people consisted primarily in their military organisation; his country would be more powerful if its sphere of interest was marked by no fixed boundaries, and if it could gradually extend its claims to the Mahratta tribute over the whole of the fallen Mogul Empire, and even further. In matters of domestic policy, the Peshwa conducted State business entirely upon his own responsibility, without consulting the prince, who had become a merely nominal ruler. A refusal to pay the Mahratta tribute, and the murder of the Mahratta general, Pilaji Gaekwar, gave Baji Rao the opportunity of subjugating Gujerat. In 1723 he captured the province of Malwa, and in the negotiations with Delhi he secured not only all the country south of the Chambal, but also gained the cession of the three most sacred towns of the Hindus, Mattra, Allahabad, and Benares. When the Mogul Emperor raised objections, Baji Rao advanced to the walls of Delhi in 1737; at the beginning of 1738 he forced Asaf Jah of Haidarabad, the plenipotentiary of the Grand Mogul, to cede all the country south of the Chambal. But before the agreement could be confirmed by Mohammed Shah, the devastating invasion of Nadir Shah burst upon the country, and even the Mahrattas shrank back in dismay. It was not until after the death of Baji Rao, in 1740, that his successor, Balaji, the third Peshwa, secured the formal completion by Delhi in 1743 of the contract proposed in 1738. About the same period (1741–1743) the Mahrattas repeatedly advanced north-eastward against Bengal, the last of these movements being under the leadership of Raghuji Bhonsla; from this district they extorted the Mahratta tax and the cession of Kattak, a part of Orissa, in 1743.

Extension of Mahratta Influence

Zenith of Mahratta Power

Called in by Delhi to bring help against the revolted Rohillas in Rohilkand, they completed the subjugation of this tribe, and were rewarded with new concessions as to tribute; after the third invasion of the Afghan Ahmed Shah, they penetrated to the north-west corner of India, captured Lahore, and drove the scanty Afghan garrison out of the Punjab. They had now reached the zenith of their power; wherever the Mogul kingdom had exercised dominion during the period of its prosperity, the Mahrattas now interposed upon all possible occasions; though not the recognised dominant power, they exacted their tribute almost everywhere.

They met their match, however, in Ahmed Shah. The Mahratta general, Sindhia, was defeated, and two-thirds of his troops slain, while the army of the general, Holkar, who succeeded him, was shattered. Thereupon, a new and greater army advanced against the Afghans, under the cousin of the Peshwa. The decisive battle was fought on January 6th, 1761, at Panipat; the Mahrattas were utterly defeated, 200,000 falling in the battle or in flight, including the general, a son of the Peshwa, and a number of important leaders.

The Peshwa survived this disaster but a short time. The Mahrattas were obliged to withdraw from Hindustan, and never again did the Peshwas recover their former importance; the Mahratta kingdom was now transformed into a loosely united confederacy. The later successes of this people were gained by individual and almost independent Mahratta princes with the help of European officers and soldiers. The policy of Baji Rao had exactly suited the nature of the Mahratta state; the position of the Prince had sunk to unimportance, and the Peshwa had been raised to the highest point. At the same time, however, individual commanders had tended to become more and more independent. The principle of rewarding the chief general with the Mahratta tax levied

A Great Defeat and its Effects

from a rich province, and thus enabling him to keep on foot a considerable body of troops, proved utterly destructive of the unity of the state; these commanders ultimately became provincial lords supported by the troops under their command. The independence thus acquired was also favoured by internal dissensions within the nominally ruling family and by political discord with Haidarabad, Delhi, Oudh, and Bengal. Under the third Peshwa, Balaji (1740–1761), this process of disruption had made rapid strides, and the landed nobility, which had hitherto been purposely kept in the background, now reasserted itself to the detriment of the body politic. The king's power had decreased so much under the influence of the Peshwa, that his influence was gradually confined to the provinces of Satara and Kholapur; so also the actual power of the Peshwa ultimately coincided with the province of Puna. For the first time under Baji Rao appear various Mahratta princes whose ancestors had previously held for the most part wholly subordinate positions; they now formed a confederacy, at the head of which the Peshwa was barely tolerated. About 1738 Raghuji Bhonsla, who had led the invasions of Bengal and Orissa, was recognised as the rival of the Peshwa, and attained almost complete independence in the province of Nagpur, which nearly corresponds to the modern Central Provinces, until his death in 1755. The general Sindhia, who, though of good family, had once filled a menial position under Baji Rao, and Rao Holkar, who was originally a shepherd, became lords of the two principalities of Indur and Gwalior, formed from the newly won province of Malwa. On the north-west the Gaekwar became chief of the province of Baroda. Thus, the once powerful Mahratta kingdom had been broken into five great and several smaller principalities under the purely nominal supremacy of the Peshwa. On the other hand, the former Mogul province of the Deccan, to gain which Aurangzib had sacrificed the welfare of his kingdom, gradually rose to an independent state of considerable importance. In the year 1713, Chin Kilikh Khan, better known by his earlier title of Asaf Jah, the son of a Turcoman general in the Mogul army, in which he had himself been an officer, was sent to the Deccan as governor (Nizam ul mulk), but was speedily recalled by the jealous Seiads. He then turned to his former province, and defeated two armies which were sent out against him, and this success was speedily followed by the deaths of Hussein and Abdullah. Recalled to Delhi as grand wazir by Farokhsir, he found the imperial court and the whole body politic in a hopeless condition of degeneracy, and he immediately resigned. Asaf Jah was dismissed by Farokhsir, with every mark of consideration and respect; but he was preceded by mounted messengers to Mobariz, who had taken his place as governor in the Deccan, with orders to depose the viceroy upon his return. This intrigue failed utterly. Mobariz was defeated in 1724, and Asaf Jah sent his head to Delhi with congratulations on the rapid suppression of the "revolt." To preserve some show of dependence, the Nizam repeatedly sent presents to the capital, but in reality his independence was complete. He was able to maintain his position against the Mahrattas; the chaut could not be refused, but he lightened the burden of this tribute by despatching his own officials to collect it, and transmit it personally to the Mahrattas. While the Mogul kingdom was hurrying ever more rapidly to its fall, this province rose to considerable importance and prosperity under Asaf Jah. When the Mahrattas made their advance, Mohammed Shah appointed the capable Nizam as dictator in 1737; the weakness of the empire, however, was so great that even Asaf Jah was unable to bring help either against the Mahrattas or against Nadir Shah. In 1741 he returned to his own country. On his death in 1748, he left behind to his dynasty a flourishing kingdom of the size of Spain.

A Divided State · **Splitting of a Kingdom** · **Kingdom of the Nizam**

In the east, the Carnatic—that is to say, the lowland beneath the precipices of the Ghats—formed one of the states under the supremacy of the Nizam, and was governed by the Nawab of Arcot. The smaller principality of Tanjore to the south of Arcot was governed by a descendant of Sivaji, and to the north-west of this district Mysore began to develop as an independent state. To these must be added a number of petty principalities, for the most part feudal holdings or independent creations of adventurous Naiks or generals.

PRINCES & PEOPLE OF MODERN INDIA

A RAJAH ON HIS STATE ELEPHANT

A PRINCE OF THE PUNJAB

A YOUNG HILL RAJA

THE RAJA HINDU RAO, A MAHRATTA PRINCE OF DELHI

DANCING WOMAN OF KASHMIR

MOHAMMEDAN WOMAN OF DELHI

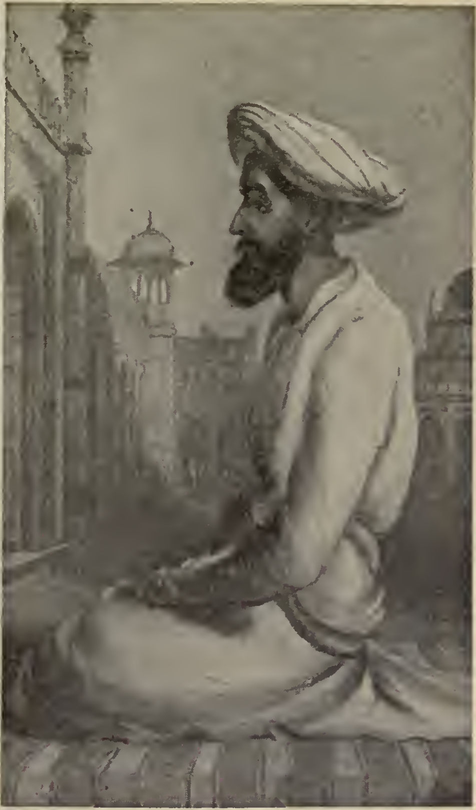
A NAUTCH DANCE IN THE PALACE OF A NATIVE PRINCE

ZEMINDAR, OR FARMER, AND A PATHAN

JEMADAR, OR HEAD SERVANT

SERVANTS WITH DOGS AND HAWKS, BELONGING TO THE KING OF OUDH

HINDU FAKIR, OR HOLY MAN



MOHAMMEDAN AT HIS PRAYERS

A GROUP OF THE EDUCATED BRAHMAN CLASS

THE BEGINNING OF BRITISH INFLUENCE IN INDIA

In 1599 Queen Elizabeth sent Sir John Mildenhall to the Great Mogul, the renowned Akbar, with an application for trading privileges for an English company to which she wished to grant a charter; the commissioner was successful, and in 1600 a company was incorporated under the style of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies."

MODERN INDIA

THE FOUNDATION OF BRITISH DOMINION

BY ARTHUR D. INNES

THE Persian smote Delhi; the Afghan shattered the Mahratta hosts on the field where, two hundred years before, young Akbar's generals had won Hindustan for the Moguls. But the dominion of India was destined neither for Persian nor for Afghan. Not through the mountain passes, as of old, but by the new highway of the ocean the new invader came—by the waters that linked together the East and West, which the land-barriers held asunder. Between the invasion of Nadir Shah and the last great raid of the Durani a new conquering Power had suddenly revealed itself on the east; a power mightier than Mogul or Mahratta, Afghan or Turcoman.

In spite of the early invasion of India by Alexander the Great, continuous intercourse between India and Europe was never established until Vasco da Gama, in 1497–8, showed the Westerns a new road to reach the semi-mythical lands of the East, by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope. The Portuguese led the way, and maintained their lead for a century. In the Indian seas they contested the supremacy of the Arabs. Under the great Albuquerque they secured a footing—bases of naval operations—at Ormuz, on the Persian Gulf, and at Goa, on the west coast of the Indian peninsula. Between

The First Europeans in India

1515—the year of Albuquerque's death—and 1580—the year in which Philip II. of Spain annexed the Portuguese crown—Portuguese fleets were supreme in the Indian seas, and though Portugal had not taken possession of territories, she had established numerous trading and naval stations. She absorbed the European trade of the East. Then she was herself absorbed by Spain for a time. But Spain was already engaged in the early stages of her maritime struggle with England; the united Netherlands, in revolt against her dominion, were emerging to take their own place as a sea-going, trading, and colonising power of the first rank. If the English, like the Spaniards, gave their main attention to the New World, still, English and Dutch alike resolved to take

Spanish Supremacy Challenged

their share in exploiting the re-opened East. On the last day of the last year of the sixteenth century the British East India Company received its charter from Elizabeth. Within two years the Dutch East India Company was incorporated. When Albuquerque died, the Mogul dynasty had not yet come into existence; Akbar was still reigning when the merchant adventurers of England and Holland began to take the lion's share in the trade which had been a Portuguese monopoly.

For Portugal and Spain, the oceanic commerce was, so to speak, in the pocket of the Crown. It was regulated and governed with a single eye to the filling of the royal treasury. For Dutch and English it was a speculation of private adventurers, from whom the Government was satisfied to receive payment in return for privileges granted. The Spanish system throttled personal enterprise; the English system fostered it. But personal enterprise could not have thought of coping with the power of the Mogul Empire in its most magnificent period. By a tacit accommodation the Dutch company turned mainly to the Spice Islands, and the English increasingly towards India; but the English sought settlements on the Indian littoral frankly as traders with no ulterior political designs.

In 1613 the English were allowed to set up their first trading station or factory,

under the protection of the native Government, at Surat, in what is now the Bombay Presidency. Seven years later they were permitted to establish themselves, in very tentative sort, in Bengal. In 1532 the Portuguese, between whom and the natives there was no love lost, had a collision with the Empire and were wiped out. The English, partly owing to the successful services rendered by an English surgeon at the Imperial court and also at the viceregal court in Bengal, were granted a settlement at Hugli, on the mouth of the Ganges, and extensive trade privileges. In 1639 a southern potentate, not yet a subject of the Moguls, granted them similar rights on the Coromandel coast, where their factory of Fort St. George developed into Madras. The nucleus of each of the three future presidencies was thus established. A few years later Bombay superseded Surat. It had remained hitherto in the hands of the Portuguese. In the middle of the seventeenth century Portugal broke free from Spain; Charles II., immediately after the restoration, married a Portuguese princess. Bombay was ceded as part of her dower, and was transferred by the Crown to the East India Company. The whole transaction was aimed against Spain and Holland, English commercial rivalry with Holland being at its height, while both the dead Lord Protector and the living Charles Stuart favoured alliance with France.

English Trading Stations

In Eastern waters, however, neither Spain nor Portugal counted materially any longer, and the conflict of interests tended more and more to restrict England and Holland to separate spheres. On the other hand, the relations between Charles II. and Louis XIV. were favourable to the development of French enterprise within the British area; and the French Minister Colbert grasped the idea of French colonial and maritime expansion. His policy gave France a navy which, until the battle of La Hogue, in 1692, showed promise of challenging English and Dutch supremacy on the seas; and it created a French East India Company which, during the same period, established itself as firmly as the English at

English and French Interests

THE FIRST SMALL BEGINNING OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA
In 1613 the English were allowed to set up their first trading station or factory at Surat in what is now the Bombay Presidency. In the picture of the station reproduced above, the figures 1 indicate the church, 2, the residence and 3, the warehouse. The illustration is taken from the "Voyages" of Mandelslo, published in 1727.

FORT ST. GEORGE, WHICH DEVELOPED INTO THE CITY OF MADRAS

In 1639 a southern potentate, not yet a subject of the Moguls, granted the English trading rights on the Coromandel coast, where their factory of Fort St. George was built in 1641, and afterwards developed into Madras.

points not far distant from the chief English stations. It was in 1690 that Hugli was superseded by the new factory and fort called Fort William, which became a portion of Calcutta.

In spite of the wars between France and England—which was merged in Great Britain in 1707—during the reigns of William III. and Anne, the French and English companies confined themselves to commercial rivalries; and during the half-century between 1690 and 1740 it became increasingly probable that there would some day be a struggle *à outrance* to decide whether French or British should hold the field and expel the competitor. What did not present itself to the minds either of directors or politicians in England or France was that the commercial struggle would develop into a contest for political ascendancy on Indian territory.

In fact, so long as the power of the Mogul was or seemed to be a reality, political ascendancy was an unattainable dream. A shrewd observer here and there might perceive that the colossus was brittle, and that what Babar had done with an army of 12,000 men might be done again by a European general. After the death of Aurangzib, it required less acuteness to perceive that the fabric of the empire was breaking up into a congeries of states, having no homogeneity, which could be dealt with piecemeal—to which the maxim *divide et impera* might be applied. But, again, the condition of such a programme for ambitious Europeans was that there should be no European rival, and, as between European rivals, the determining factor would be maritime superiority. The man who did perceive these things, and deliberately constructed a policy of which they were the foundation, was not an Englishman, but a Frenchman. Unfortunately for him, the fundamental facts were not realised in France. The ends he had in view were disapproved; the means to obtain them were ignored. The eyes of the French Government were turned to the European continent. It never realised that trans-oceanic ascendancy depends on maritime supremacy; it never realised that political ascendancy in India was a rational aim for practical politicians.

European Political Ascendancy

A French Empire Builder

Dupleix toiled and planned; the British did not toil and plan. But all that Dupleix could do was of no avail when British squadrons controlled Indian waters and his victories in India were cancelled by British successes in North America. His rivals appreciated and adopted the methods which his ingenuity devised; he taught them to forge the weapons which were to give them the prize he had sought to win himself. But in 1740 the most audacious prophet would hardly have predicted the change in the situation which was to develop during the succeeding twenty years.

For in 1740 nearly the whole of India still professed allegiance to the Mogul. Nadir Shah had indeed smitten, but after smiting had retired. The Mogul's dominions were in the hands of satraps, but these had huge armies at their command. A British and a French company of traders had some half-dozen moderately fortified stations apiece at remote points of the vast peninsula, with a few hundred white soldiers scattered among them. Neither Britain nor France had any idea of turning her energies to conquests in India. In 1760 the British were masters of Bengal and Bihar, masters of the Carnatic, dominant at Haidarabad; the French were on the verge of losing their last foothold at Pondichery; the great Mahratta Power was on the verge of its huge disaster at Panipat.

The Eve of India's Conquest

How that change came about we shall presently trace. Why it was possible we can point out at once. French and British strove in the first instance for mastery over each other, not over natives; their strife in India was merged in a strife all over the world, in which victory was determined primarily by naval preponderance. The British, dominating the French, acquired territorial power, not by challenging and overthrowing native states, but by supporting the successful claimants to native thrones in the south, and by helping to overthrow in Bengal a dynasty which was the object of a great native conspiracy. It was not even needful to divide and then conquer; the division was there, ready made. If the British found a leader with the requisite initiative, audacity, and foresight, conquest was almost inevitable.

In 1740 Great Britain, technically at peace with France, had entered upon a war with the second Bourbon Power, Spain. Sooner or later, it was tolerably certain that she would be at war with the sister country of France also.

DUPLEIX, THE FRENCH GOVERNOR

François Dupleix, the French Governor in India, was a soldier statesman whose policy would have changed the whole course of Indian history if his home government had supported him in his designs.

The French governor in India, François Dupleix, promoted in 1741 from Chandernagore to Pondichery, hoped, with the expected declaration of war, to find his opportunity, in spite of pacific instructions from home. With the help of a capable naval commander stationed at the Mauritius, and the goodwill of the Indian potentate most nearly concerned—the Nawab of Arcot, or the Carnatic—he would wipe out the English from Southern India. Once freed from European rivalry, diplomacy and tact should procure for the representatives of France an invaluable influence at the native courts. Tact and diplomacy would be supplemented, not, indeed, by huge armies, but by small forces so disciplined, organised, and led that they would be more than a match for ten times their number of the undisciplined levies at the disposal of the native princes. The white soldiery would no doubt be a mere handful; but Dupleix relied on training Indian soldiers under European discipline with European commanders to a European standard of efficiency.

The British at Madras also had it in their minds that a war between Great Britain and France might be turned to account on Indian soil; but Dupleix, the diplomatist, was beforehand with them. When war was actually declared in 1744, Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of the Carnatic, warned them that no hostilities would be permitted. Two years had almost elapsed when La Bourdonnais arrived with a squadron to help Dupleix. Anwar-ud-din declined to interfere; the French attacked and captured Madras. Dupleix repudiated the terms of ransom, arranged with La Bourdonnais, under which Madras had surrendered. La Bourdonnais, insulted

Dupleix Develops his Plans

and mortified, withdrew, and was almost immediately recalled. Until 1782, French ships ceased to be a factor in the situation.

Dupleix kept his grip on Madras. This did not accord with the views of Anwar-ud-din, who intended to take possession himself. Dupleix defied the Nawab's summons to surrender the town; the Nawab sent 10,000 men to enforce his demand. Dupleix's experiment was put to the test. The garrison, some 500 men, sallied forth, and scattered the 10,000 in ignominious rout. Reinforcements, numbering under 1,000, of whom three-fourths were sepoys (*sipahis*), natives drilled and officered by Europeans, repeated the success. Dupleix's military theory was converted into a demonstrated truth. Dupleix himself at once became a recognised power.

A hundred miles southward, however, at Fort St. David, the British, under Stringer Lawrence, maintained a stubborn resistance. In 1748, a British squadron appeared and besieged Pondichery for seven weeks, at the end of which it was compelled to retire, baffled by the approach of the monsoons, the gales which made it impossible for a fleet to keep the sea. The siege only served to raise French prestige. Its renewal next year would doubtless have had an exceedingly different result, but it was not renewed. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had ended the war between France and England. The peace did not deprive Dupleix of his prestige, a valuable asset; but it robbed him of the tangible prize he had won. Madras, under the treaty, was restored to the British, in exchange for Louisburg, on the St. Lawrence, which had been taken from the French during the war.

Hostilities of French and British

A Peace that was no Peace

France and England might be at peace, but French and British in India were minded to carry their conflict to a decisive conclusion. They found their opportunity in the chaos of the native governments.

PONDICHERY, THE HEADQUARTERS OF FRENCH POWER IN INDIA
This view of the Governor's Palace at Pondichery is taken from Laplace's "Voyage Autour du Monde," published in 1835.

A double dynastic contest was on the tapis. Anwar-ud-din had been made Nawab, or Lieut-Governor of the Carnatic, by the superior Nizam, or Viceroy of the Deccan, only so lately as 1740. Chanda Sahib, representative of the popular family which had held the nawabship before Anwar-ud-din, was ransomed from captivity with Mahrattas by Dupleix. Being free, Chanda Sahib claimed the nawabship, with the support of Dupleix. But the old Nizam himself also died in 1748. A son, Nadir Jang, seized the throne; a grandson, Muzaffar Jang, claimed it. The two claimants, supported by Dupleix, made common cause against

the two *de facto* rulers. The latter naturally appealed for British support; so that French and British carried on their struggle in the character of auxiliaries or allies of the native dynastic competitors.

Dupleix was prompt; the British were slow. In 1749, it seemed as if the French were assured of victory all along the line. Anwar-ud-din was killed; his son, Mohammed Ali, who claimed to succeed him, was shut up in Trichinopoli by Chanda Sahib. Nadir Jang, the victim of a conspiracy, was assassinated, and Muzaffar Jang was acclaimed Nizam. The two French candidates appeared practically to have won. The fall of Muzaffar Jang in a skirmish made no difference, since another French nominee, Salabat Jang, took his place. Virtually the French general, Bussy, was Nizam.

Brief French Success

Now, however, the tide turned. A vigorous governor, Saunders, arrived at Madras, who promptly sent all the apparently available assistance to Mohammed Ali at Trichinopoli, and then accepted the immense risk of denuding Madras of practically every fighting man in order to effect a diversion. The scheme was Robert Clive's, and to him its execution was entrusted. Saunders staked all on his confidence in the genius of a young man of five and twenty who had shown distinguished courage as a volunteer, but had held no sort of command. Clive's plan was to seize the Nawab's capital at Arcot, and so compel Chanda Sahib to detach a large portion of the force at Trichinopoli, to prevent the organisation of hostile forces in the northern district.

THE ROCK AND FORTRESS OF TRICHINOPOLI
Here Mohammed Ali, son of Anwar-ud-din, was held by Chanda Sahib in 1749.

The plan proved a triumphant success. Clive's force consisted of 200 British and 300 sepoys, with eight officers, of whom only two had been in action. The little force appeared suddenly before Arcot. The garrison, seized with panic, fled. Clive took possession, and laboured strenuously to make the fortifications defensible. Also, in a night attack, he inflicted heavy losses on the ex-garrison, which had reassembled and encamped in the neighbourhood. The news alarmed Chanda Sahib; in a short time 10,000 of his troops were investing Arcot. For seven weeks the little garrison maintained a desperate resistance; then the besiegers resolved on a grand assault in force. By desperate fighting, the assault was repulsed. The besiegers began to retire. Clive sallied from Arcot, fell upon them, and shattered them. The amazing exploit fired the imagination of the natives. Bands of Mahratta and other soldiery, which had hitherto held aloof, rallied to the standard of so brilliant a leader. Before the midsummer of 1752, Mohammed Ali was relieved, and Chanda Sahib's force was in its turn besieged and finally compelled to surrender.

Clive's First Great Success

So long as Dupleix remained in India, it could not be said that there was no hope of a French recovery. But his proceedings, which had involved enormous outlay, found no favour with the French Government. In 1754 he was recalled, and replaced by a governor whose outlook was exclusively commercial. His ablest coadjutor, Bussy, remained, indeed, at Haidarabad; but the prestige had passed from the French to the British, the natives looked upon the latter as the successful Power, and it was certain that if a fresh conflict should arise the French would be beaten unless the Home Government gave them a real and energetic support—which was not promised by its treatment of the recalled governor, Dupleix.

The conflict was renewed. In 1756 Great Britain and France again went to war. In a very short time British ships were again controlling the Indian waters; no strong reinforcement had a chance of reaching the French. Bussy was occupied in maintaining his position at Haidarabad. Circumstances to which we shall presently advert took Clive to Bengal.

Failure of Dupleix's Successor

The struggle was carried on in the Carnatic by the French under the leadership of Lally, who arrived to conduct operations. But his instructions expressly forbade him to play Dupleix's game of intriguing with the country Powers. An able soldier, he did not understand the natives, whom he enraged by ignoring religious and social ideas which were sacrosanct in their eyes; his own officers were frequently on the verge of mutiny. He had no resources to fall back on; the district known as the Northern Sarkars was ceded to the French by the Nizam, but was seized by a British force despatched by Clive from Bengal. His military operations were twice disconcerted, and a victory was snatched from him by the appearance of a British squadron. He summoned Bussy from Haidarabad to his aid; the Nizam transferred his alliance to the British. On January 21st, 1760, the decisive battle was fought at Wandewash, Eyre Coote commanding the British. The engagement was between European troops almost equally matched in numbers; large native contingents which were present confined themselves to the rôle of admiring spectators. Coote's victory was complete. For another twelve months the French struggled on, till their only foothold was in Pondichery itself. Then, a year after Wandewash, Pondichery, too, was obliged to surrender. When the Peace of Paris was signed in 1763, nothing was left to France in India but trading stations dismantled of fortifications, and held upon terms which precluded the maintenance of any effective drilled forces.

Release of French Hold Upon India

The British were established in the peninsula without possibility of a European competitor so long as they could maintain control of the seas—at least, until such time as a European Power should be able to extend its borders across Central Asia.

During the last phase of the Anglo-French rivalry in the Carnatic—which we date from the recall of Dupleix in 1754—Robert Clive was laying the foundations of actual territorial dominion in Bengal, where hitherto the French and British traders had abstained from hostilities.

LORD CLIVE, FOUNDER OF BRITISH INDIA
Clive was a clerk in the service of the East India Company, and opportunity enabled him to display his genius for arms and administration. He is the father of British dominion in India.

Under the dominion of an able Nawab, Ali Vardi Khan, Bengal and Bihar, in 1740, formed another of the great practically independent satrapies of the empire. In 1756 Ali Vardi Khan died. His successor was a vicious, bloodthirsty, and half-crazy youth named Suraj ud Daulah. In mere self-defence, the incompetent British Governor at Fort William (Calcutta) was just engaged in strengthening his very inefficient fortifications. Suraj ud Daulah took offence and ordered the British to desist. When they protested, he marched an army on Calcutta. The Governor and most of the British fled. Those who remained at their post were seized, men and women, and packed for the night into a cellar with no ventilation but a small grating. When the door was opened in the morning, of the 147 captives, only 23 were still living. Such was the tragedy of the notorious Black Hole of Calcutta.

News of the declaration of war between France and England had not arrived at Madras when the authorities learned the ghastly story of Calcutta. This was the intelligence which greeted Clive on his return to India after an absence in England. British warships were at Madras under Admiral Watson. It was resolved forthwith to send an expedition to Bengal to bring the Nawab to book, under the joint command of Clive, as general, and Watson as admiral. In December the force entered the Hugli; in January it was in possession of Fort William. The Nawab's garrison collapsed before it. Suraj ud Daulah gathered an army; Clive sallied from Fort William and scattered it. The Nawab toppled from the heights of arrogance to the depths of fright. But while his tone to the English changed, he tried surreptitiously to invoke the aid of the French. Then came the news from Europe that Great Britain and France were at war again; Clive swooped on Chandarnagur; French intervention was paralysed.

Events that led to Plassey

Still the British had a serious problem to face. The Nawab of Bengal had been humiliated; but if the expeditionary force withdrew from Bengal at this stage in order to concentrate in the Carnatic, where a renewal of the struggle with the French was certain, there would be no security for Calcutta. The problem was simplified when it was notified to Clive that certain of the Nawab's Ministers were anxious to dethrone him, and set up in his place the commander-in-chief, Mir Jaffar. The conspirators invited the co-operation of the British. The British were willing. Terms were settled between the contracting parties; the principal go-between was tricked by an Oriental device to which Watson refused to be a party—a difficulty which Clive got over by forging the admiral's signature. Watson accepted the situation, and Clive always maintained that his own action in the circumstances was absolutely justified, though this was the sole occasion in his career in which he stooped to fraud. The treaty with the conspirators being duly signed, Clive announced to Suraj ud Daulah that he was coming to the capital, Murshidabad, with his army, to demand reparation and security in respect of British grievances. He followed up his despatch by advancing with his whole force—some 3,000 men, of whom two-thirds were sepoys. The Nawab marched against him, with 50,000 men, including fifty French. But Mir Jaffar was pledged to desert with half of them, though no one knew whether he would keep his promise when the time came. Nevertheless, Clive risked the engagement at Plassey. The Nawab's army was scattered like chaff; Suraj ud Daulah fled to Murshidabad, and, while attempting to escape in disguise, was caught and murdered by Mir Jaffar's son. The victor of Plassey made Mir Jaffar Nawab; but no one, least of all the new Nawab himself, dreamed of supposing that he was anything but a puppet in the hands of Clive, whose arms were thenceforth regarded by the natives as irresistible.

From "Glimpses of Bengal" by permission

SURAJ UD DAULAH

The Nawab whose name lives as the perpetrator of the awful tragedy of the Black Hole of Calcutta.

The appointment of Mir Jaffar was formally confirmed by the Mogul. The Company, Clive himself, and sundry other officers received immense rewards from the new Nawab—rewards which might have been enormously increased if Clive had spoken the word. They were made *zemindars*, or landlords of vast districts, of which they practically enjoyed the revenue. Mir Jaffar would now have adopted the normal course of oppressive and capricious Oriental despots; but Clive was his master, and Clive acted as the protector of the people. His success in this capacity ranks among his most remarkable achievements.

Success of a Bold Movement

While Clive was in Bengal controlling the new administration, the French were making their last effort in the Carnatic. Despite the obviously critical position on the Ganges, the Englishman dared, in 1758, to despatch to the south the troops which, under Colonel Forde, stormed Masulipatam, and secured the Northern Sarkars for the British instead of the French. In 1759 the Wazir of Oudh, along with the heir of the Mogul, thought to make conquest of Bengal, and besieged

Patna. Clive made an extraordinary forced march to its relief, and the invading army melted before the mere terror of his name. For reward, he was given his *jaghir*—the quit rents of the district where Mir Jaffar had appointed the Company as zemindar.

In the same year, 1759, the Dutch appeared—and disappeared—as interveners in Indian affairs. Called in by Mir Jaffar, restive under the restraint imposed by the British, Dutch ships entered the Hugli. Their proceedings were suspicious, but there was no warrant for locating them as hostile till they seized some English vessels. That was enough for Clive; he had three ships, which promptly engaged and overcame the seven Dutchmen, and he occupied the Dutch factory at Chinsurah, and dictated terms. The Dutch admitted their own aggression, and virtually undertook to maintain no troops in Bengal.

In 1760, Clive sailed for England, a few days after Coote's victory at Wandewash. In 1761 the Mahratta Power, which was threatening to dominate the peninsula, met with its disastrous check at Panipat, at the hands of Ahmed Shah. A year later, a new Power arose in the south, where a Mohammedan soldier, known to history as Haidar Ali, seized the throne of Mysore, and rapidly organised an aggressive military state

SHAH ALAMGHIR
Who during the period from 1753 to 1760 was the titular "Mogul."

Thus it befell that a company of London merchants suddenly found themselves effective lords of the whole of the Carnatic and of the whole of Bengal—seeing that in each of these provinces there reigned a Nawab who had won his throne by British arms and retained it in virtue of their support—while the natives accounted them virtually masters of the Nizam of Haidarabad also. The meagrely paid servants of a trading concern cannot, in the nature of things, be expected suddenly to develop the statesmanlike qualities necessary for organising government on a huge scale under unprecedented conditions, especially where unlimited opportunity makes the temptation to exploit the new dominions for their own private personal advantage all but irresistible. When the strong restraining hand of Clive was withdrawn, there followed in Bengal an evil era of extortion and misrule. The prestige of British arms, however, suffered no eclipse under the officers whom Clive had trained. Mir Jaffar was deposed for failing to meet the financial demands made on him; a new Nawab, Mir Casim, was set up. Mir Casim prepared to organise resistance, came into armed conflict with the British, and had to flee to Shujah Daulah, the Nawab or Wazir of Oudh. Mir Jaffar was reinstated, and was presently succeeded at his death by his son. The Wazir again proposed to eject the new Power from Bengal in 1764; but Clive himself could not have routed him more decisively than Hector Munro, at the battle of Baksar or Buxar, in October. A few months later, Clive himself reappeared in India, with full powers to deal with the maladministration which had arisen in his absence.

Merchant Lords of an Empire

Abuses in Clive's Absence

Manifestly it was impossible that the British should continue to evade actual responsibility for the government in Bengal; yet they had, in the first place, no official status, and in the second, the organisation which was adapted for the mercantile management of a "factory" was not adapted for the political administration of a province as large as France. Official status Clive obtained by a treaty with the titular Mogul, Shah Alamghir, whose technical authority was still recognised over most of India. The *Diwani* of Bengal and Bihar was conferred on the Company, the Diwani meaning in effect the entire business of administration. Under the same treaty the Sarkars were bestowed on the British as from the Mogul, instead of merely as from the Nizam, his titular viceroy in the south; and the Carnatic was separated from the titular over-lordship of the Nizam.

Meanwhile, Clive reorganised the Company's system. The authorised practice by which the Company's servants were permitted to carry on private trading was abolished, but the impossibly-meagre

OPENING OF THE TRIAL OF WARREN HASTINGS IN WESTMINSTER HALL, FEBRUARY 12, 1788

The seven years' trial of Warren Hastings was one of the most memorable in British history, the leaders of the impeachment being Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Windham, and Grey. The trial resulted in acquittal, but it cost Hastings £70,000. Before his death in 1818 the immense value of his services had begun to be recognised, and is now universally acknowledged.

salaries which had made private trading a necessity were increased. Hitherto no one had hesitated to accept the most substantial presents in return for services, actual or potential; the custom had been developed into an engine of corruption and extortion; it was now peremptorily forbidden. The army officers were annoyed by finding their extra pay—known as "double batta"—cut off. They resigned *en bloc*. Clive accepted the resignations and arrested the ringleaders.

Finally, he laid down the lines of foreign policy. There was to be no endeavour to extend dominion—the Company had as much on its hands as it could manage. Friendly relations were to be maintained with the great Mahratta rulers; but Oudh on the north, and Haidarabad in the south, were themselves to be maintained as a check on the Mahrattas—although, according to all Indian precedent, the conquerors at Buxar were quite entitled to take possession of Oudh. At the beginning of 1767, Clive left India finally. In England he became the object of fierce obloquy. But the House of Commons, invited to condemn him, recorded instead its sense of the great services he had rendered to his country. Later, the man who had won an empire for Great Britain, and had ruled in India with a justice and a restraint unprecedented for a hundred years, died by his own hand.

Clive's reforms were only partially sustained by the Company's directors in London. Neither private trading nor the receiving of presents ceased; the old evils were diminished, but not destroyed; the men at the head of affairs were not competent to carry out properly a task which would have taxed the highest administrative ability to the uttermost. The governing bodies at Madras and Bombay muddled their conduct of foreign affairs, were weak when they meant to be firm, and irritating when they meant to be conciliatory. Consequently they failed to secure the confidence of the Mahrattas or of the Nizam, or of Haidar Ali, either in their good faith or in their vigour. In Bengal, matters improved when Warren Hastings became Governor in 1770. But the British Parliament was awaking to a sense of its responsibilities. Amid the excitement of Middlesex elections and of recalcitrant colonists in America, Lord North found time to devise a Regulating Act for the better government of India. As an experiment in constitution-making, it was sufficiently inadequate; but it was a clumsy move in the right direction. It meant that Great Britain was becoming aware that in the long run the nation, not a company, would be accountable for the welfare of the newly acquired territories. The experiment lasted for eleven years—years during which the British Empire was being rent in twain, and for a short time Britain's place among the nations was at stake. But for one man, who triumphed in spite of the experiment, her position in India must have been lost. But the Regulating Act had one fortunate feature—it nominated Warren Hastings as Governor-General of the Company's Indian territories, though it hampered him desperately by nominating at the same time a council with the will and the power to thwart him at every turn, and an independent judiciary, whose legal theories were quite unintelligible to the native population of the country.

From the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds

WARREN HASTINGS

This great English administrator laid India and the Empire under his debt. In spite of the opposition of his council, his policy in directing Indian affairs was brilliantly successful.

To understand the course of events during the rule of Warren Hastings, we must begin by marking out the years in which he held real control, and noting the bearing on Indian affairs of occurrences elsewhere. In 1772, Hastings became Governor of Bengal. In 1774, North's Regulating Act came into force. Hastings became Governor General, and the new Members of Council and the new judges came to India. From the end of 1774 till 1777, Hastings was overruled by an antagonistic majority in the Council. From 1777 to 1782 Hastings was dominant. After 1782 he was again seriously hampered by opponents effectively countenanced by the directors at home. From 1775 to 1782, Great Britain was engaged in the war with the American colonies. In 1778, France; in 1779, Spain; and in 1780, Holland were added to her enemies; and until 1782, when Rodney crushed the French fleet in the West Indies, she was by no means supreme on the seas. Therefore, Hastings had to secure the British in India in a position newly won, under unprecedented conditions, against the rivalry of great native Powers, entirely out of his own resources without support from England, under perpetual pressure from the directors for money when he was in need of every available penny. And all this for some years, in the face of a cabal in his Council which had both the will and the power habitually at once to thwart his policy and to attack him personally.

Difficult Task of Hastings

Experience has taught us that when a higher and a lower civilisation are in contact, the more advanced race will act wisely in persistently maintaining its own ethical standards. When the great Indian experiment began, it was believed that expediency might on occasion justify a policy not openly admissible as between European peoples, but in perfect accordance with the Oriental rules of the game. An example occurred while Hastings was still only Governor of Bengal. On the north-west of Oudh lay Rohilkhand, a district occupied mainly by a peaceful Hindu population, over whom, within the last half century, an Afghan tribe of Mohammedan hill-men, known as the Rohillas, had established their domination. The Oudh wazir coveted Rohilkhand, and he had reason to believe that the Rohillas were intriguing with the Mahrattas. He appealed to the British to aid him in bringing them into subjection, to forestall a combined attack of Rohillas and Mahrattas upon Oudh. He backed the appeal by promise of a very substantial reward for assistance. The maintenance of Oudh as a buffer between Bengal and the Mahrattas was a principle of policy laid down by Clive. Hastings gave the assistance; the Company received the reward. Hastings had omitted to make conditions as to the conduct of the campaign; and the Wazir's troops behaved in the usual Oriental fashion, in spite of the protests of British officers. The action of Hastings in the matter did not interfere with his being appointed Governor-General.

Duplicity Versus Honesty

Already complications were arising in a new quarter. The recognised head of the Mahratta confederacy was the Peshwa, a hereditary Minister, or "Mayor of the palace," at Puna. The Gaekwar at Baroda, Holkar at Indur, Sindhia at Gwalior, and the Bhonsla at Nagpur, were the other princes of importance. The death of the Peshwa led to a disputed succession; the Bombay Government gave its active support to one of the candidates, Ragoba or Ragonath Rao. In 1775 it made a treaty with him, though the power to do so was vested in the Governor-General, not in the Governor of Bombay. Policy, however, demanded that Bombay should be supported from Calcutta; whereas the antagonistic cabal in the Council negotiated with the Regency which had established itself as the *de facto* government at Puna. Sindhia, Holkar, and the rest, took or changed sides as suited them. When at last Hastings got the upper hand at Calcutta, he renewed the treaty with Ragoba, and prepared to send an expedition across India to support him. Bombay, in a hurry to show its own vigour, tried to strike without waiting, and met with disaster. The effect was fortunately minimised by the brilliant operations and rapid movements of the Bengal expeditionary force. Meanwhile, at Madras, successive governors had been giving umbrage both to the Nizam and to Haidar Ali. The Nizam was meditating an anti-British confederacy. When France declared war against Great Britain in 1778, Haidar found fresh cause of offence in the British seizure of the French port of Mahé, which

A Much Disputed Succession

was in Mysore territory. In 1780, the Nizam, Haidar, and the leading Mahrattas came to terms among themselves; the British seemed to have their hands full with the Mahratta business in the Bombay quarter. Haidar Ali suddenly fell on the Carnatic, sweeping it with fire and sword. The blunderers at Madras were quite unprepared, and their forces were either cut up or driven behind fortifications. British prestige was recovered, however, by a brilliant diversion in the North Mahratta territory, where the fortress of Gwalior, supposed to be impregnable, was captured by a daring surprise. The Mahrattas became divided in mind, and the next year found them holding back from the contest. Before the end of 1781, Eyre Coote, the victor of Wandewash, was in command in the Carnatic, and had thrice routed the armies of Haidar Ali. In 1782, the position of the British was again made extremely perilous by the appearance in Indian seas of the French Admiral Suffren, who proved himself, on the whole, rather more than a match for the English Admiral Hughes. But, most opportunely, the very able Haidar Ali died; and though his son Tippu Sahib carried on the war, the other native Powers fell away from him. The French fleet was neutralised by the peace of Versailles, and would probably in any case have been paralysed very shortly, as Rodney's victory in the West Indies had restored British Naval supremacy; and Tippu would by himself have been unable to maintain a successful struggle. Now, however, Hastings was again fettered by opposition at home; and the Madras Government made peace with Mysore on their own account, on terms which almost appeared to have been dictated by a victorious foe. For the successful phases of the whole struggle, the credit belongs to Warren Hastings; for its unsuccessful phases the discredit rests with the Calcutta cabal, and the Bombay and Madras Governments. As a total result, while Great Britain had been waging a war all over the world, in which she acquired nothing and lost half a continent, Warren Hastings had succeeded in maintaining her position in India, not only unimpaired, but, on the whole, strengthened, even in the south and west, as well as in Bengal and Oudh.

HAIDAR ALI, AN ENEMY OF THE BRITISH
This commander of the Mysore army had initial success against the British, but was defeated by Sir Eyre Coote.

It is in connection with his administration in Bengal and Oudh that Hastings has been so frequently held up to obloquy—with what degree of justice in the Rohilla affair, the reader will have judged already. On his assuming the Governorship of Bengal, it became the first business of Hastings to organise the collection of revenue and the administration of justice. It was not possible to adopt measures which were more than tentative. The establishment of English district magistrates laid the basis of future organisation in the one field; in the other, a definite working system was set up, pending a

THE MAHRATTA FORTRESS OF GWALIOR
This Mahratta stronghold, supposed to be impregnable, was, in 1780, captured by the British, under General Popham, by a daring surprise.

fresh assessment of the land from which the revenue was drawn.

This material improvement was followed by the arrival of the three new members of the Council from England, who, forming a majority, proceeded so far as possible to reverse all the Governor-General's arrangements. Of this period, the most striking event was the affair of Nanda Kumar, or Nuncomar, a Brahman who, having a grudge against Hastings, brought sundry charges against him on evidence which was probably forged. The Council took Nuncomar's part; but a native who, in his turn, had a grudge against Nuncomar, brought a perfectly independent charge of forgery against him. The case was fairly tried before the newly constituted High Court. Nuncomar was proved guilty, and was executed. It is practically certain that Hastings had nothing to do with the matter, but the removal of his accuser was so exceedingly opportune for him that the world has generally attributed the whole business to a conspiracy between Hastings, the Chief Justice, and a useful native.

Trial on a Charge of Forgery

When the successive deaths of two of the opposition cabal gave Hastings control, he established that board for the examination of land tenures and for re-assessment which formed a part of his scheme of reorganisation which had recently been reversed. Also he initiated the system of "subsidiary alliances" which was to be a leading feature of the rule of Lord Wellesley; arranging by treaty to maintain the army in Oudh under British control for the support of the Wazir out of revenues to be drawn from districts ceded by the Wazir to the Company for that purpose. Further, he got rid of the most unworkable feature of the Regulating Act. The judges were independent of the Administration, recognised no superior authority but the Crown in England, and claimed to exercise jurisdiction over the Council and the Governor-General. The Executive found itself paralysed. In order to bring the Executive and Judiciary into harmonious relations, Hastings proposed to establish at Calcutta a court of appeal from the district courts, and to appoint the Chief Justice head of this court, as a servant of the Company, with extensive supervisory powers over the system. Nothing but a compromise could possibly have removed the deadlock, and the compromise arrived at proved effective. This affair, like that of Nuncomar, has been treated as if it attached some extraordinary discredit to the Chief Justice, Sir Elijah Impey; with singularly little reason.

The Judges and the Executive

It remains to note the two matters which, along with the Rohilla war and the execution of Nuncomar, have been used—and with little more justification—for the vilification of the great Governor-General. First was that of the Oudh Begums. When Shujah Daulah, Wazir of Oudh, died, the Begums, or Royal ladies, claimed that he had left most of his treasure to them personally. The Calcutta Council, in opposition to Hastings, maintained their claim as against the succeeding Wazir, Asaf ud Daulah. The latter, with his treasury thus depleted, naturally found himself unable to meet his obligations to the British. When Hastings got the upper hand, the Wazir declared his sincere desire to keep the promises made, but pointed out that the British, instead of helping him, were deliberately making it impossible. The Begums would not surrender the treasure, nor could he recover it from them without British assistance. The Wazir had the better claim, but the British were pledged to the Begums. On the other hand, these ladies had certainly been fostering antagonism to the British, who, it was argued, were thereby released from any obligations to them. Hastings, in dire need of money, was not difficult to satisfy as to the proofs, and gave Asaf ud Daulah active aid in recovering the property—a process carried out, as in the case of the Rohilla war, in accordance with Oriental rather than Western ideas of permissible severity.

Affair of the Oudh Begums

There remains the affair of Cheyt Singh, Raja of Benares. In the course of various transactions with Oudh, this province was handed over to the British—that is, the Company, instead of the Oudh Wazir, became the over-lord of the Raja, who was under normal circumstances liable for a normal tribute or rent, and for further contribution in time of war. It was a matter of course that such vassal princes submitted to their over-lords precisely so long as they thought resistance or evasion would be dangerous. In 1778 and the following years, under pressure of the wars with the Mahrattas and with Haidar Ali, Hastings made heavy demands for extra

THE OLD COURT HOUSE AT CALCUTTA IN THE TIME OF WARREN HASTINGS

contributions. Cheyt Singh began to evade payment, probably under the impression that the power of the British was tottering and that he would be able to get free. Hastings declared him recalcitrant—in which he was probably quite correct—imposed a very heavy fine by way of penalty, and came with a small escort to Benares to enforce his demand. Benares rose in support of the Raja, and cut up the sepoys. The district, however, was brought into subjection promptly enough, Cheyt Singh was deposed, and a new Raja reigned at Benares. In 1784 North's Regulating Act was superseded by Pitt's India Act, which introduced a new system. Warren Hastings returned to England in 1785. Personal animosities, party exigencies, and an honest misapprehension both of what he had done and the conditions under which he had done it, led to his impeachment; and, although seven years later he was fully acquitted on every count, it is only in recent years that his character has begun to be reinstated in the eyes of the public. But when he left India in 1785 at least the Province of Bengal recognised him as the best ruler it had known.

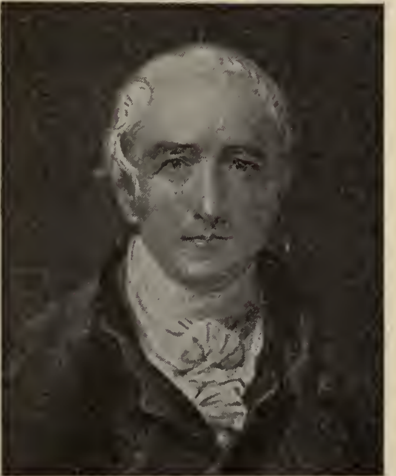
MEMORIAL OF THE TRAGEDY OF THE "BLACK HOLE OF CALCUTTA"
The view illustrates the Writers' Building in Calcutta at the end of the eighteenth century and the monument, surmounted by an obelisk, which was erected to commemorate the victims of Suraj ud Daulah.

MAP SHOWING THE EXPANSION OF BRITISH DOMINION IN INDIA TO THE YEAR 1801

THE EXPANSION OF BRITISH DOMINION

THE retirement of Warren Hastings was immediately followed by the inauguration of the new British governmental system, which lasted, with slight modification, till 1858, a period during which the whole of India came under British supremacy, though large portions were not, and still are not, under direct British rule. It will be convenient, therefore, to take a survey of the position of the various Indian Powers in 1785.

At Delhi abode the Mogul, the phantom of an emperor. Westward of Delhi lie Sirhind and Rajputana, peopled chiefly by high-caste Rajputs or by Sikhs; westward again is the great Indus basin, comprising Sindh and the Punjab. Throughout these districts there existed no powerful state until the rise of Ranjit Singh at Lahore, when the nineteenth century began. Eastward, the Ganges basin was in effect divided between Oudh and Bengal, the latter under direct British rule, the former under practical British control. The whole of the eastern coastal territory, with slight exception, from Ganges mouth to the extreme south of the peninsula—Orissa, the Sarkars, the Carnatic—was British, though a nominal sovereignty was still exercised by the Nawab of Arcot. West of the British line comes first the great group of Mahratta states, dominating the rest of the peninsula, with the exception of Tippu Sahib's sultanate of Mysore, the Nizam's dominions, and the small British district of Bombay. Of the Mahratta groups, there were five chiefs: on the south—west of the Nizam—the Peshwa at Puna, the nominal head of the whole; in the north at Gwalior, dominating Delhi, the Sindhia dynasty; between Sindhia and the Peshwa, from west to east, the Gaekwar at Baroda, Holkar at Indur, and the Bhonsla at Nagpur, enclosing the Nizam on the north. South of the Nizam and west of the British was Mysore.



MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Who, as Lord Mornington, rendered distinguished service when Governor-General, 1798-1805, and checked the efforts of Tippu Sahib.

Thus the militant Powers were Mysore, the Nizam, and the Mahratta confederacy. Of these, the Nizam was not strong enough to cope single-handed with either Mysore or a Mahratta combination. The Mahrattas, overwhelmingly strong in combination, could not rely on each other for mutual support. Mysore had been organised as a military state by a military adventurer. the father of the reigning sultan, and the hostility of its ruler to the British was ingrained. The fourth militant Power was the British. Not one of the ruling dynasties had been in possession for more than three-quarters of a century. The boundaries of every state or province expanded or contracted from decade to decade. From the time when Clive left India to the time when Mornington landed it was the intention of the British Government to work on European principles, to avoid extension of territory, and to preserve the balance between the native states. But such a conception was foreign to the native mind. Consequently, Cornwallis found himself, with great reluctance, forced to act in a manner very little less aggressive than Mornington, who had no reluctance whatever about it.

To meet such conditions, a strong central government was required within the British territories. In times when twelve months might easily elapse between the sending of a despatch from Calcutta and the receipt of the reply it was manifestly necessary for Calcutta to be free to act on its own responsibility, subject only to very general instructions from home. It was

manifest also that the governing body must not be one with divided powers which could be paralysed by internal disagreements. Further, the dominion had been acquired by the East India Company, consistently with its charter, so that the claims and responsibilities of three parties had to be adjusted—the Government on the spot, the Sovereign at Westminster, and the Company. The adjustment was effected by Pitt's India Act in 1784. Bengal, Bombay, and Madras were each to have its own Governor, Commander-in-Chief, and Council, of two additional members, but Bengal was supreme over the others. Its Governor was Governor-General; if one member of his Council supported him he could take his own way; on emergency he could act independently of his Council. The general rule was adopted—to be set aside only in one instance before the end of the East India Company—that the Governor-General himself should be a man of European experience, while his Council should be Indian experts. The responsibility accepted by the Directors and by the Home Government consisted in their selection of a Governor-General, in their laying down the general lines of policy, with the consequent necessity for the Indian Government to justify itself if it deserted the lines laid down, and in their exercise of patronage. As between Company and Parliament, a Parliamentary Board of Control was established—changing with changes of Ministry—which had a general power of supervising, if it thought fit, and overruling the appointments made, the despatches sent, and the policy laid down by the Company. The new system was inaugurated by the selection of a Governor-General whose sound sense and military capacity had been thoroughly tested, whose integrity was unimpeachable, and whose fearless independence was absolutely secure. Lord Cornwallis reached India in 1786, the functions of his office having been discharged in the interval by Sir John Macpherson, an experienced Indian official.

Difficulty of Long-distance Government

MARQUESS CORNWALLIS

He subdued Tippu Sahib and did good work as commander in India. Appointed to India again in 1805, he died soon after his arrival.

We shall find it convenient to defer our account of the British Administration and its development, and to proceed here with the story of the relations between the British *Raj* and the native Powers, down to the Victorian period.

At the moment when Cornwallis reached India, the aggressive Moslem fanaticism, and the generally arrogant attitude of Tippu Sahib—elated by the peace recently accepted by Madras—caused the Puna Mahrattas and the Nizam to dread his activities more than those of the British. The astute Madhoji Sindhia of Gwalior had already come to the conclusion that unless very exceptional circumstances arose it would be wise to maintain friendly relations with the British. His main object was to secure a personal ascendancy within the Mahratta confederacy and on the north and west. Sindhia's attitude, on the whole, decided that of Nagpur and Indur, while Baroda was not aggressive. Cornwallis, in thorough accord, *a priori*, with the policy of non-intervention favoured at home, found it unnecessary to do more in the south than reorganise military arrangements so as to ensure that, if necessary, he could intervene with effect. Tippu, not being anxious to unite the Mahrattas, the Nizam, and the British against himself, composed his quarrels with the two former; and for some time Cornwallis was free to occupy himself with administrative reforms. Cornwallis was well aware that Tippu was only waiting his opportunity to attempt the overthrow of the British; but the circumstances which forced on the collision were curious. When the Nizam had made his peace with Tippu, the Governor-General—in accordance with instructions from home—invited him, in 1788, to carry out the terms of a treaty made twenty years before, and to complete the cession of a district known as the

Moslem Hostility to British

CORNWALLIS RECEIVING THE SONS OF TIPPU SAHIB AS HOSTAGES OF PEACE

The result of the victories of Lord Cornwallis against Tippu Sahib was a peace by which much territory was ceded, and Tippu's sons were handed over to the British as hostages for the peaceful behaviour of their father, the Sultan of Mysore.

Gantur Sarkars. The Nizam replied by inviting the British to give effect to another clause in that treaty and aid him in the recovery of certain other districts which had been appropriated by Haidar Ali. Cornwallis, while declining to commit himself, was unable in his answer wholly to repudiate the obligation. Tippu concluded that a combined attack was imminent, and forestalled it by himself attacking a British protectorate, Travancore; and thus war began.

Causes of a War

The Nizam and Puna professedly supported the British, to whom, however, both intended to leave the hard work. The campaign of 1790 was ineffective, partly owing to the culpable neglect of the Madras Governor. In 1791, Cornwallis himself took the field. He captured Bangalur, whereupon the Nizam's troops joined him. Supplies ran short, and Cornwallis had to fall back. Then the Mahrattas appeared—not to assist in the campaign, but to ask for funds. The final effect was to stultify the scheme of the year's operations. Before the following spring, however, the Governor-General was able to perfect his arrangements, to bring Tippu to bay almost at the gates of his capital, Seringapatam, and to force him to submission, which involved, as a necessity of Oriental warfare, the cession of nearly half Mysore. Of the ceded districts, Cornwallis retained only about one-third, transferring the rest to his nominal allies, the Nizam and the Mahrattas. But those he retained were of strategical importance. There was no other way of materially curtailing Tippu's power of aggression in the future; to have left his territories intact would have been a direct incitement for him to seek a fresh opportunity for attack, and for the Nizam and the Mahrattas to transfer their alliance to him. There is no manner of doubt that Cornwallis would have avoided extending the British territories if it had been possible, or that both the Company and the Government in London were anxious not to expand, but to concentrate. But Cornwallis saw that there was no choice, and London ratified his judgment.

Partition of Tippu's Territory

We defer the discussion of the large administrative measures which marked his

rule. In 1793 he retired, at the moment when the French Republic had just declared war upon England—a war which was to last, with two intervals of a few months, till 1815, affecting in no small degree the policy of the successors of Cornwallis and of the native Powers. This, however, does not become conspicuous, as concerns the British, during the rule of the next Governor-General, Sir John Shore, who, later, became Lord Teignmouth. Between Warren Hastings and John Lawrence—for a period, that is, of nearly eighty years—Shore was the only Governor-General appointed with an exclusively Indian record. He was an official of great capacity, an excellent counsellor, as Cornwallis knew by experience; but usually lacking in the vigour and decision of character which the circumstances demanded in the ruler of British India.

Effect of European Wars

Hence, Shore's anxiety to maintain an attitude of non-interference threatened to bring about a serious crisis in Southern India. With Cornwallis, the great principle had been to keep the peace between the southern Powers; with Shore, it was to avoid entanglement in their quarrels. The Mahrattas took immediate advantage of the situation to attack the Nizam and to wrest territory from him.

The Nizam was aggrieved, because a firm attitude on Shore's part would have protected him; he felt himself deserted, and began to organise his troops under the command of French officers, while both the Mahrattas and Tippu formed the hasty conclusion that the British power was on the verge of collapsing. It was fortunate for the British that the Mahratta states and dynasties were plunged, by a series of deaths, into a state of factions and rivalries which effectively prevented concerted aggression. The great Madhoji Sindhia died; it was some years before the new Sindhia, Daulat Rao, secured ascendancy; and the same thing happened with the new Peshwa, Baji Rao, at Puna. The same lack of firmness shook the prestige of the Governor-General in Bengal itself, where there was for a moment a real danger that the army

British Power in Peril

CAPTURE OF BANGALUR AND DEATH OF COLONEL MOORHOUSE

When Cornwallis reached India he found a state of unrest that demanded strong action; and he took the field against Tippu Sahib, soon capturing Bangalur, the Mysore capital. One of the chief incidents in the assult is depicted above.

THE EMBASSY OF A NATIVE RULER TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL

The painting by Zoffany, from which our illustration is taken, represents the progress of a great embassy from the Wazir of Oudh to Calcutta, proceeding by way of Patna, to meet Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, in 1788.

would seize control of the Government. The British Raj was upheld partly by white troops of the King's Army, partly by sepoy regiments forming the Company's army. There was intense jealousy between the officers of these two branches, and also between the Company's military officers and their civil officers. The two military branches united to formulate common demands, which would have resulted in a military domination. It was evident that a much stronger man than Shore, who in effect surrendered to the mutineers, was required to cope with the situation, and Lord Mornington was appointed to replace him. Nevertheless, in one field Shore had displayed a firmness and a personal courage which went far to counterbalance his failures. In the dependent State of Oudh misgovernment was rampant. On the death of the Nawab, a reputed son, Wazir Ali, succeeded him, with every intention of following in his predecessor's footsteps. But when it was ascertained that Wazir Ali's title was bad, the British Government refused to recognise him, and gave its support to the late Nawab's brother —on terms recognising the British right of control. A British force was to be maintained by a subsidy, secured by the Allahabad territory. Shore arranged matters himself, remaining unprotected at Lucknow, the Oudh capital, in the midst of a population which seemed on the verge of a violent outbreak; refusing, though in hourly risk of his life, to call up British troops, since to do so might have precipitated a sanguinary struggle. His coolness and courage won the day. Saadat Ali was established on the throne of Oudh without bloodshed. Critics of British methods in India are apt to forget that if in such a case Shore had abstained from insisting on British control, the British would in a few years' time inevitably have been compelled to annex Oudh altogether.

Attempted Military Dominion

Lord Mornington, elder brother of Arthur Wellesley afterwards Duke of Wellington, initiated a new era in Indian policy. Hitherto the British aim had been to maintain a balance of power among the native potentates, after the European model. But the theory of balanced powers was altogether foreign to native conceptions. From time immemorial India has been a field in which rival thrones strove for supremacy, until the Moguls had achieved a general sovereignty, which exercised some check over the aggressive tendencies of individual principalities.

Brother of the "Iron Duke"

For the preservation of any modicum of general security and order, it was necessary that some power should be recognised as paramount; and the Mogul sovereignty had now for a long time been the merest fiction. The balancing scheme would not serve as a substitute. If, then, the re-establishment of a paramount Power was a necessity, it was clear enough that, in the interest of the Indian population in general, as well as in that of the British, the ascendancy must be secured not to a native Power, but to the British. For the British themselves it was essential that no Power other than their own should be paramount. The necessity was accentuated by the state of affairs in Europe, where Bonaparte was now the leading figure. No one yet knew what his precise designs might be. But he had proved himself unmistakably the first of living generals; and though Britain had proved herself the strongest of the naval powers, her actual supremacy on the seas was by no means secured in 1797.

Need for the British Paramountcy

Only fifteen years before a French admiral in Indian waters had almost enabled Mysore to overthrow the British in the Carnatic. Half the native Powers now had armies organised by French officers, and were hoping for French aid to free them from the British incubus; and, in fact, Bonaparte meant the recovery of French ascendancy in India to play its part in his scheme of an Asiatic dominion as a means to the subjugation of Europe. To the French menace was added at the moment an alarm lest the Mohammedan ruler at Kabul, Zeman Shah, who was supposed to be extremely powerful, should make alliance with the zealot Tippu in Mysore and aim at re-establishing a great Mohammedan dominion in India.

Mornington then, who was thoroughly conversant with Indian affairs, arrived at Calcutta, with the intention of making the British paramount. He had hardly landed when proof came that Tippu Sahib was intriguing with the French at Mauritius. Mornington made immediate preparation for a duel with Tippu, in case it should prove necessary. For the moment, the Mahrattas were too much taken up with their internal feuds to be dangerous. The Governor-General turned at once on the Nizam, and pressed upon him the immediate dismissal of the French corps organised in Shore's time, and the substitution of a British contingent—since the Nizam knew that he could hardly stand alone with the Mahrattas on one side of him and Tippu on the other. The Nizam accepted the situation.

Meanwhile, negotiations were on foot with Mysore. But as the British demands involved terms which would deprive

SIR DAVID BAIRD DISCOVERING THE BODY OF TIPPU SAHIB
Tippu Sahib, the "Tiger of Mysore," tried by intrigue and arms to crush British power in India, but was killed in the assault upon Seringapatam on May 4, 1799.

ASSAULT UPON SERINGAPATAM, WHERE TIPPU MADE HIS LAST STAND

The storming and capture of Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, in 1799, ended the hostilities and machinations of its Sultan, Tippu Sahib, a dangerous enemy of British supremacy in India. He was killed in the final assault.

Tippu of French assistance in any shape, and would make him as dependent as the Nizam on the British, Tippu would make no agreement. He continued his intrigues, in spite of reports of French reverses in Egypt, where Nelson annihilated the Mediterranean fleet at the Battle of the Nile. In the early spring of 1799, the British advance on Mysore began. In April, Tippu was at bay in Seringapatam; in May the defences were stormed, and the Sultan was killed in the fight. Mornington restored the old Hindu dynasty—which had been dethroned forty years before by Haidar Ali—under British protection, and with greatly reduced territories. Of the lands of which Mysore was shorn, a portion was offered to the Mahrattas on terms which they rejected. Another portion was bestowed on the Nizam, and promptly ceded back to the British as security for the maintenance of the British contingent at Haidarabad. The practical result was that more than half of Tippu's dominion was brought under direct British government, and the rest under British protection.

Death of Tippu Sahib

Disputed successions in minor districts, but notably in the Carnatic, enabled the Governor-General to carry on the business of establishing British supremacy by refusing recognition to claimants who would not accept his terms—which in effect transferred entire political and administrative control to the British: an arrangement displeasing to the dynasties, but indubitably of immense advantage to the population. Oudh was treated in even more high-handed fashion, the Nawab being required to dismiss most of his own army, and greatly increase the British contingent, ceding for their maintenance a belt of provinces—known from this time as the North-West Provinces—which enclosed the entire frontier of Oudh. Wellesley—the conquest of Mysore had brought the Governor-General his marquisate—now found himself face to face with the Mahrattas, the only Power which really had in it the possibilities of challenging the British for supremacy in India. The three chiefs who had recently succeeded—Daulat Rao Sindhia, Jeswant Rao Holkar, and Baji Rao Peshwa—occupied in a struggle between themselves for ascendancy, had made no attack on the British. But they had been equally resolute in refusing overtures for subsidiary alliances which would have brought them under Wellesley's control.

British Supremacy Extended

In 1802, however, the Peshwa suffered a grave defeat from Holkar. Seeing his chance of supremacy vanish, he thought it better to seek British protection, like the Nizam, than to be wiped out by Holkar; and he accepted Wellesley's terms. Now, it was admitted in theory that the Peshwa was the head of the Mahrattas. If, then, the great confederacy acknowledged Baji Rao's treaty with Wellesley, they would be formally admitting British paramountcy. Baji Rao had hardly been re-established at Puna under the ægis of the British when he began to repent. Hence, in August, 1803, the disappointed Holkar standing aside, the attitude of Sindhia and the fourth chief, the Bhonsla of Nagpur, forced the British to a virtual declaration of war. Sindhia and the Bhonsla acted in conjunction in the north of the Deccan. North, in the neighbourhood of Gwalior, Sindhia's own main army was set in motion, under command of the French officers, whose dismissal Wellesley had failed to procure. The campaigns were not prolonged. In the Deccan, Arthur Wellesley routed Sindhia and the Bhonsla at the bloody battle of Assaye, in September, losing one-third of his men. Two months later he repeated his success at Argaon; and between these two victories Lake shattered Sindhia's northern army at Laswari. By the end of the year both the chiefs submitted, accepted the British suzerainty, dismissed their French officers, and ceded extensive districts to the British, portions of which were transferred to the Nizam.

Mahrattas Accept British Suzerainty

"THE TIGER OF MYSORE"
Tippu Sahib, the son of Haidar Ali, carried on hostilities against the British, and, at one time, threatened to kill the East India Company.

Holkar, however, now bethought himself of offering an independent resistance. The remarkable success of his tactics at the outset created a panic, and almost set the whole body of the Mahrattas in motion again; but despite opening disasters, the tide turned in a few months, and British superiority was asserted with sufficient effect to prevent any general rising. Nevertheless, enough had been done to alarm the home authorities, to whom it appeared that Wellesley was plunging into a reckless and very dangerous course of aggression in open defiance of instructions; and in 1805 the great Governor-General found himself superseded, while Holkar was still in arms.

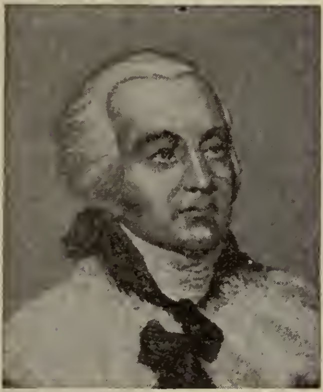
Since the time of Clive there have been two Governors-General, and only two, whose policy was controlled by the firm conviction that Britain ought not to let slip any legitimate opportunity for bringing fresh territories in India under her direct control. Yet scarcely one escaped the necessity of adding something to the Company's dominion. Failure to extend active protection to an ally, failure to answer defiance by chastisement, omission to demand cession of territory as the reward of victory — each and all of these were invariably and universally regarded by native Powers as marks not of moderation or magnanimity, but of weakness, inviting fresh defiance, which, in its turn, involved a heavier penalty than would have sufficed in the first instance. The most pacific declarations have only led the way to annexations; hence, neither the Indian potentates on the borders of the British dominion, nor European critics, have ever been able to divest themselves of the conviction that denials of aggressive intention have been merely expressions of systematic hypocrisy.

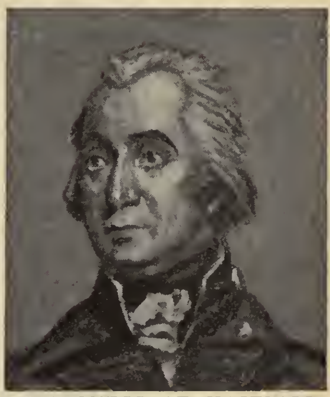
In the cases of Wellesley and Dalhousie, there is no room for the charge of hypocrisy—unless the argument that British domination is best for the native population be regarded as hypocritical. For neither of those two expanders of empire ever made the slightest pretence that their annexations were made with reluctance; they hailed opportunities. Lord Hastings also accepted them without regret. But there was probably no other Governor-General who would not have preferred to be able to say at the end of his tenure of office that he had added no fresh territories to the British dominion in India.

Reluctant Makers of the Empire

Yet the impossibility of standing still was immediately exemplified on Wellesley's departure. His place was taken by the veteran Cornwallis, who would soon have found, as he had found before, that facts were too strong for theories, and would doubtless have displayed the same common-sense as before in dealing with them. But the old chief died before he had realised the situation; Sir George Barlow held the reins of office *ad interim* till the new Governor-General should be appointed. The theory of non-intervention was given full play. The terms of Wellesley's treaty with Sindhia were modified in favour of the latter; Holkar was forced to sue for peace, and got it on terms of which he had never dreamed. The British declined to intervene for the

A Few Years of Leniency





EARL OF MINTO — MARQUESS OF DALHOUSIE — MARQUESS OF HASTINGS

The first Earl of Minto was Governor-General of India during 1807–13; he made many frontier treaties, and success crowned his administration. The tenth Earl and first Marquess of Dalhousie was Governor-General during 1847–56, and added Lower Burma to British dominions. The first Marquess of Hastings was made Governor-General of Bengal and Commander-in-Chief of India in 1813; his victories and diplomacy extended British dominions, and he founded Singapore.

protection of the States of Rajputana against Mahratta aggression; bands of Mohammedans and Hindu mercenaries were allowed to accumulate in Holkar's territories under the names of Pathans or Pindaris—freebooting hordes, who ravaged and robbed unchecked; Rajputana was filled with anarchy. Before a decade was passed, the Mahrattas were preparing to make another bid for ascendancy as against the British.

In 1807, Barlow's acting appointment was closed by the arrival of Lord Minto, whose rule was signalised by the capture of Mauritius from the French and of Java from the Dutch, nominally the allies and actually the subjects of Napoleon. The moment of Minto's appearance in India was also that of the rapprochement between Napoleon and the Tsar which issued in the treaty of Tilsit. Nelson had broken the French naval power at the Nile in 1798, and shattered it at Trafalgar in 1805. All that it was now capable of was to raid British commerce from its station at Mauritius. But a union of France and Russia threatened an overland advance against India. Hence negotiations with the intervening Power of Persia, which Wellesley had inaugurated, were renewed, and an attempt was made to establish friendly relations with the ruler of Afghanistan at Kabul, with little effective result in either case. The matter ceased to be urgent, as friendship cooled between Napoleon and the Tsar.

Within India, Minto found occupation in reducing to tolerable order the district of Bandelkhand, on the south of the Jumna, which the Peshwa had transferred to the British in exchange for some territory in the Deccan. But beyond this it was becoming clear that the theory of non-intervention was breaking down. Hitherto the whole of the north-west—roughly, everything west of the Jumna and the Chambal above their junction—had stood outside British interference. Recently one of the Sikh chiefs, Ranjit Singh, had established his own supremacy at Lahore, and constructed a very powerful military monarchy in the Punjab. He now sought to extend his rule eastwards over the Sikh principalities of Sirhind between the Satlej and the Jumna. These Cis-Satlej Sikhs appealed to British protection. Diplomatic relations were consequently opened with the Punjab, whose very astute monarch was quick to realise

Rise of Punjab Power

that British friendship was much more desirable than British hostility. He resigned his Cis-Satlej claims under protest, and on a promise that within the Punjab there should be no interference. The loyalty of the Punjab ally, as well as that of the Sirhind protectorate, remained unbroken till 1845. Finally, Holkar having died, the activities of the Pathan chief, Amir Khan, became so exceedingly aggressive that Minto was obliged to threaten intervention on behalf of Nagpur, which Amir Khan was endeavouring to master. The threat drove the Pathan adventurer back to Indur, and the struggle with the Pathans and Pindaris was deferred for Minto's successor to carry through.

Lord Minto's Policy

Minto's policy created a somewhat inexplicable uneasiness at home, and in 1813 he was replaced by Lord Moira, afterwards Marquess of Hastings, a politician and soldier of considerable experience, who was already nearly sixty. He went to India looking upon Wellesley's policy as pernicious and dangerous. Very soon he became his great predecessor's disciple. In plain terms, he found a vigorous anti-British aggression afoot on every side; and he recognised that the British must either be paramount or cease to count. His choice between the alternatives was not in doubt.

RANJIT SINGH
This was the Sikh who rose to power in Lahore. He was ignorant but able; in 1809 he made an alliance with the Earl of Minto, and the British afterwards supported him.

The first move came from a new quarter. North of the Ganges, in Oudh, lie the rich lands known as the Terai. Beyond the Terai are the mountains of Nepal, occupied by the Ghurka highlanders, soldiers unsurpassed, hardy, daring, staunch, though small of stature and few in number. The Ghurkas were dissatisfied with their mountains, and began to lay claim to the Terai. Hastings required them to retire, and sent troops to occupy the districts. The Ghurkas replied by themselves occupying them. There was no alternative to war.

The opening campaign was more disastrous than usual. Neither officers nor men had any experience of hill-fighting, which the stout little Ghurkas understood to perfection. Only one British column, commanded by Ochterlony, on the west of the extended frontier, met with any success. The rest met with repulses of varying severity, despite the very small forces of the Nepalese. Every antagonistic or potentially antagonistic force in India was on the alert at once, and preparing either to strike at the British or to strike into the turmoil which would be occasioned by their overthrow. But Moira was prompt and energetic; the hostile Powers, lacking organisation, did not declare themselves at once. Time was given for Ochterlony to turn the tide in Nepal. Skilfully led, the British overwhelmed the valiant foe. Territory, of course, was ceded, but the terms were honourable to both parties, and, on the one hand, established a lasting amity between the British and the independent Nepal State, while, on the other, the new territories supplied the British with some of the finest regiments in their service. Moreover, the immediate effect was to damp completely the ardour of the disaffected princes.

Moira, thenceforth to be known as Marquess of Hastings, had by this time thoroughly adopted for himself Wellesley's fundamental idea of establishing ascendancy by means of subsidiary alliances—that is, of maintaining under treaty in the native states, in return for a subsidy which might or might not be secured by a cession of territory, a force which should at once protect the prince and the state from native aggression, or from revolt, and practically ensure British control. At an auspicious moment for him, the vigorous George Canning became President of the Board of Control in London, so that his measures were not hampered. Further, the outrages of which the hordes of Pathans and Pindaris were guilty—with the undoubted connivance of Indur and Gwalior—made British activity not merely plausible but absolutely imperative. The death of the Nagpur Bhonsla in

A Strong Policy Resumed

1816 induced his successor to accept that subsidiary alliance which the dead prince had resolutely declined. But mischief was obviously brewing among the three greater Mahratta principalities of the west. In 1817, the British movement, primarily for the suppression of the Pindaris, began. Hastings had avoided the common mistake; he had a huge force organised, to take the field at several points simultaneously. By these dispositions, Sindhia was paralysed for hostile action, as was Indur. The Peshwa and the Bhonsla each attempted to capture the British "Residents" and destroy the escorts at Puna and Nagpur; each was brilliantly foiled. Thereafter, the converging British forces were far too strong to meet with any serious resistance. All the Mahratta chiefs, except the Peshwa, came to terms, as did Amir Khan himself, by the beginning of 1818; the Peshwa, too, was forced to surrender before long; nothing was left but the capture of some isolated garrisons, the last of which fell in 1819. At Kirki (Puna), Sitabaldi (Nagpur), and near Sirur, there were characteristic engagements in which small British bodies repulsed an apparently overwhelming enemy. But for the most part, this war

Vigour Brings Peace

SIKH ARMOUR AND WEAPONS

SIKH WARRIOR TRIBESMEN

was one in which the British forces were palpably too powerful to be faced in the field. Beginning as a war in the simple interest of public order, for the suppression of brigandage on a huge scale, it developed into the overthrow of the Mahratta Confederacy, every one of whose chiefs, except Sindhia and the Gaekwar had attacked the British; while conclusive proof was forthcoming that Sindhia was hand-in-glove with the enemy, and was restrained only by the paralysing British column which held him under surveillance. It could not, then, be said that the terms imposed were harsh. As concerned Sindhia, the British did little more than assert the right from which Barlow had debarred them, of extending protection to Rajputana. The Bhonsla was deposed and replaced by a minor, till whose majority the British took over the administration. Holkar accepted a subsidiary alliance. The Peshwa's territories, on the other hand, were annexed, and his office abolished, while he himself was allowed to retire to British territory on a handsome pension; and the small state of Sattara was cut out of his dominion, and bestowed on the heir of the house of Sivaji.

Overthrow of Mahratta Confederacy

Hastings had been allowed to follow out his policy; when the work was done, the Directors were, as usual, pained by the great outlay it had involved, and

alarmed at the responsibilities imposed on the Company by the accession of territory. In India, sundry ruling houses had been discomposed, a marauding swarm of brigands dispersed, some thousands of soldiers deprived of opportunities for loot, protection extended to a number of minor chiefs, and an unprecedented security bestowed on vast populations.

The Work of Lord Hastings

The man who had done these things was in effect censured and superseded, though not in form. Nevertheless, his successor, Lord Amherst (1823), was as little able as his predecessors to abstain from expansion. Hastings had brought the whole Indian peninsula into the compass of British ascendancy, except for the Indus basin, which remained independent. While Ranjit Singh ruled at Lahore there was no danger of troubles in that quarter. But Amherst was assailed on a new side. Across the great Bay of Bengal, the ruler of Burma thought fit to throw down the gage to the British.

In the course of the last thirty years Burma had suffered from an illusory belief in its own overwhelming power and the feebleness of the British, chiefly because the latter, while giving an asylum to Burmese subjects, had not resented the menaces of the monarch at Ava by force of arms. The latter had, in the time of Lord Hastings, gone so far as to demand the "restoration" of Lower Bengal, as though it had been a Burmese province. Now, the Burmese took possession of an island off Chittagong, which the British claimed as their own. Amherst turned out the Burmese force, and warned Burma that the limit of British forbearance had been reached. Burma replied by, in effect, announcing an invasion. Whereupon Amherst declared war.

The weary campaigns of the first Burmese War demand brief relation. In 1824, an army was sent over sea which occupied Rangoon. There it remained inactive, owing to deficient supplies. In December the Burmese were driven from their entrenchments before Rangoon. As the next spring advanced, the British advanced up the Irawaddi as far as Prome.

First Burmese War

Then they were stopped by rains. A second expedition through Arakan was also checked by rains and by disease. It was not till the beginning of 1826 that the Burmese king was forced to come to terms, paying a substantial indemnity, and ceding the districts of Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim—to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, who had no love for their Burmese rulers.

The prolongation of the Burma War—which ought to have been carried through

THE BRITISH EXPEDITION GOING UP THE IRAWADDI TO RANGOON IN JULY, 1821.

in six months, whereas it occupied two years—again gave occasion for a small native state in the heart of India to make an experiment in ignoring British authority. This was Bhartpur, whose main fortress had successfully defied the assault of Lord Lake in 1805, and was supposed to be impregnable. Blunders and misunderstandings between Ochterlony, the commandant in the north-west, and the Governor-General, encouraged the reviving impression of British weakness. But when Metcalfe was sent to replace Ochterlony, he recognised the necessity for asserting British strength. Amherst yielded to Metcalfe's opinion, and placed troops at his disposal. The defiance of Bhartpur was met by an Engineers' attack on the "impregnable" fort which proved completely successful. The brief excitement which had begun to stir the native mind was promptly allayed. The fall of Bhartpur seemed conclusive proof of irresistible power.

LORD METCALFE AND LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK
The first Baron Metcalfe was provisional Governor-General of India in 1835–6; his abilities lay in civil administration. Lord William Bentinck was Governor-General from 1828 to 1835, and is noted as having suppressed suttee, infanticide and dacoity.

It was not till after 1840 that the British again had to resort to arms to quell an Indian foe, or to emphasise the reality of their ascendancy by requiring further cessions of territory. The period of expansion was closed by the Burmese War, which lay altogether outside of India itself. The next period of expansion was inaugurated by intervention in another state beyond the borders of India. The period from 1826 to 1839 was occupied almost entirely with organisation and reconstruction in the dominions directly subject to the British, and in those wherein the minority of a prince placed administration temporarily in the hands of the British. For what was done during those years, and notably under the rule of Lord William Bentinck, much credit is due to the Government. It is open to question, however, whether Government was equally wise in its inaction. The pressure from home was strong to prevent intervention in the internal affairs of native states. It was the time of the Reform movement in England, and reformers in all countries are slow to believe that the principles applicable under the conditions with which they are familiar are not equally valid under conditions with which they are unfamiliar. Non-intervention was carried to extremes, with the result that in the Gwalior State the army acquired a dangerous predominance, and in Oudh misgovernment was allowed to reach such a pitch that even the authorities in London began to fear that annexation might be forced upon them.

A Few Years of Peace

Bentinck succeeded Amherst in 1828, and retired himself in 1835. Even his rule was not wholly devoid of additions to the British dominion, since the two minor states of Kurg in the south, and Kachar on the north-east, were annexed—but by their own expressed desire. After a year, during which the very able Governor of the North-west Provinces, Sir Charles Metcalfe, held the Governor-Generalship *ad interim*, Lord Auckland was sent out. Before we proceed to the record of his tenure of office we shall turn to examine the other aspect of the great British experiment in India—the conduct of administration by Westerns among Orientals.

British System in India

The constitution of the Government laid down for the British dominions in India by the India Act of 1784 remained in force, with some modifications, until 1858. The ruler of British India was the Governor-General in council. The only limitation to his power lay in the two facts, that he was removable at the will of a supreme body in England, and that he might be severely called to account if he transgressed their instructions; he need not obey, but if he did not he must be prepared to justify his disobedience. He disobeyed

at his own peril. His council could help him, and might hamper him, but could never actually thwart him. The supreme powers in London were responsible for appointing to the post a capable man, and one whose views, at the outset at least, were in harmony with their own. That responsibility was shared between the nation, as represented by the Ministerial Board of Control, and the directors of the East India Company—the Company being the subordinate of the two. The instructions issued to the Governor-General, which he could disobey only at his peril, were laid down on the initiative or with the sanction of the Board of Control.

Responsibility for Indian Government

The Governor-General was usually, but not always, a person whose actual knowledge of the East was at secondhand; who was, however, versed in the business of administration, diplomacy, or war—possibly of all three; while his advisers on the Council were Indian experts. At home, the tendency of directors to subordinate political to commercial considerations was increasingly counteracted by the trained politicians on the Board of Control. The most noteworthy changes in the system took place on the renewal of the Company's charter in 1833, when certain powers which had been left to the Governors-in-Council of the minor presidencies were transferred to the central or supreme Government in Bengal.

On the acquisition of fresh territories, those which lay in Northern or Central India were normally joined to the Bengal Presidency; those on the west of the Nizam's dominions, to Bombay; those on the south and east, to Madras. With the extension of dominion, those territories which had been in touch with the British were usually brought under the same system of government as the first presidencies to which they were attached; those which lay further afield were usually known as non-regulation provinces, and were controlled on somewhat different lines, their governors being allowed a larger latitude. As the ascendancy was established, a British Resident or Agent was appointed to the court of each state, whose functions were partly ambassadorial, partly advisory, while his advice might on occasion be of a peremptory character. The ascendancy, as we have seen, was usually supported by the maintenance of a considerable "contingent" or sepoy force, under British officers, who further protected the native Government against either disturbance from within or aggression from without, while restraining it from becoming aggressive itself.

Treatment of New Territory

The British power, then, was maintained by the three Company's armies in the three presidencies, composed not quite exclusively of native regiments under British officers, natives holding only non-commissioned appointments. In the Bengal army, these natives, it is to be noted, were mainly high-caste Hindus, either Brahmans or Rajputs, with a strong admixture of Mussulmans, who adhered to the Mogul traditions, while the Hindus were specially sensitive about all matters which touched their caste. The Bombay and Madras armies, recruited from districts where few of the population belonged to the higher castes, were much less sensitive—facts which bore fruit in the time of the Mutiny. Besides the Company's armies, there were a certain number of King's troops or white regiments of the Regular Army serving in India in rotation. The officers of the Company's armies were the servants of the Company; the two main branches of the ordinary administration—magisterial and revenue work—were in the hands of the Company's civil service. But in the non-regulation provinces the highest posts were often in the hands of soldiers, who were also extensively employed in what is known in India as "political" work, a term applied generally to the business of foreign, diplomatic, and quasi-diplomatic affairs.

The Fighting Force

In general, the aim of government was not to impose upon the natives European customs or laws, except where Europeans were concerned, but to systematise the existing indigenous laws and customs, so far as they were ascertainable, and to apply them in accordance with native sentiment, except where they were palpably productive of serious evils.

Now, the great bulk of the revenue was derived from land, and the history of the land settlements illustrates the honest, if not always perfectly successful, efforts of the British Government to regulate matters with justice. The beginning was made in Bengal, as being the first territory under direct British government. Here the issue of the attempt was the "Permanent Settlement" of Cornwallis. The

measures taken by Warren Hastings had been avowedly of a temporary character, pending a full investigation of the system of land tenure. Lack of experience, coupled with Western preconceptions, which British commissioners naturally read into the conditions they found, led Cornwallis somewhat astray.

The Moguls and their Nawabs had farmed out the districts to revenue officers, whose business it was to collect the amount of revenue at which the district was assessed. Primarily, these zemindars became landlords, in so far as the money they collected might be termed rent. They were the receivers of rent from the cultivator, and they might collect a great deal more than ever reached the Treasury. They had no legal security of tenure or of succession to a zemindari, but if they paid what was expected, and behaved themselves, they were not likely to be dispossessed, and their sons were normally appointed to succeed them. It may be remarked that they were usually Hindus, the Mohammedans seeking rather military employment. Sundry of the great zemindars had received the title of raja. With western analogies in their minds, the British regarded the zemindars as landlords, proprietors of the soil, like the landed gentry in England, with the peasantry as their tenants, as the persons who would reap most benefit from improvements in cultivation. On this theory, the great object was to encourage the zemindar to improve cultivation by giving him security of tenure. The districts were assessed, the amounts the zemindars were to pay were fixed in permanence, and their full proprietary rights were confirmed to them and to their heirs. By degrees, however, the true relation of the zemindars to the soil became apparent. In the South of India they had never acquired the same outward likeness of landed proprietors as in Bengal. The investigations conducted there in connection with the territories annexed after the Mysore wars led to the conclusion that the actual peasantry were the true proprietors, or else the "village communities," of which they were members. Hence, the land settlement in the south was for the most part made on the basis of the direct payment of the rent or land tax by the *ryot* or peasant cultivator to the Government, without intervention of any zemindar. The peasant got his fair rent, fixity of tenure, and right of transfer, subject to his payment of the Government claim. Here, however, the Bengal error of making the assessment permanent, was avoided. The valuation, subject to certain modifications, was extended over a term of years long enough to give the cultivator security that he would get full benefit for all improvements;

DURBAR OF THE RULER OF THE MAHRATTA STATES AT PUNA

The Peshwa at Puna was the nominal head of the five Mahratta chiefs. His support of the British action against Tippu Sahib was secured by treaty in 1790, and the ceremonial attending the ratification of the treaty is depicted above.

but after the term of years, the valuation was to be revised.

A third form of land settlement was necessary in the provinces of the Upper Ganges. Here a large proportion of the inhabitants belonged to Rajput clans. In the old days, the chief of the clan had often been looked upon as the proprietor of the soil, and under the Mogul Government these chiefs, or *talukdars*, had frequently been appointed to collect the revenue for their districts, like the zemindars of Lower Bengal, as far as government was concerned, but with a much closer approximation to the position of landowners of the present day. But besides the talukdars with traditional rights, there was much of the land which had undoubtedly been held by peasant cultivators and village communities. In these regions the "Thomasonian" settlement was a very careful attempt to adjust the several claims of talukdars, ryots, and village communities, to be regarded as the true proprietors under Government. Some authorities are of opinion that the ideas then current in England led in this case to the claims of talukdars being unduly overridden in favour of peasant proprietary—to the economic advantage of the peasant, but to the irritation not only of the chiefs, but of the clan sentiment of the population.

The Land Question

With wars perpetually on hand, it was not till the period of expansion was closed by the Burmese War that the Government was able to undertake very much beyond the ordinary business of administering the law, collecting the revenue, and carrying through the land settlements in Bengal and the Deccan. The Thomasonian settlement in the North-West Provinces came later. But the period which followed—in England, the era of the great Reform Bill and of reaction against the old Toryism—was filled with earnest efforts to improve the condition of the peoples of India. These efforts, largely, though by no means exclusively, connected with the rule of Lord William Bentinck, were of two kinds—those directed to the introduction of positive improvements, and those aiming at the suppression of evil but traditional customs and institutions. Among the former the two most noteworthy were, perhaps, the development of education among the natives by the aid of the State, and the gradual creation of a system of irrigation by canals, to cope with the recurrence of droughts and famines which periodically devastated the whole peninsula.

Efforts for Reform

Participating in the character of both classes of reform was the control established over the primitive pre-Aryan races of certain hill-districts. Hall among the Mers of Merwara, and Outram among the Bhils of Kandesh, won among these peoples—who had never been brought into real subjection either by Mohammedan or Mahratta conquerors—a personal ascendancy, which gave them an extraordinary influence, where hitherto both coercion and conciliation had failed. In both cases the wild folk learned to look upon the Englishmen with an overmastering admiration and trust which led them to an unprecedented docility; so that they were taught for the first time in their history to desire peace and order among themselves, to give up savageries which had held sway from time immemorial, and to develop themselves into a well-conducted, if decidedly primitive, agricultural folk. Of very much the same character were the proceedings of Charters Macpherson among the Khonds in Orissa. In this district, the ghastly practice of offering human sacrifices still prevailed among a people who believed that wise men propitiate the Evil Spirit who is too strong for the Good Spirit. Hence the Khonds argued that if you want a good harvest you must sacrifice human victims to the powers of evil. Macpherson acquired sufficient ascendancy over them to induce them to try the experiment of omitting the propitiatory sacrifice, and telling the goddess to hold the British responsible for their neglect of her interests. The harvest was particularly good, and the British were manifestly none the worse. From this the Khonds inferred that the British were more powerful than the goddess, and the practice of human sacrifices ceased.

Personal Influence with Natives

Human sacrifices were peculiar to the primitive Dravidian districts. But among the Hindus the practice of "suttee" (*sati*, dedicated), the self-immolation of widows on the husband's funeral pyre, was almost universal. It had, in the course of centuries, acquired a powerful religious sanction, although it was not authorised by the Hindu scriptures; so much so that

Government long hesitated before venturing on a measure so antagonistic to popular sentiment as its suppression, contenting themselves with the Mohammedan rule that the act of the widow must be voluntary in fact, as it always was in theory. Proof of compulsion, however, was hard to obtain, though there could be no doubt that compulsion was habitually applied. Bentinck, on his arrival, made up his mind that total suppression must be risked, and, to the general surprise, the edict was accepted without any signs of popular excitement. The native potentates took example from the British, and suttee disappeared.

Brigandage on a gigantic scale was crushed with the suppression of the Pindaris. It remained on a smaller but still sufficiently serious scale in the form of dacoity. India was infested with bands of Dakaits or Dacoits, who wrought pillage and slaughter and vanished. It was gradually ascertained that there was a regular hereditary caste of Dacoits, members of which formed the nucleus of most of these bands, often in league or association with eminently respectable members of society. Such was the popular fear of these brigands that immense difficulty was experienced in collecting evidence against them. They flourished most in the districts where Western doctrines of evidence prevented summary methods of punishment, and it was only by very slow degrees that the evil was reduced materially, and finally practically stamped out.

Quite distinct from the bands of Dacoits were the Thugs—another hereditary caste which carried out its murderous operations against individuals, without bloodshed, by strangulation. The natives believed them to be under divine, or rather diabolic, protection; and it was only the curious counter-superstition that the *ikbal* (the luck) of the Company was stronger than the Thug demon that gradually brought the populace to venture on giving evidence. Every conviction of a Thug weakened the popular superstition in their favour. Presently some of the Thugs themselves began to reveal the secrets of their organisation, and Bentinck's administration has the credit of the suppression of the whole gruesome system, its success therein being mainly due to the abilities and energy of Major Sleeman.

The repression of one more evil practice remains to be noted. The mortality among girl-infants was enormous. No one doubted that it was due to infanticide, but to prove that a baby had not died a natural death was next to impossible. The cause was clear. The Hindu was bound by his religion to see that his daughters got married. Conventions had made the cost of marrying a daughter into a crushing expense for a poor man; therefore a poor man could not afford to bring up daughters—and his daughters did not grow up. Merely to penalise a crime which could hardly ever be proved was a hopelessly inadequate remedy. Government set a limit to the expenditure on weddings, and penalised the "religious" beggars whose attendance in swarms—demanding in the name of religion a hospitality which the Hindu dared not refuse—had created a very substantial portion of the cost. The result was that in a very few years the balance of the sexes was restored.

SUTTEE, OR SACRIFICE OF A WIDOW UPON HER HUSBAND'S FUNERAL PYRE

The British Governors long hesitated to attempt the suppression of this practice, but Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General from 1828 to 1835, issued an edict making the practice criminal, and obedience followed without resistance.

EXPEDITION TO KANDAHAR GOING THROUGH THE BOLAN PASS IN 1838

The main route to Afghanistan by Peshawar and the Khaibar Pass could not be taken owing to the refusal of permission by Ranjit Singh, and the route by Quetta through the Bolan Pass had to be followed. The expedition was successful in its immediate object, and placed Shah Shuja on the throne of Afghanistan in place of Dost Mohammed, but the final result was the tragedy of the march from Kabul, a disaster unparalleled in the history of British arms in India.

ARTHUR D. INNES

THE COMPLETION OF BRITISH DOMINION

THE chapter in the history of the British expansion in India which opens with the governor-generalship of Lord Auckland is very largely concerned with regions and peoples that had hitherto lain beyond the area wherein British activities had mainly been exercised.

Of these countries, two—the Punjab and Sindh—lie within the borders of India proper. Beyond the Punjab is Afghanistan; beyond Afghanistan, Persia; and beyond Persia, Russia. And we must now examine the history of all these during the half-century following the retirement of Warren Hastings, with more or less detail, according as it belongs to or bears upon the history of India herself.

Russia as a Rival for India

Russia was destined to take the place, formerly held by France, of the one European Power which might attempt to challenge British supremacy in India. That place was lost by France from the day when British naval supremacy was finally established. For Russia alone the overland route might conceivably become some day practicable. In any case, the expansion of Russia must be Asiatic. Geographical conditions made it sure that her boundaries would gradually shift nearer and nearer to the Indian frontier.

But Russia was remote. In effect, Persia and Afghanistan lay between her and the mountain-barriers of India. It was not till Palmerston ruled in the Foreign Office that English statesmen began seriously to feel in her more than in France the Power against whose aggression Great Britain must be on guard. Persia, however, began to feel the Russian pressure at an early date. She felt that she must be overwhelmed by Russia unless she had British support. In the eyes of the British, she stood as a buffer against France rather than Russia. When the Tsar was in alliance with Napoleon, in the first decade of the nineteenth century, Britain was ready to support Persia. Hence, Persian treaties were inaugurated in the time of Lord Minto. When France had ceased to be dangerous, diplomatic arrangements with Persia were in the hands of the home authorities, and they ceased to interest themselves in Persia. Hence, when trouble arose between Russia and Persia in 1826, Britain did not intervene. Thereupon Persia, unprotected, placed herself virtually at Russia's disposal.

Persia at the Feet of Russia

Beyond that was the fact that half the Mohammedans in India regarded the Shah as the head of Islam. Persia began to dream of an Indian empire, to be acquired with Russian support. What Russia dreamed of is a matter for conjecture.

Persia could not approach India without first absorbing Afghanistan. At times Persia and Afghanistan had been under one ruler; but since the days of Ahmed Shah Durani—who had triumphed over the Mahrattas at Panipat in 1761—Afghanistan had been independent under the rule of his offspring. When Wellesley reached India in 1798, the Kabul state was credited with great strength and aggressive intentions. It was rent, however, by dissensions and rivalries for the rulership. A powerful family, the Barakzai brothers, became dominant, and set up and deposed the nominal kings of the Durani dynasty. In 1810 the then king, Shah Shuja, was driven from the country, and took up his abode under British protection. After various vicissitudes, Afghanistan was in effect parcelled out among the Barakzai brothers, except Herat, which remained in the hands of one of the Durani family—to whom the Barakzais still professed allegiance.

The Buffer State

From 1826, one of the brotherhood, at Kabul, Dost Mohammed, was the real monarch, at first with the title of Wazir, and later with that, familiar to British ears, of Amir.

More than once during these years there had been menaces of Persian aggression in the direction of Herat; but the Barakzais had been largely occupied by alternate feuds and alliances with their

Indian neighbour, the Sikh ruler of the Punjab, Maharajah Ranjit Singh of Lahore.

The reader may be reminded that the Sikhs had come into being as a reformed Hindu sect early in the sixteenth century. Primarily a heterodox religious body, their disregard of caste separated them from the orthodox Hindus, while they were in even worse odour with the Mussulmans. Hence, forming a close community, they were not long in acquiring the characteristics of a distinct race, while the circumstance compelled them to adopt a military organisation, under a series of leaders or prophets called Gurus, of whom the last, Govind Singh, was killed in 1708. The Sikhs—" disciples "—all bore the name of Singh (lion); in their military capacity they were known as the *Khalsa*, the " army of the free."

EARL OF AUCKLAND

The first Earl of Auckland originated the policy that led to the tragedy of the disastrous march from Kabul in January, 1842.

Occupying mainly the Punjab and Sirhind, between the upper Jumna and the Sutlej rivers, the Sikhs were perpetually exposed to persecution from the Moguls at Delhi, and to the attack of Afghan invaders. Yet they were not crushed. They formed a sort of confederacy of territorial groups known as *Misls*, whose power was quite out of proportion to their numbers, since they were in a considerable minority among Hindus and Mohammedans. But they did not achieve dominion until the chief of one of the Misls, young Ranjit Singh, just when the eighteenth century was passing into the nineteenth, began to get himself recognised as the head of the whole Sikh body in the Punjab.

Rise of Sikh Power

Among the native princes with whom the British came into contact, Ranjit Singh—with two others, Haidar Ali and Madhoji Sindhia—stands out as of altogether exceptional ability. Under his guidance, the Sikhs gradually dominated the entire Punjab, in course of time mastering Multan on the south-west; wresting Peshawar and Kashmir from the Barakzais. With the help of European officers, he so organised the Khalsa that it became—in proportion to its numbers—by far the most powerful and best disciplined army that any Indian monarch had controlled. In nothing, however, did his shrewdness approve itself more thoroughly than in his relations with the British. With keen eyes he watched the progress of affairs in India; he was under no illusions when Holkar seemed for a moment to have bidden successful defiance to the victors of Assaye and Laswari. The initial failures of the Ghurka War set him on the alert for possibilities; but after that he was fully convinced that Fate would one day bring all India under British dominion, and he was steadily resolved to do nothing which should draw the Punjab into collision with the British during his lifetime.

The territory of the Sindh Amirs was formed by the districts of the Indus basin below the Punjab. The population was chiefly Mohammedan; the state or states were not highly organised, or aggressive; and they paid tribute to the Durani monarchy.

About the year 1808, the British opened diplomatic relations, as we saw before, with Persia, with Kabul, with Lahore, and also with Sindh; in the last case, mainly for the purpose of opening up the Indus for commerce. When fear of French aggression ceased, the Government of India in turn ceased to interest itself much in Persia or Afghanistan. A friendly Punjab was a secure barrier against the invasion of Afghans or Persians which hardly amounted to a serious menace; and Sindh was in no way a source of anxiety. In that quarter, the only difficulties likely to arise would spring from Ranjit Singh's desire to extend his dominions, that astute ruler being determined to acquire everything which the British did not peremptorily forbid, as they had vetoed his proposal to claim sovereignty in Sirhind; and further, to make a great favour of acceding to their wishes, in return for which concessions in other directions might fairly be claimed. Sindh itself did not come within the range of his aggressive ambitions until after 1818, when he had made himself master of Multan, which had hitherto been subject to Kabul.

The Astute Policy of Ranjit Singh

By 1836, commercial treaties had been arranged with the Sindh Amirs; Ranjit Singh was still living, and at the height of his power, in the Punjab; Shah Shuja

was dwelling at Ludhiana in Sirhind, a futile pretender to the Afghan throne; Dost Mohammed was the *de facto* ruler of Afghanistan; and Mohammed Shah, who had recently succeeded to the Persian throne, was meditating vast schemes—to be carried out with Russia at his back—of which the first stage was to be the reconquest of Afghanistan, and the first step the capture of Herat.

Lord Auckland had hardly arrived in India when it became obvious that the affairs of Afghanistan and Persia required serious attention, a necessity due to the fact that everyone was perfectly satisfied that Russia was at the back of Persia in her aggressive designs, and that the Shah was merely the catspaw of the Tsar. Dost Mohammed was anxious. He did not like Russia; but he did not like the Sikhs. The new Governor-General was politely indisposed to intervene in favour of Kabul against Lahore, and the Amir hoped to change his attitude by a show of friendliness to Russia. Diplomacy should have been able to reconcile Ranjit Singh and Dost Mohammed, whereby the designs of Persia would have been frustrated. But Auckland's advisers were too successfully beguiled by the Dost's assumption of friendliness to Russia, and were superfluously anxious to propitiate Ranjit. When they found that the shrewd Sikh had no desire to be presented with Kabul, they bethought themselves of ejecting Dost Mohammed in favour of Shah Shuja, a measure which could be carried out only by the employment of a large British force.

Fears of Russian Designs

HYDER KHAN AND DOST MOHAMMED

Hyder was Governor of Ghazni in the troubles of 1838–41, and Dost Mohammed was the real ruler of Afghanistan from 1826 to 1863.

Now, in 1837 the scheme, though exceedingly wrong-headed, had the excuse that Persian armies were actually moving on Herat, and had begun the siege before the end of the year. But Herat held out stoutly, under the leadership of a young English officer, Eldred Pottinger, who had made his way thither. The months passed, the besiegers made no impression, Persia realised that Russia was satisfied to egg her on without taking risks herself, and by the autumn of 1838 the siege broke up, and the whole movement of aggression collapsed. The only possible pretext for direct intervention in Afghanistan had vanished.

Nevertheless, Auckland and his advisers, in defiance of all competent opinion, pressed on with their design. Ranjit Singh did not refuse assistance, but declined to allow British troops to march through his territory. Hence, the main route by Peshawar and the Khaibar Pass was barred. The second route, across Sindh and Baluchistan, and by Quetta through the Bolan Pass, was adopted, the Khaibar being left to the Sikhs. Thus, not Kabul but Kandahar in the south of Afghanistan became the primary objective of the British expedition.

Movement Against the Afghans

The Amirs, or chiefs of the Sindh confederacy, and the Baluchi chiefs of Kelat, though theoretically friendly, raised as many obstacles as they dared, openly or secretly, but did not venture on a display of palpable hostility. By the end of March, 1839, the British had gained possession of Kandahar, without meeting active resistance, and Shah Shuja was duly proclaimed. Some three months later, the army proceeded against Ghazni, a very strong fort, *en route* for Kabul. One of the gates which had not been properly secured, was blown up, enabling the place to be successtully stormed—an operation which caused great elation. Dost Mohammed's followers at Kabul were not prepared to face an engagement, and the Dost himself had no alternative but to flee precipitately across the border, A year later, having redeemed his honour as a soldier by valiant conduct in a skirmish, and feeling his cause to be helpless, he showed his appreciation of

British honour by voluntarily surrendering himself, and retiring to honourable custody in British territory.

If Shah Shuja had been restored at the cost of comparatively little bloodshed, it was still obvious that the acquiescence of his subjects was only skin-deep, and that his throne could be secured only by the presence of the British bayonets which had won it for him—at least during the months between the flight and the surrender of Dost Mohammed. Five thousand men were left at Kabul, and smaller garrisons at Kandahar and other points. Macnaghten remained at the capital with Shah Shuja, to control the government.

Surrender of Dost Mohammed

When the Dost surrendered, the quiescence of the Afghans did not lead Auckland to remove his troops, but to withdraw another hardly less important factor in the quiescence—the subsidies to native chiefs and tribes, which had tranquillised them. This form of economy was not appreciated by the Afghans, who were very soon seething with hostility, embittered by the misconduct of some of the troops in the Kabul garrison, which, to make matters more dangerous, had been placed in very inadequately fortified cantonments outside the city, while the general who commanded them was painfully incompetent.

SHAH SHUJA
The Amir of Afghanistan who was restored to his throne by the help of British arms in 1838.

The event might easily have been prophesied. Shah Shuja had entered Kabul in August, 1839. In November, 1841, a riot broke out, and one of the British political officers, Sir Alexander Burnes, was murdered. The troops lay passive in the cantonments while the riot expanded into a general rising. Messages for reinforcements were despatched to Kandahar and Gandamak; but the troops at Gandamak themselves had to fall back on Jellalabad to cover the Khaibars, and the winter weather soon made any advance from Kandahar impossible.

A son of Dost Mohammed, Akbar Khan, was recognised as the leader of the rebellion. Macnaghten, absolutely paralysed by the utter incompetence of the military management, very soon found that annihilation would be the only alternative to acceptance of the most ignominious terms of surrender. The conditions were, that the British should retire, bag and baggage, from Afghanistan, leaving hostages; the Afghans were to facilitate their departure. But Akbar Khan, instead of providing the promised facilities, began to seize stores and to demand more hostages. Macnaghten made a last desperate attempt at a personal negotiation with Akbar, who seized and shot him dead—probably an unpremeditated *dénouement.*

Even now, the military authorities, on whom the control devolved, could see nothing better than to ratify the convention. The garrisons, however, at Kandahar, Ghazni, and Jellalabad, refused to obey the orders for evacuation. On January 6, all the British subjects at Kabul—some 15,000 souls, soldiers, civilians, and camp-followers, men, women, and children—began their disastrous march, through tempests and snowstorms, towards Jellalabad—all except the hostages. On the 14th, a single survivor reached the goal. None other, save a few who had been added to the hostages, were left alive. All had fallen victims to the merciless weather or the more merciless Afghans.

A Great British Disaster

The disaster was without parallel in the history of the British in India. It originated in an inexcusable attempt to carry out a policy of interference which was in itself a reversal of the principles on which even the most aggressive of Governors-General had acted hitherto. The policy had been carried out with a blind disregard for the most ordinary military precautions, and for the sentiments of the population. When the crisis, thus rendered inevitable, arrived, it was faced with paralytic despair. There were native chiefs—Dost Mohammed was one such, and Ranjit Singh, who died in 1839, had been another—who knew

THE BRITISH FORCES IN POSSESSION OF KANDAHAR IN MARCH, 1838

that these things did not arise from essential decay in the might of the British; but such men were the exception. In the native mind, British prestige had received a blow from which it would not easily recover.

Auckland was replaced by Ellenborough, whose erratic self-confidence was hardly less dangerous than the feeble dependence of his predecessor. The redemption of British honour lay not with the chiefs of the Government, but with the subordinates. At Jellalabad, the small British garrison maintained a brilliant defence. At Ghazni, on the other hand, the commandant failed to hold his own; but at Kandahar, General Nott soon proved himself master of the district. A relief force from India, under Pollock, made its way to Jellalabad. Nevertheless, the orders from headquarters were that both Kandahar and Jellalabad should be evacuated, though the British hostages were still in the hands of the Afghans. Both Nott and Pollock, however, succeeded in finding excuses for evading the order. It was very soon realised that the recovery of the hostages and a decisive demonstra-

GUNS ABANDONED BY DOST MOHAMMED AT URGHUNDEE IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1838

tion of British military superiority were imperative conditions precedent of retirement; and Lord Ellenborough saved the face of the Government by suggesting that the withdrawal of both garrisons should be effected via Kabul.

Summer was now well advanced. Neither Nott nor Pollock had any hesitation about accepting the Governor-General's suggestion. Nott marched on Ghazni, and recaptured it. Pollock advanced on Kabul direct, routed Akbar Khan, and entered the capital on September 15. Next day he was joined by Nott. Within a week, the hostages, alive and well, were once more free. Resistance to the British, under competent commanders, was palpably hopeless. British prestige, though weakened, was still saved; yet it was manifest that the whole policy of a military occupation of Afghanistan was a false one, and that annexation was out of the question. In the course of the troubles, the puppet Shah Shuja had been assassinated. The British Government, resolved on evacuation, had the courage to restore Dost Mohammed himself to the throne; and it is to the credit of that shrewd and capable chief that he proved himself fully deserving of the confidence thus late displayed in his loyalty.

BALUCHI AMBUSH IN THE SIRI KAJOOR PASS

The grim blunder of the Afghan episode supplied the motive for the one act of inexcusable aggression in the story of the British expansion in India. The overthrow of the French, of Suraj ud Daulah, of Tippu Sahib, of the Mahrattas, had in every case been clearly attributable to threatened, if not to actual, attacks by the several native Powers on the British. The annexation of Sindh was, on the contrary, deliberately engineered by Sir Charles Napier, who himself described it beforehand as a piece of rascality which would be beneficent to Sindh and advantageous to the British. It is extremely unlikely that it would have taken place if the recent blow to British prestige had not called for a conspicuous demonstration of British vigour, still more striking than the retrieval of the disaster in Afghanistan.

The Sindh Amirs were not dangerous, or aggressive. The British were entitled to some gratitude for preserving them from the attack of Ranjit Singh; but that debt had been repaid by their acquiescence, however reluctant, in the high-handed demands made upon them when the Afghan expedition first set out. Then, however, the course of events in Afghanistan produced a natural tendency to kick against the practical domination which was being exercised over them. It was just at the time when Nott and Pollock were reasserting British power in Afghanistan that Napier was sent to control the restive princes in Sindh. Sir Charles, then, was ready enough to seize any plausible excuse for a campaign.

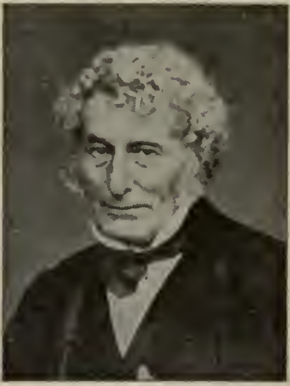
The opportunity was given by the ambitions and intrigues of Ali Murad, a chief who desired for himself a supreme position instead of a subordinate one. In effect, this man frightened his brother Rustam, one of the actual heads of the confederacy, into evading a meeting with Napier. This "contumacy" was punished by a demand for a treaty which would have meant in effect a surrender of independence. The natives became excited, and attacked the British Residency at Haidarabad on the Indus. Napier thereupon marched on Haidarabad. At Miani he met, and completely routed, with less than 3,000 men, a Baluchi army of 20,000. A week later, resistance was ended by

SIR WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN AT THE HEAD OF THE EXPEDITION TO KABUL IN 1838

another fight at Daba. Before the actual outbreak of hostilities, there would have been no serious difficulty in securing as much control of Sindh as was at all demanded by public policy. After war broke out, it could at least be plausibly maintained that anything short of annexation would be attributed by every native in India to the consciousness of weakness on the part of the British Government. To question the fact that Sindh itself was all the better for the change of rule would be absurd; but the change itself was effected, on this one occasion, very much on the principles on which the thirsty lamb in the fable was annexed by the hungry wolf. The moralist may note that it bore fruit, incidentally, in the mutiny of several regiments of sepoys, who had hitherto received pay for service in Sindh as on a foreign station. Sindh could in no case have either

SURRENDER OF DOST MOHAMMED TO SIR WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN BEFORE KABUL

offered a prolonged resistance to the British, if aggressively inclined, or have rendered effective aid in a hostile combination. But the Kabul affair had excited both the Sikhs of the Punjab and the most powerful native army outside the Punjab. In the Mahratta War, in the time of Lord Hastings, the Sindhia dynasty at Gwalior had suffered the least. The will to attack the British had not been wanting, but it had so befallen that the disposition of the British troops, when the Pindari War began, had paralysed the Sindhia of the day for hostile action. Hence, when the war was ended, he alone of the Mahratta chiefs had been allowed to retain practical independence. In 1843 the succession devolved upon an heir by adoption, who was eight years old; and the effective government passed to Tara Bai, the youthful widow of his predecessor. In accordance with precedent, the British Government intervened to impose its own nominee as regent during the minority. Tara Bai threw herself on the support of the army, which dominated the situation.



Maull and Fox

LORD ELLENBOROUGH
Governor-General from 1841 to 1844, during the Afghan troubles.

AKBAR KHAN
A son of Dost Mohammed and the leader of the Afghan rebels in 1841; he shot Sir William Macnaghten, on December 23, 1841.

Now at this moment the Khalsa, the Sikh army in the Punjab, also dominated the government in that great district. The army of Gwalior and that of the Punjab were both Hindu. Concerted action between the two might lead to a general movement for the establishment of a Hindu supremacy in India. As yet affairs in the Punjab were too unsettled for such a plan to be put into immediate execution. As things stood, it was imperative to place the powerful Gwalior army hors de combat before concerted action should become possible. That Tara Bai intended to bid defiance to the British was obvious when the regent nominated by them was driven from the Gwalior territory. Troops were collected at Agra to emphasise a demand for the reduction of the Gwalior army and the increase of the British subsidiary contingent. Tara Bai resolved to defy the British, and her army proceeded to occupy an entrenched position at Maharajpur, while a second force covered Gwalior on the south-west.

GENERAL POLLOCK
He persuaded Ellenborough to permit an advance upon Kabul, and successfully carried it out, entering the city on September 15, 1842.

The campaign was short and sharp. On the next day Sir Hugh Gough advanced from Agra, and shattered the force at Maharajpur, after sharp hand to hand fighting. At Puniar, a second column, advancing from Jhansi, defeated the other army. Native troops could never rally after a rout, and Sindhia's dominion lay at the mercy of the British. Tara Bai's army was reduced to 9,000 men, and a somewhat larger force of sepoys under British officers was subsidised. The State was placed under the effective control of the British Resident, but only until the young Sindhia should be of age. The point of immediate importance was secured—that Gwalior as a hostile military power ceased to be dangerous; whereof the value was very soon to become apparent. For another fierce struggle was at hand, under another Governor-General—

Ellenborough's erratic and bombastic methods created so much uneasiness that, shortly after Maharajpur, he was replaced by the experienced soldier and administrator, Sir Henry Hardinge.

We have remarked that the Sikh portion of the Punjab population had long been organised as an army of co-religionists, known as the Khalsa. The genius of Ranjit Singh, during his forty years' ascendancy, had made the Sikhs masters of the whole Punjab, and had developed the Khalsa into a very powerful and highly organised army. While Ranjit lived, the Khalsa was as loyal to him as the English Army of the Commonwealth was to Oliver Cromwell. On his death, at the beginning of the Afghan troubles, that army began to realise its own potentialities of political power, the more keenly as it found intriguers for the succession bidding for its support. But it was still like Cromwell's army when Cromwell was gone; it lacked a head and hand to control and direct; it was at first inert. Its record of victories, however, disposed it instinctively to foreign aggression; the disasters in Afghanistan imbued it with a belief that it was a match for the British. The Gwalior campaign checked its arrogance, but only for a time. It was increasingly obvious that, unless a new Ranjit Singh should arise, it would presently force a struggle. Hardinge gradually brought up troops to the north-west, to meet the emergency when it should come; but his necessary measures of precaution were inevitably suspected of having an aggressive intent.

By the autumn of 1845 it was patent that the Punjab Government was in the hands of the Khalsa, and that the Court was powerless to control it. In December the news came that the Sikhs were advancing in force upon the Sutlej—that they had crossed the river, and invaded British territory, at a point some way above the British advanced post on its southern bank at Firozpur.

There the force of 7,000 men would be able to hold its own, but it was isolated. If this force were "contained" by a sufficient body, the main Sikh army would advance through Sirhind. If it did so successfully the British might find themselves face to face with a general Hindu rising. But, although it had been impossible to bring up to the north-west anything like an overwhelming force, Hardinge and the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, were prepared for the emergency. A week after the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej converging British columns to the number of 10,000 men had advanced and formed a junction at Mudki. There, on December 18, was fought the first battle, with the advance column of the Sikhs, numbering

BATTLE OF MIANI ON FEB. 17, 1843, BETWEEN NAPIER'S FORCE AND THE BALUCHIS

probably from 20,000 to 30,000. The Sikhs were defeated and fell back, leaving seventeen guns; the victors lost nearly 1,000 men.

The object now was to effect a junction with a force from Firozpur, but the Sikhs occupied a very strong entrenched position at Firozshah, on the line of march between Mudki and Firozpur. Here they were found by Gough and Hardinge on the morning of December 21. The former wished to attack at once. He was overruled by Hardinge, who felt that failure would mean annihilation, and elected to await the arrival of the contingent from Firozpur. Hence the attack was not opened till four o'clock in the afternoon of the shortest day in the year. When darkness fell, the Sikhs still held their entrenchments, and there was great risk that in the morning they would be reinforced. But when, in the morning, the assault was renewed, it was found that the Sikhs were already in full retreat. Their expected reinforcements appeared, but followed the example of the main body; which was well for the exhausted British troops. Firozshah was by no means the most signal victory, but was probably the most critical of British battles in India since Plassey and Buxar. After it, the overthrow of the Khalsa was a certainty. The Sikhs, however, who believed that their leaders had betrayed them at Firozshah, were not yet beaten, though forced back to the line of the Sutlej. Even their power of acting on the offensive was not broken till they met with a severe defeat at the hands of Sir Harry Smith at Aliwal, a month after Firozshah. The decisive blow was not struck till February 10th, when, in a furious conflict at Sobraon, where they held the passage of the river, the Khalsa was completely routed, beyond all hope of rallying. The struggle from first to last had been desperately contested. On the night of Firozshah, its issue had even been extremely doubtful. But for the Maharajpur campaign, two years earlier, a great hostile force would have been lying at Gwalior on the British flank. Had it been there to strike when the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej!

VISCOUNT GOUGH AND VISCOUNT HARDINGE

Viscount Gough was commander-in-Chief in India, 1843–9, and won the battles of Mudki, Ferozshah, Sobraon and Chillianwalla. Viscount Hardinge was Governor-General, 1844–7, and himself took the field as second in command to Sir Hugh, afterwards Viscount Gough.

SHER SINGH

The leader of the Sikhs whom Gough defeated in the hard-fought battle of Chillianwalla.

After a conflict so provoked and so terminated on Indian soil, annexation would have followed as a matter of course had the victors been any one except the British Government. But the Sindh affair was unique in British annals. Hardinge, like nearly all his predecessors, very much preferred maintaining native governments to absorbing territories, and he made it his aim now to restore a native government in the Punjab. Yet merely to retire and leave anarchy behind was out of the question. The self-seeking court, and the patriotic sirdars or chiefs, had alike found themselves unable to control the Khalsa. It was a condition of government on which the sirdars themselves insisted that British troops should remain to preserve order. The result was that here again a provisional

government was set up until the boy Maharaja, Dhulip Singh, should be of age. A Council of Regency was appointed. Henry Lawrence was made British Resident and virtually Dictator; the Khalsa was reduced to 30,000 men, the rest being disbanded; no fewer than 250 guns were surrendered, including those captured in the campaign; there was the inevitable indemnity, and cession of some territory. British troops were to remain in the Punjab for a year. At the end of the year the sirdars once more declared that, if they were withdrawn, the country would again be plunged into anarchy; and they stayed.

The indigenous notion of the meaning of a central government is aptly summed up in the remark of a Sikh sirdar—that a certain district "has not paid its tribute for three years; it is time to send an army." Under the vigorous but sympathetic rule of Lawrence and the officers whom he posted to the frontier districts, a different order of ideas began to be instilled into the native mind. Had that wise and energetic rule been continued, it is possible that Hardinge's aim might have been achieved, and a strong and public-spirited native administration have been established. But all too soon Lawrence's health broke down, and he was replaced in January, 1848, by a Resident who, though an able man, lacked the unique genius which gave Lawrence an influence so extraordinary; and at the same moment Hardinge himself was replaced by Lord Dalhousie, a Governor-General perhaps the most remarkable of the whole series, but as yet untried and new to his post. The double change precipitated a new crisis.

The resignation of Mulraj, the native governor of Multan, led to two British officers being sent thither to take temporary charge On their arrival, Mulraj's troops rose, and the officers were murdered. Multan was in revolt against the constituted government, but proclaimed its defiance of the British domination—which the British themselves were exercising only temporarily and with reluctance, as admittedly the only alternative to anarchy. But the domination was displeasing to the Khalsa—which was convinced that its previous overthrow had been due not to its own military inferiority, but to the treachery of its commanders—and to many of the sirdars who found anarchy profitable. The British adopted the technically correct course of requiring the Punjab Government and troops to restore order and avenge the murder of the British officers who had been acting in its service. In the opinion of Lord Gough the commander-in-chief, either the Punjab Government was loyal and could and would suppress the revolt, or it was disloyal, and the revolt would inevitably develop into a conflagration which could be dealt with only by an army of conquest. The despatch of small columns would only precipitate the conflagration, and bring about immediate disaster. The Punjab Government professed

BATTLE OF FIROZSHAH, ONE OF THE MOST CRITICAL IN BRITISH INDIAN HISTORY

DEFEAT OF THE SIKHS AT THE BATTLE OF ALIWAL BY SIR HARRY SMITH, JANUARY 28, 1846

loyalty, but did not hasten to strike. A young frontier officer, Herbert Edwardes, at the head of a few loyal Pathans and by no means loyal Sikhs, on his own responsibility made a dash for Multan, and drove Mulraj's troops within the walls in June. He was joined by the Government forces under Sher Singh, and soon after by a British column from Lahore; but it was matter of doubt whether Sher Singh and his Sikhs would remain loyal. In fact, in September, they declared in favour of the rebels, and withdrew from the siege; and Sher Singh set about calling the Khalsa to arms to recover the independence of the Punjab. The British force remained before Multan, but there was now no prospect of its early capture. By this time Lord Gough's preparations for a great invasion—should it prove necessary—were almost completed. The rising of the Khalsa put the necessity beyond doubt. The nearer districts of the Punjab were under control; Sher Singh concentrated his forces beyond the River Chenab. On its banks at Ramnagar there was a sharp skirmish, but the Sikh position was too strong for the passage to be forced. A few days later, however, a column effected the passage higher up the river, and engaged the enemy at Sadulapur; the result of which was that Sher Singh fell back on a strong position at Rassul, and Gough carried his whole force over the Chenab.

Operations Against the Punjab

Gough wished to await the fall of Multan and the arrival of the British column which would then be released; but, under pressure from headquarters, he presently resolved to advance on Sher Singh. The two armies met at Chillianwalla on January 13, 1849. Here was fought another of those desperate and sanguinary battles which distinguish the campaigns against the Sikhs—a battle which was so far a victory that the British remained masters of the field, and the Sikhs fell back on their entrenched position at Rassul, which could neither be turned nor stormed.

Meanwhile, the force before Multan had been reinforced by a column from Bombay, and Multan was captured. Sher Singh resolved to march on Lahore, and evacuated Rassul, evading Gough, who fell back, to intercept his advance, on the Chenab near Gujerat. There the British were joined by the column from Multan, and the decisive battle of the campaign was fought, the Sikh army being completely and decisively shattered.

Rout of the Sikh Army

Except Henry Lawrence, there was probably no competent authority in India who doubted that annexation had now

become a sheer necessity; since, except Henry Lawrence, there was no one capable of asserting the personal ascendancy which might ultimately have reconciled the conflicting factors in the Punjab, and have welded them into a stable governing force. The young Maharaja was pensioned off. The Khalsa, conscious at last that it had been squarely beaten in a square fight, acquiesced in the fate it had brought upon itself; the sirdars sombrely bowed to the inevitable. The Punjab became a British province, and very soon a recruiting ground for the staunchest native regiments, and a training field for the best British officers, military and civil, in the service of the Company, and ultimately of the Crown. Last, and hardest to vanquish of the native Powers which have challenged British supremacy, the Sikh state was transformed into the strongest buttress of the supremacy which it had challenged. To effect the transformation, the best brains and the best troops were concentrated in the new province; which was well for the province, but not so well for the security of the great dependency in general, though the injurious results did not become evident till after the withdrawal of Dalhousie's master-hand

British Annexation of Punjab

Thus Dalhousie's governorship opened with a fierce war, conducted to a triumphant issue, and closed by the absorption of the Punjab under British rule, even as Wellesley had begun by overthrowing the Sultan of Mysore.

One other military conquest marks Dalhousie's era—a conquest for which, as of the Punjab, it cannot be said that any aggressiveness of the Governor-General was responsible. It has been observed in a previous chapter that the infantile ignorance and inflated insolence of the Burmese monarchy forced the British into war and annexation beyond the Bay of Bengal in the time of Lord Amherst. For the second, but not the last time, the same thing happened now. The Burmese authorities habitually ignored the treaty they had entered upon, and subjected the British mercantile community in Rangoon and on the coast to persecution which threatened to drive them from the country. Protests were disregarded; British envoys were deliberately insulted. An ultimatum was at last sent to Ava at the beginning of 1852, by no means unreasonable in its terms.

Trouble with the Burmese

The ultimatum was ignored. An expedition was swiftly and thoroughly organised. A fortnight after the time limit named in the ultimatum, Rangoon was captured. Six months later, when the dangerous summer season was over, the army advanced to Prome, on the way to Ava, and took it, as well as the town of Pegu in the south. Dalhousie did not

BRITISH VICTORY OVER SHER SINGH AT CHILLIANWALLA ON JANUARY 13, 1849

wish to extend the borders of the Indian dominion beyond India proper. He stayed the advance; he made no treaty with a Power to which treaties were waste paper. But nine-tenths of the population hailed the prospect of the substitution of British rule for that of Ava—having before them as an object lesson the prosperity of the previously ceded provinces—and policy, in the Governor-General's eyes, forbade the restoration to an Oriental potentate of districts in which the British flag was flying. Accordingly, he announced by proclamation, that the province of Pegu was annexed to the British Dominions, and proceeded, without further hindrance from Ava, to establish the British Government therein.

Extending the Empire in Burma

Dalhousie's conquests, important as they were, were unsought. The same thing cannot be said of his annexations by legal process, unless we except Oudh. He was the first Governor-General who deliberately laid it down that if a native state could lawfully be brought under direct British rule, the presumption was in favour of annexation. The principle hitherto acted upon—apart from Sindh—had been, that so long as the maintenance of a decent and unaggressive native government in a state was practicable, the presumption was against annexation.

Now, since Wellesley's time, the British had claimed that status of general suzerainty which had previously been recognised as an attribute of the Moguls. According to Indian precedent, expressed in terms of Western law, the throne and he rule of a native state escheated to the suzerain on the lapse of legitimate heirs. By Hindu law, springing from the religious doctrine that for the welfare of a man's soul it was necessary that his offspring should perform certain religious functions when he was dead, a man who had no heirs of his body might adopt an heir, who thereby acquired all the rights which ordinarily passed to the natural heir. The Mohammedan over-lords, however, had declined to allow political status to be thus passed on without qualification, refusing to recognise an adoption to which their assent had not been obtained, sometimes granting the assent on terms, sometimes refusing it absolutely. Hitherto, the British had not, in practice, exercised the right of refusing assent altogether, but it was impossible to question that they were legally entitled to do so if they thought fit.

Native Rules Regarding Succession

Now, it was an obvious fact that order, justice, law, and material prosperity, prevailed much more under British than under the best native administration. Therefore, Dalhousie held that when the law warranted him in substituting a British for a native administration, the change ought to be carried out in the best interests of the people: provided always that no special considerations existed which, in a particular case, might outweigh the general principle. And as it befell, the years of his rule provided an exceptional series of important cases in which the lapse of natural heirs involved an escheat, if the suzerain should decline to recognise an heir by adoption. By the free exercise of a legal right, undisputed but hitherto rarely enforced, extensive territories might be given the benefits of direct British rule. In judging Dalhousie's principle, however, it should be remarked that the rule had been formally laid down, five-and-twenty years before, that adoptions were not to be recognised as a matter of right, but only as a matter of grace. Dalhousie did not refuse to sanction adoption as a matter of course. When the question arose in regard to Kerauli, a small but very ancient state in Rajputana, the adoption was recognised; mainly, indeed, on the plea that Kerauli was not a dependent principality, but a protected ally. But in two important instances considerable ill-feeling was engendered by the refusal of the privilege, in both of which Dalhousie had a very strong technical case. The first was that of Sattara. When Lord Hastings annexed the Peshwa's dominions, he had bestowed the principality of Sattara on the heir of the house of Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta Power. Twenty-one years later, it had been found necessary to remove the Raja, whose throne was transferred to his brother. Repeated applications on the part of this prince for permission to adopt an heir had been consistently refused. When he adopted an heir without permission, the Governor-General was quite obviously within his rights in refusing recognition.

Dalhousie's Pretext for Annexation

Not quite so clear was the case of Jhansi, in Bandelkhand, ceded to the British by the Peshwa in an exchange of territory a few years earlier. Here, inheritance by

adoption had already been once refused; but a kinsman of the deceased Raja had been allowed to succeed. When the throne again fell vacant in 1853, adoption was refused, and Jhansi was absorbed—to the wrath of the Rani, the deceased ruler's widow.

Different from these was the case of the great Mahratta State of Nagpur. For many years it had been badly ruled. The Bhonsla, who died in 1853, left no son, and had himself declined to adopt an heir. Dalhousie had the alternatives of selecting a successor or accepting the lapse; he chose the latter course. The importance of the Nagpur affair lay in the fact that this was one of the great semi-independent principalities, and its absorption by the British could hardly fail to be interpreted as a first step in the policy of extending the practice of annexation on a technical plea to the greater as well as to the minor states—a prospect peculiarly alarming to Gwalior, owing to the singular fact that no Sindhia, since the first, had been the heir of his predecessor's body; every one had been an adoptive son. The justice of the annexation cannot be disputed, but it filled every native court in India with alarm. The series culminated with the annexation of Oudh, one of the two great Mohammedan principalities still in existence, the second being that of the Nizam. From the days of Warren Hastings, the Nawabs had been consistently loyal to the British, who had later rewarded them with the Royal title. But whether as Nawabs or kings, they had traded on their services and misgoverned persistently, in happy confidence that, however much the British might threaten, they would never take the final step of abolishing the dynasty—much as the Turk at Constantinople treats the European Powers.

Two More Native States Annexed

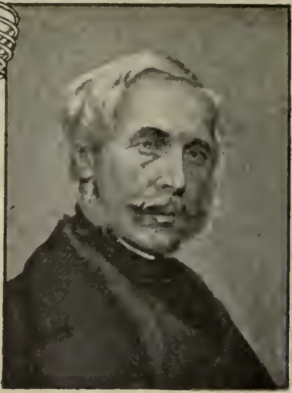
Matters, however, at length reached such a pass that a merely formal retention of status by the king became the only alternative to his deposition and the annexation of the province. Dalhousie personally favoured the former course, but was sufficiently doubtful to refer the case home. The home authorities decided in favour of annexation. But the process had alarmed the native governing classes throughout India, since they saw their own ascendancy endangered, alike in the Hindu and the Mussulman districts. Dalhousie was conscious of the risks, but the Home Government, absorbed in the Crimean War, was oblivious of the fact that an emergency was being created.

Rousing of Native Alarm

The organisation of the Punjab, first under the rule of the brothers Henry and John Lawrence and later under John without Henry—whose theories were too independent for a chief so masterful as Dalhousie—bore splendid fruit when the crisis arrived, in the loyalty both of the actual Sikh regiments and of the frontier levies of hill-men. The benefits of British rule came home more forcibly in that province to the mass of the population. The Governor-General's progressive energy was exercised with great advantage to the peaceful classes throughout the British dominion. Education was vigorously advanced; roads were built; irrigation by canals was pressed forward; railways were planned, though their active construction received sanction from home hardly in time for much to be done before Dalhousie's retirement; the same thing may be said of the telegraph. It is worth noting that in both these last cases, the immediate effect was damaging to the British Government; the superstitious terrors of the population being aroused, and the most grotesque suspicions prevailing as to the deep and dark designs of the Government.

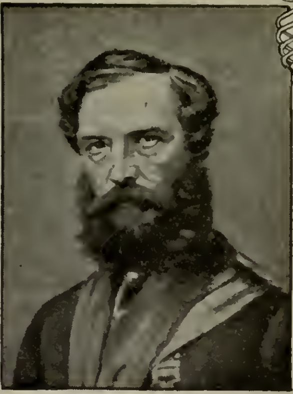
SIR JOHN LAWRENCE
Whose viceroyalty in India, 1863-9, was the culmination of a brilliantly successful administrative career.

But the brilliant achievements were patent to intelligent eyes; the alarm and irritation, unreasonable and reasonable, were hidden beneath the surface. When Dalhousie retired at the beginning of 1856, worn out by his own ceaseless and exhausting energy, he was under the firm conviction that a period of peace, progress, and prosperity was secured. History presents not a few instances of such hopes and convictions proving the precursors of a cataclysm; rarely, if ever, has the cataclysm been more sudden, more unexpected, more startling.



SIR JOHN INGLIS

SIR COLIN CAMPBELL



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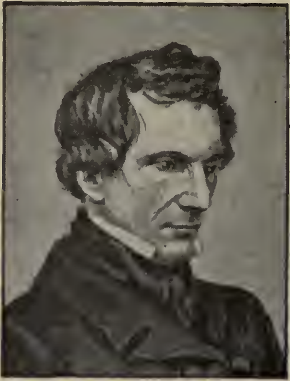

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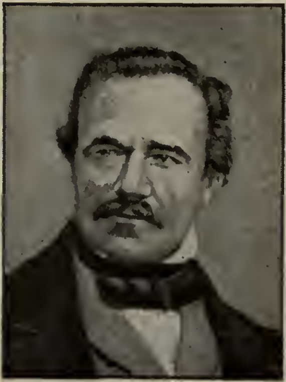

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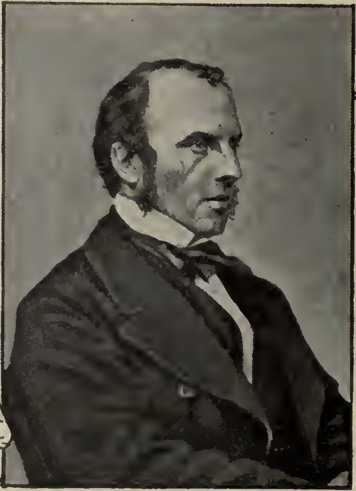

EARL CANNING

NANA SAHIB

Sir Colin Campbell, the son of a Glasgow carpenter, became Lord Clyde, and was Commander-in-chief in India and suppressed the Mutiny. Inglis succeeded Sir Henry Lawrence in command at Lucknow, which he defended during the siege. Neill defended Cawnpore, and was shot in the advance to relieve Lucknow, in the defence of which Lawrence met his death. Outram defended Lucknow during the second period of its siege, and Havelock was the hero of the first relief. During Canning's Governor-Generalship the Mutiny occurred, and Nana Sahib was its chief instigator.

NOTABLE FIGURES IN THE INDIAN MUTINY

MODERN INDIA IV

ARTHUR D. INNES

THE STORY OF THE MUTINY

BEFORE we enter upon the account of the cataclysm itself, we shall do well to call to mind the very peculiar conditions under which the British Empire in India had been acquired. Here was a vast territory, the size of Europe without Russia and Turkey, where the great majority of the inhabitants had for many centuries been Hindus by religion, parcelled out into kingdoms which had never been touched by the European conception of political nationality. Over a great part of these kingdoms Mohammedan invaders, largely of Tartar origin, had established military supremacies. Finally, a Tartar Mohammedan dynasty had acquired a formal sovereignty over the whole peninsula. At the moment when disintegration had set in, and the Mogul Empire was again breaking up into a congeries of independent states—sometimes of Hindus free from the Mussulman yoke, sometimes under Mussulman domination—a European Power, utterly alien to Hindu and Mussulman alike, almost by accident and without premeditation made itself master of two great provinces, Bengal and the Carnatic, where its dominion was maintained chiefly by means of sepoy armies—native soldiers commanded by the alien officers. The new Power came into collision with one after another of the native states; every collision resulted in a greater or less acquisition of territory, till half the peninsula was under its direct administration and the other half acknowledged it as legally paramount. The alternative to this alien domination was chaos. The Europeans treated all sections of the population with even-handed justice, sternly curbing the predatory classes, fostering material prosperity, and honestly striving to rule sympathetically, subject always to the necessity of maintaining its own paramountcy, but always with a consciousness that the mental and moral attitudes of the Oriental and the Occidental are mutually unintelligible. But on the native mind British policy did not produce the impression of that disinterestedness on which the dominant race prided itself. Of what use were professions that the British had no desire to extend their dominions, when almost every decade found fresh provinces absorbed into British territory? Mohammedans and Mahrattas saw in the new lords of India only their own lust of conquest carried to a more successful issue; saw only that their own dominion, or hope of dominion, was rent from them by the alien—that they were subjects where they might have been masters. The Brahman found himself shut out from the political career which even under Mohammedan princes had been open to him. The military classes had to be content with their pay as sepoys, unsupplemented by miscellaneous looting. The benefits of British rule applied mostly to the helpless masses who had no choice but to acquiesce in any rule, good or bad, which might be imposed upon them; and even to them the new rule was alien, unintelligible, suspect, because it did not square with their traditions.

The Eve of the Mutiny

Native Attitude to Britain

Beyond all this, the whole number of members of the ruling race formed but an infinitesimal fraction of the entire population. Even in the British provinces the sepoys outnumbered the white soldiers by five to one. The dependent provinces were protected, and controlled, partly by their own native levies, partly by more sepoy regiments, the British "contingents." The whole highly artificial fabric of the alien dominion rested primarily on the active loyalty, or, at least, on the quiescence, of these great masses of native soldiery which, trained to fight by the aliens themselves, had learnt to believe in their own efficiency.

The Basis of British Dominion

It is obvious, then, that there were a number of great separate Interests to which British rule was, or seemed to be unfavourable. The strength of the position lay in the fact that the separate

SCENES OF THE MASSACRE AT CAWNPORE

The view at the top of the page is that of the house in which the women and children were massacred; the well into which many of the victims were thrown is now surmounted by the memorial seen on the right. The centre picture shows the entrenchments of Sir Hugh Wheeler, and the fourth represents the interior of the building after the massacre, the floor strewn with clothing, books, and other articles, while everything was soaked in blood.

interests were mutually antagonistic. The condition of a movement, with any chance of success, against the British *Raj* was the provision of an apparently common aim which should unite those Interests. No such unifying aim was producible, and hence the British power survived the attack.

But with so many elements of unrest in existence, it was possible for one interest or another to believe that it could take advantage of a general destructive movement, and of the general scramble which would follow, to come by what it considered its own—provided that the destructive movement could be made sufficiently general. The first thing to be done for bringing this about was to foster the spirit of animosity against the British, and, above all, to kindle the flame of revolt in the sepoy army.

Alarm of the Native Potentates

Now, Dalhousie's annexations had raised the alarm of the governing classes in the dependent states to the highest pitch. Out of the dangerously small number of white troops a dangerously large proportion was absorbed by the most recently conquered province in the far north-west. Never had the country lain so much at the mercy of the sepoys. There was a new Governor-General, Lord Canning, in the saddle. British officialdom was sublimely unconscious of danger. Most of its chiefs had learnt to depend on orders from headquarters. Nine-tenths of the officers of the Army were pathetically confident in the loyalty of their own regiments. Canning's accession to office was almost immediately followed by a quarrel with Persia, and an expedition which withdrew some of the best officers, and still further reduced the number of white troops. It remained only to provide the sepoys with an adequate grievance which could be used by astute intriguers as a lever to set them in motion.

The lever was duly provided. The great bulk of the sepoys in Hindustan were high-caste Hindus, more sensitive on the subject of caste than any other. The obligations of caste were very inconvenient for purposes of military service—e.g., a man suffered heavy caste penalties if he crossed the sea. From time immemorial agitators had periodically taught the sepoys to believe that the British intended to Christianise them by forcing them to lose caste. Now, Canning's advisers persuaded him to issue the General Service Enlistment Act, which required the sepoy to enlist for service overseas as well as in the Peninsula—a measure dictated by the demand for troops to serve in Pegu. At a stroke, the Hindustani sepoys, soldiers from generation to generation, saw their sons either debarred from their hereditary career or doomed to loss of caste.

Beginning of the Ferment

Now, the event showed clearly that a revolutionary Mussulman organisation was at work which hoped by means of a general revolt to snatch a restoration of the Mogul supremacy. But this faction could not afford to let its own purposes be known, since the Hindus generally, and the Mahrattas in particular, would have had no inclination to overthrow the British Raj merely to replace it by a Mohammedan dominion. What is tolerably apparent is this—that the organisation existed, that it had a definite policy, and that it sought to precipitate a general revolution in order to give its policy an opportunity. It meant to make a catspaw of the Hindustani sepoy; whereas the disaffected Hindus had no policy at all, and no organisation.

When the explosion came, the premature announcement of the Mogul policy went far to check the dependent Hindu states from throwing in their lots with the revolution, giving the British time to recover from the first sudden shock, and limiting the actual area of the struggle mainly, though not quite exclusively, to Hindustan proper. But the Hindustani sepoy had already committed himself before the Mogul plot was exposed.

Still one more touch was required to bring the sepoys up to mutiny point. It was provided by an inexcusable departmental blunder, the incident of the greased cartridges. The troops were armed with a new rifle, which required greased cartridges, the ends of which had to be bitten off before use.

Caste and Cartridges

A rumour spread that the grease employed was the fat of oxen and swine. Swine's flesh is unclean to the Mohammedans; the cow is sacred to the Hindu, who would lose caste by tasting its flesh. Whether true or not, there was enough evidence in support of the rumour to give it universal credence in the ranks. The mischief was done, though no more of

ADVANCE OF THE SIEGE TRAIN FROM FIROZPUR

the offending consignment of cartridges were issued.

Still the outbreak was delayed, and still the authorities in general declined to believe that any special precautions were necessary. The story of the cartridges was spread abroad in January, 1857. In February, one regiment refused to handle the cartridges issued to it. In March another regiment mutinied for the same reason, and was soon after disbanded. In April, there was another mutiny, this time at Mirat, a great military station in the Delhi district, where the heir of the Moguls still held court. The mutineers were imprisoned.

Then the storm burst—probably earlier than the agitators had intended. On May 10, the sepoys at Mirat rose *en masse*, shot their officers, killed every European on whom they could lay hands, marched on Delhi, and proclaimed the restoration of

TROOPS OF THE NATIVE ALLIES ON THE MARCH DURING THE MUTINY

FIRST BENGAL FUSILIERS MARCHING DOWN FROM DAGSHAI IN THE PUNJAB

the Mogul Empire. From Delhi, down the Ganges basin, through Oudh to Benares, the flame spread. Bengal proper, from Patna to the coast, was tolerably secure. Bihar, the district from Benares to Patna, at first remained quiet. Outside the district where the Mogul and Mohammedan tradition was strongest, the troops of the dependent princes were ready to make common cause with the mutineers; the princes themselves, whether from loyalty or from distrust of a Mogul programme, were not. In the Punjab, by the prompt and vigorous action of the officers, sometimes supported by white troops, the doubtful regiments were disarmed, while the irregular frontier levies were devoted to their British officers, and shared with the Sikhs themselves an intense aversion from the Hindustani sepoys.

But between Delhi and Patna there were only five white regiments and a few

MUTINEERS SURPRISED BY HER MAJESTY'S 9TH LANCERS

artillerymen, distributed at Mirat, Agra, Cawnpore, Lucknow, and Dinapur, at each of which there were three or four times the number of sepoys; while at sundry other stations there were sepoys, but no European soldiers. During the month following the outbreak at Mirat, practically all those regiments, except at Dinapur, had declared against the British. The main points of the mutineer concentration were Delhi, Cawnpore, and Lucknow, the last being the capital of the recently annexed kingdom of Oudh. At Gwalior, Sindhia found himself unable to maintain control of the troops, which set off to

Growth of the Mutiny

THE RE-TAKING OF DELHI BY SIR ARCHDALE WILSON ON SEPTEMBER 20, 1857

operate on their own account. Jhansi also revolted; and the siege of Cawnpore was mainly the work of Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the last Mahratta Peshwa, Baji Rao, whom Lord Hastings had dethroned and pensioned very handsomely nearly forty years before. The Nana chose to entertain a bitter grudge against the British because, though he succeeded to Baji Rao's great estates, the cash pension was not also continued to him, although it had been very expressly granted to the ex-Peshwa for the term of his own life only.

By the middle of June a small British force, increased by the end of the month to over 6,000 men by troops from the Punjab, had planted itself on the Ridge before Delhi, in which there were some 30,000 sepoys. At the end of the same month the small Lucknow force of British and loyal sepoys was shut up in the Residency, which Henry Lawrence, with exceptional prescience, had carefully prepared for a defence. Lower down the Ganges, Benares and Allahabad were already secured by Neill and Brasyer.

At Cawnpore, as at Lucknow, the garrisons included a large number of women and children, and at the former post a desperate resistance was maintained for a while in an almost indefensible position. It had already fallen before the actual siege of the Lucknow Residency began. The garrison, with no prospect of holding out long, or of early relief, accepted the terms under which Nana Sahib promised to convey them in safety down the river to Allahabad. They were no sooner embarked than they were massacred by volleys from the banks, followed up by a general slaughter of the men, except the very few who managed to escape. The women and children were taken back prisoners to Cawnpore, and the bulk of the sepoys marched to join their comrades before Lucknow.

Tragedy of Cawnpore

From this point, then, we have to observe first the siege of Delhi with its great native army by the small but

HODSON KILLING THE BLOODTHIRSTY SONS AND GRANDSON OF THE KING OF DELHI

increasing British force; the siege of the Lucknow Residency by a second great sepoy army; and the operations of Havelock, who, arriving to take command at Allahabad, was about to lead a force of 2,000 men through the heart of the disturbed districts to the relief of Lucknow. With regard to the last, it may be remarked that the mutiny very shortly spread to Dinapur, whereby for the time communications were interrupted between Allahabad and Bengal.

The relation between these three centres or spheres should be noted. The crucial point was Delhi. If the British on the Ridge should be overwhelmed, the revolt would certainly become universal; if they succeeded in capturing Delhi, the blow would prevent that catastrophe. Lucknow, less important in itself, detained a great

STORMING THE BATTERIES AT BADLE-SERAI ON THE HEIGHTS ROUND DELHI

LOYAL SEPOYS AT RIFLE DRILL

mutineer army from marching on Delhi; and its fall would also be the signal for the Oudh clansmen, as distinct from the sepoys, to join the rising. If it fell before Delhi were captured, the British on the Ridge could hardly escape annihilation. How long Lucknow would be able to hold out would depend very largely on the success of Havelock's relief operations.

CHIEF OF THE SIKHS
Who remained staunch to the British

The loyalty of the Sikh princes of Sirhind kept open the communications between the Punjab and Delhi; but John Lawrence was for some while too anxious as to the condition of the new province to allow any quantity of troops to move from it. Before the middle of August, four attacks on the Ridge were made in force, and repulsed. The British were then strengthened by the arrival from the Punjab of Nicholson with a flying column; at the beginning of September, the long awaited and very much needed siege-train arrived from Firozpur, an attempt to intercept it having been brilliantly frustrated. By a series of skilful and daring engineer operations, the work of Baird Smith and Alexander Taylor, breaching batteries were brought to bear, on the 11th, and the cannonade went on for two days. On the morning of the 14th, by an act of desperate courage, Home and Salkeld succeeded in blowing up the Kashmir Gate. Three out of four assaulting columns stormed the ramparts, and made their footing good; then by degrees, on the ensuing days, the British forced their way into the city; on the 21st they were masters of the whole of it, and held the Mogul himself a prisoner. A portion of the mutineer army made good its retreat or flight towards Lucknow.

During these three months the garrison of the Residency in the Oudh capital had held out stubbornly. Nearly half the fighting force were loyal sepoys, many of them Sikhs; the non-combatants were nearly as numerous as the

MUTINOUS SEPOYS WITHIN THEIR DEFENCES

combatants. The skilful preparations made the ramparts secure against assault, provided that they could be adequately manned; while the great army of besiegers did not know how to use their artillery effectively for breaching. There was ample store of grain. The dangers from which the garrison suffered were: the immense strain on every member of the garrison, owing to the fact that the enemy were in immense force, under shelter, at many points only a few yards from the walls, while the defenders could take only brief spells of rest; and the almost overwhelming risk of breaches being effected by

Terrible Days of Lucknow

MEETING OF HAVELOCK, OUTRAM, AND COLIN CAMPBELL AT THE RELIEF OF LUCKNOW

mines. The vigilance of the engineers was such that no fewer than twenty-five mines were countered and destroyed in sixty-five days; others were mis-directed or exploded harmlessly. Only one accomplished its purpose, and created a breach; but the mutineers seem to have been so surprised at this success that the breach itself was once again made defensible before they attempted to rush it. Perhaps the greatest of all the dangers lay in the strain on the nerves of the defenders owing to the extreme difficulty of obtaining from outside any news on which reliance could be placed. Matters reached such a point that some of the loyal sepoys actually gave warning that, unless relief arrived, or was certainly at hand at the end of September, they would not indeed surrender the place, but would march out and make terms for themselves.

While the British were grimly holding grip before Delhi, and exploding the enemy's mines at Lucknow, Havelock, with his 2,000 men—of these, too, nearly a fourth were Sikhs—was making desperate efforts first to rescue the captives at Cawnpore, and then to fight his way through Oudh to Lucknow. The insurgents—sepoys, or followers of Nana Sahib—faced him repeatedly, to be repeatedly routed. On one day he fought two separate engagements; on another, three. Nothing could stay the pauseless advance till he reached Cawnpore—to find a ghastly shambles. At the last moment, the Nana had ordered the women and children to be butchered in cold blood. That appalling crime aroused such a passion of vengeful rage as has, perhaps, no parallel in British history.

Brilliant Advance of Havelock

A few days later, Havelock crossed the river; but cholera was ravaging his now greatly reduced force. Wherever the

mutineers faced him, he smote them—only to find fresh forces barring the way. Report came that the Gwalior army was moving to threaten his rear. Dinapur had mutinied. He found himself with no choice but to fall back again across the Oudh border to Cawnpore. The Oudh *talukdars*, or chiefs, thought he had abandoned that province, and now allowed their retainers to join the mutineers, which they had not hitherto done. On the other hand, the rising between Allahabad and Dinapur was checked and suppressed. Presently Sir James Outram was advancing with fresh regiments to join Havelock. The junction was effected on September 15, at the moment when the Delhi force was storming the Mogul capital. The advance through Oudh was renewed, the force now numbering 3,000 men. On the 23rd it was four miles from the Residency, with the mutineer army between. On the 25th it fought its way in. There was no question now that, thus reinforced, the place could hold out till a technical "relief" should be effected, though the siege was not yet raised, nor any part of its garrison able to be removed.

HAVELOCK'S GRAVE AND ALAM BAGH PICKET-HOUSE

The revolt had started with one chance, or two, of succeeding—that either the whole British community should have been overpowered, or the whole native community have risen in arms, before reinforcements arrived from England. Neither of these results had been achieved.

Turning of the Tide

Within a large but restricted area almost every native regiment had mutinied; but detachments had remained loyal, and the landowners had sat still and, to a great extent, kept their clansmen sitting still. Outside that area, in places where there were no white regiments, sepoy battalions had declared in favour of the mutineers without moving to join them. Even the Gwalior army had only threatened. Four months after the proclamation of the Mogul, his own city was being stormed. Before another fortnight the British in the Oudh capital had been reinforced. New troops and new commanders were reaching Calcutta. There were no more fears about the Punjab, where fresh native regiments were being levied in secure confidence of their loyalty.

Final Relief of Lucknow

Six weeks after Outram and Havelock reached Lucknow, Sir Colin Campbell was in Oudh leading the army which was not to check, but to crush the revolt. In November, Lucknow was effectively relieved, the non-combatants were withdrawn, and a strong force left under Outram to hold the Alam Bagh fort. At this moment the Gwalior army, under an able leader named Tantia Topi, joined in the fray, but was eventually driven back in rout across the Jumna.

In the first three months of 1858, Sir Hugh Rose advanced from Bombay, crushed the insurgents in outlying districts, laid siege to Jhansi, fought a pitched battle with Tantia Topi, shattering his forces completely, and captured Jhansi itself on April 3, though the Rani escaped. Meanwhile other columns converged on Oudh, including a contingent of Ghurkas from Nepal, and on March 17th drove the mutineers headlong from Lucknow.

Resistance was not over, for the Oudh talukdars, who had hitherto abstained from taking an active part, were alarmed by a proclamation of Lord Canning's, and, thinking that their fate was already sealed, resolved to take it fighting. Moreover, the Jhansi Rani, Tantia Topi, and Nana Sahib, were not disposed to submit; the first, from a spirit akin to that which tradition ascribes to Boadicea; the other two because they knew their share in the Cawnpore massacres had placed them beyond reach of pardon. But the crisis was passed when Campbell effected the final relief of the

THE BRITISH RESIDENCY AT LUCKNOW AFTER THE SIEGE

The top picture shows the ruins of the Residency as drawn by a British officer after the siege; the telegraph apparatus was in the high tower to the left. The centre oval is a picture of the Residency from the Water Gate, the verandah having been shot away; the appearance of the billiard room gives an idea of the general destruction.

INTERIOR OF ALAM BAGH FORT AT LUCKNOW AFTER THE SIEGE

Lucknow Residency. The issue was placed beyond all doubt when he drove the mutineers from Lucknow itself, and Sir Hugh Rose captured Jhansi. The Rani was killed in action in June; the talukdars submitted in December; Nana Sahib vanished; a few months later, Tantia Topi was caught and hanged, since nothing could transform the hideous butchery of Cawnpore into a legitimate operation of war.

The Mutiny had brought home in England the conviction that the anomaly of governing a dependency so vast as India through the medium of a commercial company must be brought to an end. The prophecy, passed from mouth to mouth among the natives, as an incentive to rebellion, that the rule of the Company was to last a hundred years, and no more, was fulfilled almost to the year. It had begun with Clive's victory at Plassey; it was ended by the proclamation which transferred the government to the British Crown, in accordance with the India Act passed by Lord Derby in August, 1858.

The spirit of compromise which pervades British institutions has produced a system which is theoretically crowded with contradictions. Nothing could well be more indefensible on paper than the old compromise between the Company and the Crown in India. But the illogicalities of the Constitution serve their turn; and the Honourable East India Company served its turn, too—better, probably very much better, than a system which would have better satisfied a political theorist. But a stage had been reached at which it had become cumbrous and unworkable. Thenceforth the responsibility for the Indian Empire was to rest undivided upon the British nation.

ARTHUR D. INNES

RUINS OF THE CLOCK TOWER GATEWAY AT LUCKNOW AFTER THE SIEGE

EDWARD VII. IN INDIA

SCENES FROM THE TOUR OF THE PRINCE OF WALES, LATER EDWARD VII., EMPEROR OF INDIA, IN THE WINTER OF 1875-76

ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCE OF WALES AT BOMBAY ON NOVEMBER 8, 1875

ENTRY OF THE PRINCE OF WALES INTO BARODA ON NOVEMBER 9, 1875

THE PRINCE PRESIDING AT A GRAND CHAPTER OF THE STAR OF INDIA AT CALCUTTA

RECEPTION OF THE SURVIVORS OF THE DEFENCE OF LUCKNOW IN JANUARY, 1876

STATE ENTRY OF THE PRINCE OF WALES INTO LAHORE IN FEBRUARY, 1876

ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCE OF WALES AT AGRA IN MARCH, 1876

THE GRAND STATE RECEPTION OF INDIAN POTENTATES BY THE PRINCE OF WALES AT CALCUTTA ON DECEMBER 23, 1875